

*MASTER  
NEGATIVE  
NO. 92-80602-4*

MICROFILMED 1992

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES/NEW YORK

as part of the  
"Foundations of Western Civilization Preservation Project"

Funded by the  
NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

Reproductions may not be made without permission from  
Columbia University Library



## COPYRIGHT STATEMENT

The copyright law of the United States -- Title 17, United States Code -- concerns the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material...

Columbia University Library reserves the right to refuse to accept a copy order if, in its judgement, fulfillment of the order would involve violation of the copyright law.

*AUTHOR:* HOOKHAM, MARY  
ANN

*TITLE:* THE LIFE AND TIMES  
OF MARGARET....

*PLACE:* LONDON

*DATE:* 1872

Master Negative #

92-80602-7

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES  
PRESERVATION DEPARTMENT

BIBLIOGRAPHIC MICROFORM TARGET

Original Material as Filmed - Existing Bibliographic Record

942.043	Hookham, Mary Ann.
H76	Life and times of Margaret of Anjou, and of her father Rene, the Good, with memoirs of the houses of Anjou. London 1872. 2tab. 151647

0. 2v. 2por. 3pl.

Restrictions on Use:

-----  
TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35mm REDUCTION RATIO: 11x  
IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA IIA IB IIB  
DATE FILMED: 6/25/92 INITIALS F.C.  
FILMED BY: RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS, INC WOODBRIDGE, CT

# VOLUME 1

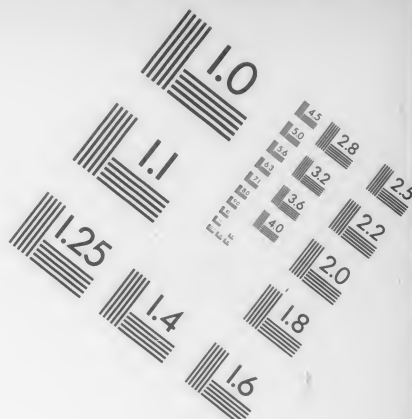
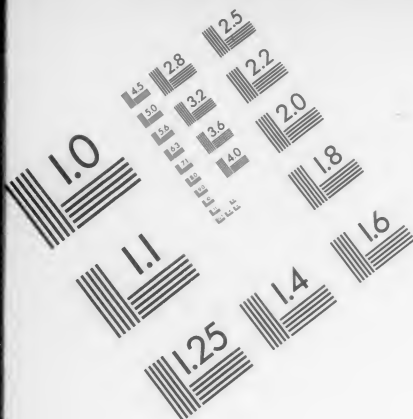


**AIMM**

**Association for Information and Image Management**

1100 Wayne Avenue, Suite 1100  
Silver Spring, Maryland 20910

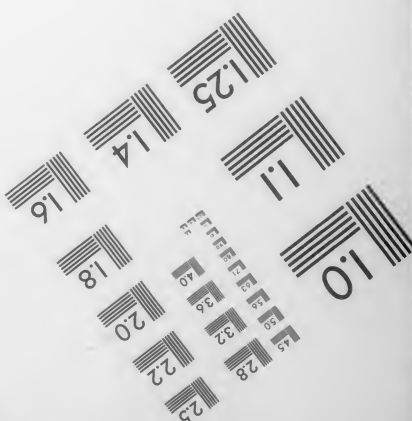
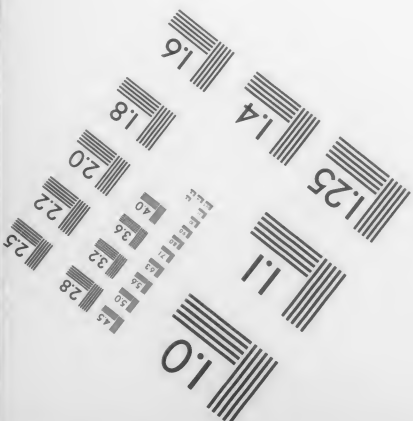
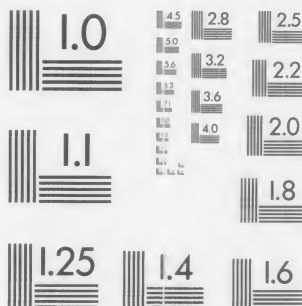
301/537-8202



Centimeter



Inches



MANUFACTURED TO AIMM STANDARDS  
BY APPLIED IMAGE, INC.

RET

YOU

KHAM

L.

942.043

H76

Columbia College  
in the City of New York.  
Library.



Special Fund  
1895  
Given anonymously.

50  
(21/10/11)

12/11

MARGARET OF ANJOU.



ALPHABET  
COLLIER  
COLUMBIA



MARGARET OF ANJOU,  
 QUEEN OF KING HENRY VI.  
 (From a Picture of her Marriage sold at Strawberry Hill.

THE  
 LIFE AND TIMES  
 OF  
 MARGARET OF ANJOU,  
 QUEEN OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

By MARY ANN HOOKHAM.



VOL. I.

LONDON:  
 TINSLEY BROTHERS, 18, CATHERINE ST., STRAND.  
 1872.

ARMULIOO  
EOLLOO  
Y.M.YHARLL

THE  
LIFE AND TIMES  
OF  
MARGARET OF ANJOU,  
QUEEN OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE;  
AND OF HER FATHER  
RENÉ "THE GOOD,"  
KING OF SICILY, NAPLES, AND JERUSALEM.  
WITH  
MEMOIRS OF THE HOUSES OF ANJOU.  
BY  
MARY ANN HOOKHAM.  
WITH PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.  
IN TWO VOLUMES.  
VOL. I.  
LONDON:  
TINSLEY BROTHERS, 18, CATHERINE ST., STRAND.  
1872.

LONDON:  
BRADBURY, EVANS, AND CO., PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

26 Mar. '96. Sk.

TO THE READER.

---

It is not my intention to write a preface to the accompanying work, since I have long felt assured that I may trust to its own intrinsic interest to commend it to the historic reader. The romance of real life, so remarkably depicted in the vicissitudes of Queen Margaret's career, and that of her Father, cannot fail to arouse the feeling heart, and to awaken genuine sentiment: add to this, the broad light diffused over the arts and literature of those times, by King René "the Good."

My sole object, therefore, in this page is to render a just tribute to those who have kindly aided me in a task, which, from the obscure period of which it treats, has been found greater than at the commencement was anticipated. More especially do I seek this opportunity to acknowledge, the valuable assistance rendered me, through the courteous correspondence of that learned historian, the late M. de Barante; as well as that of M. Grille, Librarian of the University of

12 MAR 1896 Bar. 24 240

217441

Angers, to whom I have been greatly indebted for facts of local interest. To many kind friends and relatives, who have ably assisted me in my undertaking, and foremost amongst them to Mrs. Matthew Hall, I desire also through this medium to express my very sincere thanks.

MARY ANN HOOKHAM.

4, FITZROY STREET, FITZROY SQUARE,  
February 20<sup>th</sup>, 1872.

## CONTENTS.

### INTRODUCTORY HISTORY.

#### PART I.

	PAGE
THE EARLY HISTORY OF ANJOU . . . . .	1

#### PART II.

##### THE ANCESTORS OF RENÉ OF ANJOU :—

JOHN, KING OF FRANCE . . . . .	46
LOUIS I., DUKE OF ANJOU . . . . .	47
LOUIS II., DUKE OF ANJOU . . . . .	72
LOUIS III., DUKE OF ANJOU . . . . .	95

### CHAPTER I.

A.D. 1435.

René's birth—Education—Marriage—Children—His tastes and wars— The Battle of Bulgneville—He becomes Duke of Lorraine and Bar—René in prison—Released on his parole—The Emperor Sigis- mond's decision—Fêtes in Lorraine—René returns to his prison— Death of Louis III.—Death of Queen Joanna II.—She appointed René her heir—René sends his Queen, Isabella, into Provence and to Naples . . . . .	113
--	-----

### CHAPTER II.

A.D. 1444.

Queen Isabella's reception at Naples—Her talents and influence—Her great successes—Rival claims—Alphonso set free—René is libera- ted—He goes to Tours, Anjou, and Provence—Then to Genoa and Naples—His reception there—René's poverty—His cause declines— Alphonso besieges Naples—Caldora dies—René visits the Pro- vinces—Alphonso goes to Capua—Returns and renews the siege of Naples—He enters the city—René's bravery and defeat—He returns to France—A marriage contract—René's mother dies— Louis of Anjou dies—The treaty for peace at Tours, and for the marriage of Henry VI. to Margaret of Anjou . . . . .	170
--	-----

## CHAPTER III.

Affairs in England previous to the marriage of Henry VI. . . . .	PAGE 203
--	-------------

## CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1444-1445.

The marriage of Margaret of Anjou by proxy—Her progress through France—Her arrival in England—Her illness—Her marriage to King Henry VI.—Her progress to London—Her reception by the people—Her coronation . . . . .	226
--	-----

## CHAPTER V.

A.D. 1446-1448.

The Queen's great influence—A conspiracy against the Duke of Gloucester—His death and character—The Cardinal of Winchester dies—Colleges founded—The Duke of Suffolk's defence—The pretensions of the Duke of York—His variance with the Duke of Somerset . . . . .	279
---	-----

## CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 1448-1450.

The surrender of Maine and Anjou—The Duke of Suffolk's impeachment—His banishment and death—The loss of Caen—The conduct of Sir David Hall—Somerset returns to England—Cade's rebellion and death . . . . .	322
---	-----

## CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 1451-1455.

Clamours against the Duke of Somerset—York takes up arms—He is apprehended, and released—Treaty with Scotland—The Queen visits Norwich—Her correspondence—The loss of Guienne—Lord Talbot's death—Henry VI. taken ill—The birth of Prince Edward—The Duke of York made "Protector"—The King recovers, and resumes his authority—York retires into Wales . . . . .	363
---	-----

APPENDIX . . . . .	415
--------------------	-----

COLUMBIA  
COLLEGE  
LIBRARY

## INTRODUCTORY HISTORY.

## PART I.

## OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF ANJOU.

AFTER the conquests of Charlemagne the Emperor, the great kingdom of France was divided into numerous fiefs, or petty sovereignties.

These were again, after the intervention of that long period called the feudal times, re-united under the French crown. Of these provinces, Anjou was one which took a conspicuous part in the politics of Europe. During 600 years the Angevine rulers were of three separate families or "Houses," originating in, and acknowledging allegiance to, the crown of France.

Some difficulty has been found by writers in marking distinctly the origin and fall of the First House of Anjou; but the dynasty of the "Third House," from which René of Anjou and his daughter Margaret sprung by direct lineal descent, is traced with sufficient perspicuity in all the annals.

## FIRST AND SECOND HOUSES OF ANJOU.

In the year 768, Charlemagne bestowed his sister Bertha in marriage on Milon, Count of Maine, giving, as her dower, the territory of Anjou, and conferred upon Milon the title of Count of Angers. From this

marriage proceeded for four years: warriors, Roland, Thierry, Geoffrey, and Baldwin. After a rule of ten years, Milon was killed in battle against the Saracens in Spain.

778. His eldest son, Roland, succeeded him in 778. That Roland whose praises have been sung by Ariosto—that famous Roland, who is reported, in one of his hand-to-hand encounters, to have cloven through man, saddle, and horse with one fell blow! But Anjou can hardly be said to have felt his governing hand, since he was killed at Roncevaux, in the very year of his accession.

778. The title and possessions then devolved upon his brother Thierry, who was destined, during a long reign, to bear the brunt of a cruel warfare, often simultaneously carried on by two fierce enemies, and to witness continual scenes of devastation and carnage over-spreading that fine portion of France entrusted to his charge.

The imperial power of Charlemagne was too mighty for the grasp of his son, and, under the mental and moral incapacity of his grandson, it dwindled and narrowly escaped extinction. Louis "le Débonnaire," the son and successor of Charlemagne, had not been four years upon the throne of France, ere the Bretons rose in open rebellion against him.

819. The King repaired to Angers, and, joined by his cousin Thierry and the Angevine nobility, marched into Brittany, and speedily reduced that refractory province.

824. Five years after, a second rising of the Bretons, under their Duke Nomenoé, is stated to have been suppressed by Louis with equal facility. But, as early as 836,

836. according to some chroniclers, a new enemy appeared upon the soil of France, in the persons of the famous brigand, Hasting, and the Danes, who overran and eventually colonised Normandy; and were, therefore,

often called Normans in those times. No one ever did so much injury to the Angevines as this lawless chief with his pirate hordes.

In 838, the Danes made a descent upon France by the Loire, under the conduct of Hasting. It was not, however, until after the commencement of the disastrous reign of Charles "le Chauve," son of Louis "le Débonnaire," that the Normans on the one hand, and the Bretons on the other, succeeded to any remarkable extent in ravaging Anjou, and dismembering France. In the earliest years of that reign the restless Bretons again took up arms against the new yoke, making their Duke Nomenoé, King of Brittany; and, mindful of the recent loyalty of their neighbours, invaded Anjou, ravaged the banks of the Loire, and destroyed the abbey of St. Florent. They even approached the city of Angers, but, on learning that Thierry was prepared to fight, they hastily withdrew into their own country.

It was about this time, 843—5, that the Danes found their way to Nantes; and, after making a great massacre of the people in one of its churches, established themselves temporarily on a neighbouring island of the Loire. Thence they continued to devastate the province of Brittany, for a length of time, conquering the Bretons in three consecutive battles, till Nomenoé, compelled to sue for peace, loaded them with presents, to induce them to quit his territory.

Thierry, meantime, weakened by his great age and the harass of frequent wars, ceased to be formidable to these enemies. The French king therefore resolved, for the better defence of the whole county of Anjou, to divide it for the present into two parts independent of each other.

He permitted Thierry to remain in possession of the city of Angers, and all the territory between the left



bank of the Loire and the Maine, and the right bank of the Layon, and called from that time "Deça-Maine." All the rest of the country, thenceforth named "Outre-Maine," he bestowed on a young captain, supposed of Saxon origin, named Rostulf or Robert, who was already distinguished for his bravery and military tactics. This chief with his companions in arms shortly arrived in Anjou, and established himself at Seronne on the Sarthe (now Châteauneuf), which he made the capital of his territory.

845-7. After making peace with Nomenoé, the Normans advanced up the Loire, entered the Maine, and attacked the city of Angers. Thierry sustained the first onset of Hasting, and even repulsed the enemy out of the city; but the Normans, after making a feint of retiring, returned in a few days and took the city by assault. They massacred nearly all the inhabitants, pillaged and set fire to the city, and finally burnt alive the unfortunate Count Thierry, a venerable old man of more than eighty years of age.

849. From this period the frontier provinces were for a long time continually the scene of devastation and carnage. The King of Brittany, Nomenoé, bent on conquest, a second time invaded Anjou, and gained the capital without striking a blow. He ravaged both Anjou and Maine for several years, until a violent malady ended his life.

851. His son Erispoé, who succeeded him, obtained a signal victory over the French king, Charles "le Chauve," who was obliged to confirm to him the possessions of Thierry, viz., Angers and Upper Anjou; that portion of Anjou became, in fact, at that period an integral part of the kingdom of Brittany. Indeed, such was the deplorable state of the country, that, in order to obtain peace King Charles conceded all that was required of him, sanctioning the marriage of his son Louis "le

Begue" with the daughter of Erispoé, and confirming the latter in the attributes of royalty. Erispoé, however, was slain in 857, upon the very altar in a sanctuary to which he had fled, by his cousin Salomon, who then declared himself King of Brittany in his stead. 857

Robert, meanwhile, whose strength and valour had won him the surname of "le Fort," was respected in his territory, and was able successfully to repulse both Bretons and Normans. He remained always faithful to his benefactor Charles, who in return, in 861 entrusted him with the title and authority of Count of Angers and Upper Anjou, to preserve during the minority of his son Louis, the heir naturally of Erispoé. But the French nobility, discontented with the unfortunate government of their monarch, viewed with a jealous eye the favour shown to Robert. They intrigued with Louis, King of Germany, to depose his brother Charles "le Chauve," and at length took up arms with him at their head, and made their rendezvous in Brittany. Upon this, Robert collected troops and took defensive measures against the approach of the rebels. Louis invaded Anjou with a large army in 862, and immediately encountered that of Robert, but the latter succeeded, with inferior numbers, in driving back the enemy into Brittany, killing more than 2,000 of them, and recovering the whole of the booty which they had plundered during the incursion. 862.

The fugitives rallied indeed, and afterwards re-entered Anjou, but when Robert marched promptly upon Louis and gave him battle a second time, the result was the complete victory of the Angevines, and total rout of the Breton and other forces. Finally, both Louis and Salomon, the Kings of Germany and Brittany, took the oath of fidelity to Charles "le Chauve."

In the same year Salomon enlisted on his side the formidable alliance of the Normans in Brittany; but



the prudence of Robert dictated to him to buy off the latter at the cost of 6,000 silver livres. Thus, at length, disembarassed of the pretensions of Salomon in Anjou, the French king confirmed the rank and government of Angers and Upper Anjou to Robert "le Fort" who, in 863, obtained another complete victory over the Normans, entrenched in islands on the Loire, in which he was severely wounded.

865. Robert attained the climax of his successes in 865, over the Normans, on their return from Poitiers to the Loire after pillaging that city. Taking them by surprise, he killed 500 of them, without losing a single man. In acknowledgment of this especial feat the king created him Marquis of Angers, and gave him the counties of Auxerre and Nivernois. In the following year he was further promoted to a dukedom of France, with charge of the whole country between the Loire and the Seine. He was not, however, successful against his old foes in this new scene of his operations. The Normans, ascending the Seine as far as Melun, there fell upon a force much superior to their own in strength and commanded by Robert himself, over which 866. they obtained a speedy and decisive victory. A year or two later Robert returned to Lower Anjou, again to do battle with those insatiable brigands. He encountered, near Châteauneuf, 400 Normans and Bretons, who had despoiled the city of Le Mans. They were led by Hasting himself, who, surprised at this point, retreated within the church of Brissarth with some loss. The church having been speedily fortified, and the night coming on, Robert deferred until the morrow the attack. But, in the night, he was obliged to repel a sally from the besieged, when he was, after prodigies of valour, cut down on the threshold of the church. 867. Ranulph, Duke of Aquitaine, his ally on that occasion, was at the same time mortally wounded by an arrow

from one of the church windows, and died three days after. Their united forces were put to flight, and the whole county fell defenceless under the yoke of the Norman adventurer.

Robert "le Fort," whose just and warlike career thus terminated in battle in defence of his country, was the first ancestor of a long line of French kings, since Hugh Capet, the head of the third dynasty, was his great-grandson, and the little town of Seronne or Châteauneuf was consequently the first possession of that distinguished race in France. The peasantry of the country still cherish his remembrance under the homely title of "General le Fort."

At the time when Hasting thus re-appeared upon the soil of Anjou, the people of its capital, who had been peaceably employed for several years in rebuilding their city, had at length learnt to banish all fear of the return of that ruthless scourge, who twenty years before had sacked and burnt it so unmercifully. When therefore they were apprized of the stratagem of Hasting, so fatal to the brave Robert and his ally, the consternation was general. The victor returned with his spoil to his vessels on the Loire. He occupied the banks of that river during five years, living on the pillage of the country.

It is certain that from 869 to 873 the Normans were in possession of Anjou, but about the year 871 their chief resolved to seize upon some important town and make it his abode.

871.

He gave the preference to Angers, and, quitting the Loire, approached that city. The two sons of Robert "le Fort," Eudes and Robert, were too young at his death to succeed to his rule. The title of Count of Tours and Angers was therefore bestowed on the abbot Hugues; but at his death, a few years after, the trust of the county was confided to Eudes, who was made

Count of Paris and Duke of France. It is, however, more than probable that neither Hugues nor Eudes possessed any but a titular authority over the province of Anjou during that anarchical period. At any rate, on the approach of Hasting, the inhabitants of Angers, despite the strength of their fortifications, fled in terror. The remembrance of his cruelties had so powerful an effect upon them, that neither assurances nor menaces on the part of the authorities could stay the affrighted citizens. They abandoned their city to the mercy of the Normans, who entering, with their leader, established themselves there with their families, and became its new inhabitants.

872-3. The French king, aroused into activity by the boldness of this enterprise, at length concerted measures, with the aid of Salomon, King of Brittany, to expel the brigand. In the following year Angers was successfully besieged by the French and Bretons in alliance. It was a protracted siege, and only terminated by means of a stratagem of Salomon.

His soldiers dug a wide and deep canal to draw off the waters of the Maine, and thus leave the ships of the Normans on dry ground. The Normans were powerless, or thought themselves so, without their vessels, and, though the canal was never finished, it is confidently asserted that the cause which made the besieged treat urgently for peace was this ingenious undertaking. Hasting found himself compelled to offer a large sum of money for permission to depart the city with his followers. He even promised to quit the French territory for ever, and so completely imposed on the credulity of Charles, that the King raised the siege, and suffered him to transport his vessels into the new bed of the Maine. Thence he reached the Loire once again, when, with a faithlessness natural to a foe of his stamp, he remained, and soon after recommenced

his former system of depredation along its banks with impunity.

The first person into whose hands the real government of Angers and Upper Anjou was confided, after the siege of Angers, was one of the foresters of Anjou, born in the territory of Rennes, in the Armorique, named Torquat. After Robert "le Fort" and the Norman anarchy, Torquat was the first governor of Angers, and was appointed in 873 simply as defender of the Angevine and Breton frontiers.

873.

He had a son of an aspiring mind, named Tertulle, who at first filled the office of ranger, but as that appointment was accompanied by no particular distinction, in order to advance his fortunes he entered the service of the King and distinguished himself in the army.

Tertulle became one of the Leudes, or faithful, of Charles, in the year 875, but at what date he succeeded his father as governor of Angers and Upper Anjou, and guardian of the frontiers on that side, is unknown; it is only certain that between them Torquat and Tertulle administered that part of the country from 873 to 892. In the year 875, when he had distinguished himself and became a Leude of Charles, Tertulle won the hand of Petronilla, daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, which King Charles bestowed on him, together with a benefice in the Castle of Laudon, and some lands in Gastinois. Tertulle became Seneschal of Gastinois. The offspring of his union with Petronilla was a son, born in 876, named Ingelger, who at an early age attained an historical reputation, and became the first hereditary sovereign in Anjou, as well as the founder of a long and powerful dynastic sway.

875.

876.

On the death of his father, Ingelger was only in his sixteenth year, too young to be invested with the

892.

important command which Tertulle had exercised, and yet full of promise of a brilliant career. He had been educated under the eye of his father; and endowed with natural genius, a noble physiognomy, and a handsome figure, he had already become remarkable for a skill in horsemanship and in the military exercises, which even compensated for the deficiency of physical strength that years alone could contribute.

It seemed as if already the French King Eudes designed for him the same appointment which his father had held, for though some years elapsed before Ingelger became Governor of Angers, yet history mentions no intermediate possessor of that title, and next after the vacancy created by the death of Tertulle records the name of Ingelger.

893 Meanwhile a romantic occurrence gave rise to his *début*, about a year after his father's death, and contributed in no small degree to his advancement, in that early age of chivalry.

Adèle, Countess of Gastinois, the godmother of Ingelger, had found her husband one morning, dead in his bed by her side. Though respected no less for her modesty than her beauty, the Countess was many years younger than the deceased, and that circumstance, coupled with a greedy ambition on the part of the Count's nearest relative, except herself, named Gontran, made her the subject of an unworthy suspicion. Gontran, in order that she might be disinherited and himself put in possession of the title and estates, published an accusation against her of homicide and adultery. The decision in this matter rested with the crown, but the trial upon which that decision depended was, in those days, one of courage and strength totally irrespective of justice. The French king accordingly came to Château Laudon on a day specified, with his princes and barons, to judge the

affair. The Countess was present in deep mourning. Gontran reminded them simply, that some years before, when the King had wished to marry the late Count, the Seneschal of his palace, to the Countess, she had long rejected the offer with *hauteur*, asserting that the Seneschal was born her vassal, and that she had only yielded on the reiterated instances of the King and of all his court; in short, that she had been inspired with sentiments of hatred and contempt only towards his second husband, and that those feelings had doubtless caused her to commit the double crime laid to her charge. To *prove* his assertions, he immediately cast his gage into the midst of the assembly! The Countess replied only by sobs and tears, for no one dared to take up the gage of combat, and in that age the innocence of the accused was decided by combat alone. At length she sank fainting on the ground, and seemed ready to expire. Unable any longer to endure the sight of the agony of one who had taken so much care of his infancy after he had lost his mother, and had subsequently inspired him with all the generous sentiments which form the hero, Ingelger threw himself at the feet of the King, and besought his permission to fight for the honour of his benefactress. Surprised, yet pleased, the King at length consented, though with regret. On the morrow the same assemblage re-appeared upon the field of battle; the Countess with her ladies was present in a carriage hung with mourning, and, from the raised corner of the sable drapery, her eyes met those of her champion as the signal was given and he loosed the rein to his horse.

The age, strength, and military reputation of his adversary were all superior. At the first shock the lance of Gontran pierced the buckler of the youth, but there rested entangled, and whilst he vainly endeavoured to

withdraw it, Ingelger passed his through the body of his opponent, and threw him from his horse; then alighting, he despatched him with his dagger. Amidst the acclamations which followed, his godmother, having alighted from her carriage and embraced Ingelger, petitioned the King to allow her to dispose of all her fortune to him to whom she owed her honour. The royal approval was given, and Ingelger rendered homage for all the lands which the Countess of Gastinois thus bestowed upon him. They were the town of Château Laudon and the Gastinois territory.

The King of France, an eye-witness of this brilliant commencement of his noble career, did not lose sight of Ingelger, and some years after gave him the temporary government of the town of Angers, and of that part of the county which has been called Upper Anjou. This, however, was but the first grade in the ladder of Ingelger's ambition. Before the ninth century, the military benefices granted by the King to his Leudes, or faithful, had been transferable; but during that epoch they existed for life, and before its close became hereditary. Thus, about this date, the French King, for the better defence of his territories against the Normans and others, divided them as heirlooms amongst his generals, with the titles of dukes and counts.

The feudal government, which has been aptly termed a system of organised anarchy, was then established in Anjou; and that province was elevated, in the person of Ingelger, apparently before the year 900, into one of those particular sovereignties which all depended on the principal monarchy, by virtue of faith and homage alone.

Ingelger was created hereditary Count of Anjou "Deça Maine," and as his zeal and talents displayed themselves, he soon after became Viscount of Orleans and Prefect of Tours. He then took the command

from Orleans to Andecavi, whilst the Counts of Brittany, Judicael and Alain, completed the chain of defence against the inveterate Normans by undertaking to protect the passage and mouth of the Loire through Brittany. Ingelger's repeated victories over these enemies acquired for him the reputation of one of the first generals of the age, while the wisdom and firmness he exhibited in his administration gained him general esteem. Thus he obtained the notice of two powerful prelates, the Bishops of Tours and Orleans, who gave him their niece, the beautiful Adèle or Aliude, the richest heiress in those countries, in marriage. The Count of Anjou became by this marriage one of the most wealthy and powerful of the nobles of France. The country of Gastinois had for its chief town Château Laudon, and its boundaries were the county of Sens, the territories of Melun and Etampes, the county of Orleans and the Nivernois, including in its compass Courtenai, St. Fargeau, Moret, Puiseaux, and Gien, as well as the territories where the towns of Fontainebleau, Nemours, and Montargis now stand. With all these possessions, Ingelger became the object of jealousy to most of the barons of Gastinois, who had beheld him from being an equal suddenly raised to be their sovereign. At first, indeed, they refused to recognise him; but, either through fear, or out of respect to the King's authority, they all, at length, rendered him their homage.

The last enterprise in the life of Ingelger forms an illustration, almost as happy as his first, of the energy and intrepidity, no less than the love of justice, inherent in his noble character.

It appears that fifteen or twenty years previously, the inhabitants of Tours, in expectation of an incursion of Hasting, removed the body of St. Martin, as their

most precious treasure, to Auxerre. The security of their province having been in the meantime established, the people of Tours now desired the restitution of the body of their saint; but all to no purpose. In vain they petitioned the King on the subject; he replied, that, so long as it remained in France, he cared not what town possessed it.

912. In this extremity they appealed to their Prefect, Ingelger. He collected six thousand Angevine horsemen, placed himself at their head, and marched straightway upon the town of Auxerre; which, no longer able to resist a demand supported in so substantial a manner, restored the venerable deposit without further parley. This incident is referred to the year 912, the same in which Rollo, having married Gisella, daughter of Charles "le Simple," and embraced Christianity, made peace at last between the Normans and French. 913. In the following year occurred the death of Ingelger, whose body was conveyed to Tours, followed by all the barons and nobles of Anjou, and buried according to his desire in the church of St. Martin.

With this commencement of the feudal system, the people of Anjou, who had hitherto always enjoyed certain rights from the time of the Romans, fell into total slavery, and were parcelled out with the lands on which they dwelt. In that state of political annihilation they remained, with little exception, until the thirteenth century.

Ingelger left one son, named Foulques, and surnamed "le Roux" from the colour of his hair. He succeeded his father in the counties of Anjou and Charolais. Foulques inherited almost all the good qualities of his father; but some historians assert that he tarnished their lustre by his dissolute manners. He was certainly brave and enterprising, and always

returned victorious from his wars with the Normans and Bretons. Foulques became the first hereditary Count of the entire territory of Anjou. In 914 Charles "le Simple" ceded to him Lower, or Outre-Maine Anjou, and from that time the two counties united continued under one head. Foulques "le Roux" married Roscilla, daughter of Garnier, Count of Tours, by whom he had three sons: the eldest Ingelger was killed in battle previous to the year 929, and the second, named Guy, surrendered himself as hostage to the Normans to obtain the liberty of Louis d'Outre-Mer, King of France.

On the death of Foulques "le Roux," his third son Foulques succeeded him, and the first reign in Anjou commenced in which the material prosperity of the Angevine people had obtained any consideration. 933.

This Count was entitled "le Bon," for the worthy actions of his public life. He was well educated for his time, cultivated music and the belles-lettres, and associated with learned men of all ranks, eager to profit by their talents. His kindness and condescension towards the poor never varied, and his administration was remarkable for mildness and justice. In short, he was a pattern of rulers in his era. He had, besides, the wisdom and good fortune to live on amicable terms with his neighbours. The age of Norman and Breton invasion of Anjou was past. Twenty years of profound peace intervened before the age of Angevine conquests in Brittany and the territory of the Count of Blois.

These twenty years constituted the happy reign of Foulques "the Good," a golden age for Anjou, a period when that province, already the most enlightened in France, attracted strangers from far and near to come and share the benefits of its learning and its prosperity. In that age of feudalism, how much of all this depended upon the individual character of the



Count who presided over the destinies of that portion of France. On his accession, that province presented the spectacle of towns and bourgs abandoned and in ruins, of fields left uncultivated, and of a people of wandering serfs without sustenance and without a home. Touched by so much misery, Foulques bestowed his earliest attention upon agriculture. He granted permission to the labourers to hew in his forests all the wood they required for rebuilding their houses and making their implements of husbandry, and then made them advances of money to procure cattle and seeds. In short, in the course of a few years, through the wisdom, goodness, and energy of their ruler, the inhabitants themselves, as well as their neighbours, were astonished to find the country abounding with flocks and herds, rich crops, orchards, and vines laden with fruit. Foulques "le Bon" married Gerberge, sister of Thibault I., Count of Blois, cementing by that union the peace and happiness of the two provinces, Anjou and Blois, during his time. Foulques II., who was, besides, extremely pious, was carried, according to his desire during his last illness, within the church of St. Martin at Tours, and actually died there, surrounded by the bishop and monks, A.D. 958. He left seven children by Gerberge, the eldest of whom, Geoffrey, succeeded him.

The character of Geoffrey was much contrasted with that of his pious, gentle, and humane father. Geoffrey was surnamed "Grise Gonelle," from commonly wearing a tunic of coarse grey stuff. He was warlike and enterprising. He rendered some signal services to Lothaire, King of France, against Otho II., Emperor of Germany, and assisted in the defeat of the Normans, Danes, and Saxons whom Otho had led upon Paris. The King of France, to testify his satisfaction, made him Grand Seneschal of France, which office he

958.

978.

created expressly for him and his descendants. The life of Geoffrey "Grise Gonelle" was spent mostly in the battle-field. He had incessant contests with William IV., Count of Poitiers; he fought David, Count of Le Mans, and, in compensation for his victory over him, received his estates; he triumphed over the Bretons who had come to pillage Anjou once more; and was besieging one of his vassals in the castle of Marson, near Saumur, when he died of a sudden attack in the year 987.

987.

Geoffrey "Grise Gonelle" had several children by his wife Adèle, of whom two alone survived him, and in turn succeeded to his title and possessions. Of the elder, Maurice, no trace has been left beyond the statement that he ruled one year only in Anjou.

The name of his brother, Foulques "Nerra," who then took the reins, is well known. His good government during a very long reign was of great importance to the province of Anjou, and much resembled that of Foulques "le Bon," despite its warlike character at an early period, and despite the stains with which tradition accuses his private life. But soon after its commencement he experienced a bitter and ambitious enemy in the person of Conan I., King of Brittany, who had married his sister. He had occasion to do battle in person more than once during the year 992 against his brother-in-law, who was as treacherous as Foulques was brave and honest. The last sanguinary battle in that year terminated in the death of Conan, together with a thousand of his Breton followers.

988.

992.

In 994, Foulques laid siege to Tours, then held by Eudes, Count of Blois, and his arms having been there also victorious, a peace of some years ensued, during which he was enabled to give his undivided attention to the administration of Anjou. In his desire to ameliorate the condition of his subjects, and to augment

994.

legitimately the population of the country, he not only built a great number of towns, castles, churches, and monasteries, but placed inhabitants in them, and sought to render them happy by every means in his power. In fact, as the terrible year 1000 passed harmlessly by (when it had been believed that the end of the world was approaching), a surprising change began to operate upon all classes, and in Anjou it especially manifested itself by an era of celebrated architecture, and Foulques became distinguished in history as the *edificateur*. But he was yet more worthy of public renown, for having constantly made concessions to his unhappy people.

1012. About 1012, he granted lands to the poorest amongst them, and established public markets for the sale of their produce, in order that they might maintain themselves. "Nerra" first brought largely into use the slate with which Anjou abounds. We find him again, 1016. however, in 1016 fighting against Eudes of Blois, and 1025. so late as the year 1025, he conquered and annexed the town of Saumur, which has been called the garden of Anjou. The limits of the province of Anjou were, indeed, considerably extended on each side under his rule, until it comprised about the same area as the department of Maine et Loire in the present day. In 1029. 1029, however, Foulques "Nerra" was unsuccessful in a contest against the Count of Maine and Alain III. of 1036. Brittany; and about the year 1036, his son Geoffrey rose in open rebellion against him. He defeated, imprisoned, and finally pardoned his son.

"Nerra" is reported to have burnt alive his first wife on a charge of adultery. It is stated that her shade appeared to him in after years, and that it was in remorse for this and other similar savage acts of his early martial career, that he made three separate pilgrimages for the Pope's benediction and to the Holy

Land. By his second wife, Hildegard, he had the son Geoffrey who succeeded him. During Foulques "Nerra's" time, Ethelred II. of England, and many banished Saxons, took up their abode in Normandy.

His son and successor, Geoffrey "Martel," became one of the greatest generals of his age, but inherited none of the qualities which had earned the public gratitude for his father. He was engaged in warfare nearly the whole of his life. After serving in several campaigns under Henry I. of France, Geoffrey "Martel" laid siege to Tours, which was then held by Thibault III., Count of Blois. Thibault, having refused to do homage to the King for his possessions, this monarch had confiscated them, and invested Geoffrey "Martel" with them. In this enterprise, which took place on the 21st of August, 1044, Geoffrey was completely successful, against very superior numbers. The Count of Blois was himself taken captive, and as many as 1800 prisoners, and a considerable booty fell into the hands of the besiegers. From his personal prowess in this victory the name of "Martel," or hammer, was given to him, in allusion to the fatal blows by which he prostrated his opponents. The French King, however, became the mediator for Thibault, who obtained his liberation by ceding as his ransom the towns and castles of Tours, Chinon, and Langeais. From that date, Touraine was dismembered from the counties of Blois and Chartres. Before he had attained his twenty-second year, Geoffrey "Martel" had twice conquered in battle William V., Duke of Aquitaine.

They contested La Saintonge; and, for four years, there was constant bloodshed between Saumur and Poitiers. On the occasion of his second defeat the Duke was made captive; and, after a confinement of three years, died in his prison. Geoffrey then married his widow, Agnes of Burgundy, who brought him, as

her dowry, the county of Poitou and many lesser fiefs. The valiant Geoffrey next attacked Normandy, but could make no permanent acquisition within the territory of William the Conqueror. Though always faithful to his sovereign, Henry I., his great ambition led him to invade frequently the states of his neighbours, and, in one important matter, he did not hesitate to employ fraud as well as force to gratify this culpable ambition. He took advantage of the infancy of Herbert II., Count of Maine, to procure his own nomination as administrator of that province during his minority, but never relinquished the sovereign authority over Maine during his life-time. He had, besides, been unscrupulous enough to seize by force from his nephew Foulques "l'Oison," the county of Vendôme, which he restored only on the King's intercession, after he had enjoyed its revenue for twenty years. He made great acquisitions to his dominions, but his subjects could have experienced little happiness under his restless rule. Although twice married, Geoffrey "Martel" had no children, either by Agnes or Grecia, to whom to bequeath his great possessions; and with him ended the first branch of the Second House of Anjou, as it is called, or of the direct line from Ingelger. This last of the Ingelgerian Counts in direct descent, resigned his states in the year 1060, in favour of his two nephews, Geoffrey "le Barba" and Foulques "Rechin," and entering the monastery of St. Nicholas, at Angers, died there on the following morning, in his fifty-fourth year.

Geoffrey and Foulques, the nephews and successors of Geoffrey "Martel," were sons of Alberic, of Gastinois, and a sister of Geoffrey "Martel." The former received from his uncle, Touraine and the town of Château Laudon, and the latter, Anjou and Saintonge. The inequality of this division was the cause of a bloody feud between

the two brothers during eight years, as well as of the most unnatural cruelty protracted over a period of thirty years more by the one brother upon the other.

The surname of "Rechin," or quarrelsome, given to Foulques IV. has, by some, been understood as referring the whole culpability of these disasters to him principally, if not solely. It appears certain, however, that Geoffrey "le Barba" began the feud by claiming a right over his brother's inheritance of Anjou. He was actually master of the whole county of Anjou in 1066. Foulques "Rechin" succeeded in making him his prisoner in the same year, but released him on the command of Pope Alexander II. In the following year, however, Geoffrey "le Barba" renewed the war by besieging the fortress of Brissac. Foulques "Rechin" advanced against him, and took him prisoner for the second time, together with a thousand of his partizans, and confined him in the Castle of Chinon. This incarceration was continued for thirty years, and so terrible was its results, that the unhappy Geoffrey "le Barba" lost his reason. Meanwhile, the whole Angevine nobility had been divided into two hostile camps; and very many had fallen in the civil war. The recent acquisition of Saintonge was, besides, lost to Anjou during these troubles; and to appease Philip I. of France, Foulques "Rechin" was compelled to surrender Château Laudon to the crown.

In 1073, Pope Gregory VII. excommunicated Foulques "Rechin" for having married Ermengarde of Bourbon within the prohibited degrees. But although proved to have been a zealous Roman Catholic by his defence of the faith against heretics, and by his gifts to the Church, Foulques "Rechin" seems generally, throughout his life, to have made very light of papal anathemas. He was a second time excommunicated by the same pontiff in 1086, for his lengthy and cruel detention of his brother in prison. But in proof of the

1066.

1067.

1073.

1086.



utter futility of these anathemas, Pope Urban II., ten years after, favoured Angers, amongst many other French cities, with a visit, to preach a crusade to the Holy Land; and having been magnificently received there by this same Foulques "Rechin," presented him with a golden rose, which had received his blessing.

Geoffrey "le Barba" was as close a prisoner as ever at that very date, though it is true that he was released shortly after, by command of this same Pope Urban II.

Foulques "Rechin" was a very abandoned character in private life. He married three wives, and repudiated them all; but the fourth repudiated him. This last, named Bertrade, was the sister of Amaury of Montfort, and was reputed the most handsome woman in the kingdom; but, such was her frailty, that after living with Foulques "Rechin" four years, she deserted him, and fled to Philip I., King of France.

By his second wife, Ermengarde, Foulques had a son named Geoffrey "Martel," who would have succeeded him in Anjou, but Bertrade was jealous of the interest of her son by "Rechin," named Foulques; and in 1106, Geoffrey "Martel" was found murdered. It would hardly be expected that Foulques "Rechin" was learned for his time, but so he is reputed. He wrote in Latin a history of the Counts of Anjou, in which, after briefly speaking of his ancestors, he informs us, that the twenty-seventh year of his reign was marked by a great prodigy. He affirms that the stars then fell like hail upon the earth, causing a great panic and mortality in France, 100 persons of rank, and 2,000 of the people having died at Angers alone. Foulques "Rechin" died in 1109, at the age of sixty-six.

His son by Bertrade, Foulques V., succeeded him. He had been invested with the county of Anjou, by Phillip I. during the lifetime of his father in 1106, after

the assassination of Geoffrey "Martel." This Count was destined, in a much shorter reign than that of his father, to attain higher alliances, and to secure wider possessions for his descendants. It was during his reign, that Anjou first became connected with the reigning family of England.

He began by annexing the county of Maine to that of Anjou, by his marriage with Eremburga, daughter of Helie, Count of Maine, who, at his death in 1110, made him his heir. Soon after, the King of France needed his assistance against the English: Foulques V. had maintained that the rank and title of Grand Seneschal of France, borne by Geoffrey "Grise Gonelle," was a family inheritance in the house of Anjou, and taking advantage of the King's present necessity to plead for a confirmation of that title to him, he gained his object. He next distinguished himself by several victories over Henry I. of England when that king invaded Normandy. His humanity to the prisoners in his triumphs quite won the heart of the English monarch, who finally sought his alliance, and a marriage was celebrated between his son William, and Matilda, the daughter of Foulques. The bridegroom at these nuptials was fourteen and the bride eleven years of age. After William's shipwreck on his return to England, Matilda retired to the abbey of Fontevrault, in Anjou, of which thirty years after she became the Abbess, and died there in 1155.

In 1120, leaving his wife Eremburga with his young children, Geoffrey and Helie, in charge of the county, Foulques made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and on his return, as Grand Seneschal, he bore the banner of France, and commanded the *avant garde* of the army of Louis "le Gros." Eremburga was an amiable and high-minded lady. She bore him two sons and two daughters, who were all married to the sons and

1125. daughters of kings. She died in 1125. In the same year Foulques re-visited the East; and four years after  
 1129. finally returned and settled there, as heir to Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, having accepted the proffered hand of his daughter Melisende.

1131. In 1131 Foulques succeeded that prince on his throne. He died a violent death in 1144, and was buried at Jerusalem, while his son, Baldwin, by his second marriage, then mounted the throne. Foulques V., who was of a noble and enterprising spirit, was very remarkable for his bad memory; he was known to pass by without recognition persons to whom he had shortly before testified the most sincere marks of his friendship.

When Foulques departed finally for the East, he resigned his rights over Anjou, Maine, and Tourraine to his son Geoffrey "Plantagenet." This name, which served to distinguish a long line of his descendants, was derived from the badge assumed by Foulques, his father, on his way to the Holy Land. The *plantagenista*, or broom pod, when in season, was used to strew the chamber floors, and thence became an emblem of humility, and as such was borne by Foulques in his pilgrimage. Henry II., King of England, afterwards used this badge to show his descent from the House of Anjou, and it was engraved upon his robe in his monumental effigy.

In the same year that Geoffrey acceded, he espoused Matilda, daughter of Henry I. of England, and widow of Henry V., Emperor of Germany. Thus he found himself on the death of Henry I. heir to the crown of England, but not only was that throne usurped by Stephen, in 1135, but the Normans also preferred  
 1135. Stephen, who was therefore, in 1137, installed in that  
 1137. fiefdom by Louis "le Gros."

For four consecutive years Geoffrey made unsuccess-

ful campaigns into Normandy. Stephen died in 1141, but the Normans did not generally succumb to Geoffrey until the year 1144. Meantime some of his barons of Anjou had revolted against him, and even withstood his authority until 1147. In punishing one of them he sustained the first attacks of the French King Louis VII., in open war, and braved the thunders of Pope Eugene III. to the last. He died in 1151, at the early age of thirty-eight. He was learned; and beloved by the people at large, and bore altogether a good character. But twenty years of feudal warfare ruined and depopulated his three counties of Anjou, Maine, and Normandy, and the repeated neglect of a due cultivation of the soil brought on a terrible famine in 1146.

Geoffrey rebuilt the Castle of Serronne, which, as well as the town, was from that time named Châteauneuf. His wife Matilda, lived till 1167, and his son Henry, eventually became King of England in right of his mother. Normandy was ceded to him during the life of his father, at whose death, he likewise took possession of Anjou, and his other territories in France.

Anjou, thus united to the crown of England, was so held for upwards of half-a-century. Henry II. was born at Le Mans, in 1133, and was only eighteen when he succeeded his father in Anjou. Geoffrey had never intended to unite the possessions of Anjou, Maine, and Tourraine under the same rule as the kingdom of England. On the contrary, he had by his will left those counties temporarily to Henry, upon his oath that, from the time when he acceded to the English throne, he should surrender them to his third son, Geoffrey. An attempt however was made by Geoffrey to possess himself of them immediately after his father's death, but having been worsted in battle by Henry, in 1152, was forced to succumb to him.

1154. At length, when Henry ascended the throne of England, in 1154, Geoffrey was a captive in the hands of the Count of Blois, Henry's ally, and instead of endeavouring to effect his liberty, and restore to him his rightful inheritance, Henry II. listened only to the dictates of his grasping ambition, and retained possession of the whole of his ill-gotten power.

1156. In 1156, Geoffrey having paid his ransom established himself in Touraine, but his unnatural brother besieged and speedily vanquished him, and the unfortunate young Count died not long after at the early age of twenty-four.

1176. Henry II. bears a good character in Anjou. It is stated that in 1176, during a long drought, he had transported from England nourishment for 10,000 men daily for some months; and a clause in his will provided a hundred silver marks for the marriage of the Angevine young ladies. He favoured the works of the Levée, to enclose the Loire within bounds, and they made great progress in his reign. He founded the hospital called "Hôtel Dieu," at Angers, besides other worthy establishments. Henry's administrative talents are recognised in a hundred ways by the people of Angers and Saumur; the communes and other first germs of the liberty of the *bourgeois*, date from him. He had also a great taste for learning, his court was the asylum of the learned men of Europe. In the necrology of Fontevrault, he is called the Solomon of his age. He was eloquent, loved poetry, and wrote verses himself in the Provençal tongue. Above all, having shown himself the substantial friend of the people, he was very popular. His consort, the beautiful Eleanor, the divorced of Louis VII. of France, and daughter of William X. Count of Poitiers, brought him at her marriage in 1152, the extensive and important province of Aqu-

taine; she died at Fontevrault in 1204. Henry II. died at Chinon, in July 1189, aged fifty-six.

1189.

Henry II. had four sons, named Henry, Richard, Geoffrey, and John. Henry and Geoffrey died in the life-time of their father, and Geoffrey left a son named Arthur.

Richard next inherited the county of Anjou, together with the other French possessions appertaining to the English monarchy. The short reign of Richard "Cœur de Lion" was entirely occupied in his combats with Saladin in the East, and with Philip Augustus in Normandy. Anjou had little enough of association with its Count during the ten years, 1189—99. Richard married in 1191, Berengaria, daughter of Sancho VI. King of Navarre; but left no children. He had designed in 1190, as his heir, Arthur, the son of his brother Geoffrey, and grandson of Henry II.; but finally bequeathed his territories to his brother John. He left, by his will, his body to Fontevrault, his heart to Rouen, and his entrails, in token of his contempt of that people, to the Poitevins.

1199.

On the death of Richard "Cœur de Lion," the inhabitants of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, declared in favour of Arthur, whilst England and Normandy seconded the claims of John, as successor. John, thereupon, accompanied by his mother Eleanor, led an English army to the disputed territory, and laid siege to Angers. Prince Arthur was at this time no more than twelve years old. Philip Augustus, who aspired to concentrate in his own person an absolute authority over the whole kingdom of France, at the same time decided on supporting the cause of Arthur against John, by the arms of France. But a matrimonial expedient saved much bloodshed at that time, although it was fatal to the just cause of the young Arthur.

1199.

It suited the policy of Philip Augustus to establish peace between himself and John, by effecting a marriage between his son Louis and Blanche of Castille, the niece of John.

1202. In 1202 Philip further developed beyond a doubt his ambitious projects, by marrying his daughter Mary to Prince Arthur; but in the same year Arthur was taken prisoner by John, and after a detention of nine months was strangled by his unnatural uncle, at Rouen.
1203. After Arthur's assassination, John was cited before the peers of France, to answer for that crime, and failing to appear, his provinces in France were confiscated.
1205. With his crime the fiefs of Anjou and Maine were severed from the English crown, and reverted as by right to that of France. It is true John did not voluntarily submit to the sentence, since he invaded and had possession of Angers again in 1206, when Goth-like, he demolished its ancient walls.
1206. He lost it in the following year, and seemingly brooding over his retributory misfortunes, made no further attempt upon it until 1213. In that year, having collected a powerful army, he landed at Rochelle, and actually occupied Angers, without striking a blow. But he never really recovered the provinces forfeited by his crimes, for the year 1214 beheld him once more in retreat from Anjou, never to re-appear there, since he died on the 19th of October, 1216. In the person of King John ended what is called the "Second House of Anjou."

In 1204, after the confiscations of John's French possessions, Philip Augustus established hereditary seneschals in that part of France, the first of whom was the tutor of the unfortunate young Arthur, named William des Roches, who was in fact Count in all except the name, over Anjou, Maine, and Tourraine, owing allegiance only to the crown of

France. The Seneschal, William des Roches, died in 1222. His son-in-law, Amaury de Craon, succeeded him. Philip Augustus, whose ambitious mind, aided by fortunate circumstances, had effected such great changes, died the year after. Meantime, Henry III. of England continued to wear the titles of the French possessions of his ancestors, amongst them that of Count of Anjou, but made no attempt for the present to regain them. 1222.

Pierre Mauclerc, Duke of Brittany, however, aspired to regal power, and the Seneschal Amaury having marched a large force into Brittany was, after some successes, taken prisoner by Mauclerc, on the 3rd of March, 1223, and incarcerated at Touffeuau, near Nantes. But afterwards, unequal single handed to the task of combating the French Regency of Blanche of Castile, during the minority of Louis IX., Mauclerc did homage to Henry III. of England. 1223.

On the 3rd of May, 1230, Henry disembarked a considerable army at St. Malo, in the view of re-conquering Anjou, and the other forfeited possessions of his crown. 1230.

Louis IX., then only fifteen years old, consequently came to Anjou, and having fortified its chief places, advanced to the attack of the allies; but in the following year a peace was concluded, the province of Guienne having been ceded to the English crown. In 1241, Louis gave the counties of Poitou and Auvergne to his brother Alphonso; and in the year 1246, he invested his brother Charles, Count of Provence, with the counties of Anjou and Maine, thereby annulling the rank and title of Seneschal, and instituting the 1241.  
1246.

### THIRD HOUSE OF ANJOU.

Charles I., the founder of the proud fortunes of this Third House, was ambitious in character, and events

long favoured his ambition. Count of Provence, through the inheritance of his consort, he had not long been invested with Anjou and Maine, ere he was invited to the conquest of Sicily. The monarchy of Sicily then comprised the same territory as the kingdom of Naples in the present day; but Palermo was its metropolis. In 1251, Pope Innocent IV. declared a crusade against Mainfroy, the natural son of Frederick II. Emperor of Germany, to whom the kingdom of Sicily then belonged, and attempted in vain to annex the Sicilian dominion to the Papal throne. Having taken a survey, therefore, of the ambitious heads of his time, he first invited England to its conquest; but failing in that quarter, he next fixed on Charles of Anjou as his fitting instrument, and offered to him the crown of Sicily. So tempting a proposition made a powerful impression upon the mind of Charles, and is said to have operated still more remarkably upon that of his wife, who longed to be a queen; but it was not at that time responded to. It was not until the reign of that Pope's successor, Urban IV., that Charles accepted the offer, and undertook the conquest. In 1264, he concluded a treaty with that pontiff, by virtue of which, amongst other engagements, it was provided, that the kingdom of Sicily should be hereditary in the family of Charles, that it should be held, however, in liege homage to the Papal throne, that an annual tribute should be paid to the Pope, by the Angevine prince, and that during a minority, the Pope should exercise the administration of the kingdom. A crusade was then preached; Charles was crowned in Rome, with his Countess, on the 6th of January, 1266. He then encountered Mainfroy, and in one great battle, that of Benevento, gained a complete victory, and Mainfroy was slain. Naples surrendered to the victor, who speedily obtained

possession of La Pouille, Calabria, Terre de Labour, and the greater part of Sicily.

Charles handsomely recompensed those who had served him, knighting some, and giving lands to others. It was also on this occasion that he instituted the order of knighthood called the Spur. The fame of the great successes of Charles of Anjou, now caused his alliance to be esteemed a desideratum amongst the highest European princes. His eldest son Charles married Mary, the only daughter of Stephen, King of Hungary. His daughter Blanche was united to the Count of Flanders, and his daughter Beatrix espoused Philip, King of Thessaly, the son of Baldwin II., Emperor of Constantinople. By this marriage contract it was provided, that the Empire of the East should devolve on the posterity of the Count of Anjou.

The despotic character of Charles, however, was ill adapted to govern the aspirations after constitutional freedom in which the warm-hearted Italians have indulged in all ages. The Gibelins fomented a rising against him, and induced Conradin, the son of the Emperor Frederic II., and last male heir of that house, to take the lead of the insurgents.

Conradin, a youth of only sixteen, was defeated by Charles, and lost his life on the scaffold at Naples, in 1269. To the last, Conradin evinced a high spirit; his conduct on the scaffold formed an important link in the chain of events. Before his death he addressed the people, saying, "I make Peter, King of Arragon, heir of all my rights," and having thrown down his glove in token of the investiture, the pledge was scrupulously conveyed to him for whom it was intended.

Beatrix of Savoy, the first wife of Charles of Anjou, died at Nocera, in the Terre de Labour. As heiress of Raimond Beranger, Count of Provence, her husband had assumed that title in her right, and at her death



she left the counties of Provence and Foucalquier to the House of Anjou.

Charles married secondly, with great pomp at Naples, Margaret of Burgundy. He built the Château-Neuf at Naples, some churches, and other beautiful edifices. He also favoured the university of Naples, and did not meanwhile neglect that of Angers. He made a principality of the county of Salerno, and bestowed it upon his son Charles; the eldest son of the king of Naples has from that time always borne the title of Prince of Salerno. The great influence of Charles of Anjou obtained for him the cession of the rights of Mary of Antioch to the kingdom of Jerusalem, that lady receiving in exchange from the county of Anjou a pension of 4,000 livres.

The treaty was ratified at Rome with the Pope's consent, and the coronation of Charles as King of Jerusalem was there celebrated. In virtue of that cession the kings of Sicily of both houses of Anjou, and some of the French kings as heirs of their rights, have taken the title and arms of king of Jerusalem, and the House of Lorraine assumes them even at the present day. But at the time of Charles, the kingdom of Jerusalem consisted only of the town of Acre and some other petty places, and not long after it became purely titular.

At last we arrive at the reverse of this picture; the fortunes of Charles had passed their zenith and were in the decline. The immediate cause of his fall can only be ascribed to his inordinate thirst after personal aggrandizement, though his tyranny over his subjects, and his cruelty towards his vanquished enemies, contributed their full share to his ruin. He prepared at once for a double enterprise, to restore Baldwin to the throne of Constantinople, which had been usurped by Michael Paleologus, and to reconquer a part of the

Holy Land. The designs of Charles were, however, frustrated by the stratagems of John of Procida.

The massacre of the Sicilian Vespers succeeded, in 1282, in which the flower of the soldiery of Anjou, Maine, and Provence fell victims to the vengeance of the oppressed. On receiving this intelligence Charles of Anjou formed a resolution to exterminate the islanders, and commanded the siege of Messina. It was at this critical juncture, after a lapse of fourteen years, that Peter, King of Arragon, who had accepted his gage from the scaffold, appeared, to avenge the death of the brave and youthful Conradin. Peter came to the relief of Messina, and turned the fortunes of the contest against the besiegers. As the climax of retribution, Charles beheld his son, the Prince of Salerno, taken prisoner on the seas by Roger Loria. Thus, in the midst of his fast declining fortunes, deprived of his natural successor, the bitterness of his last days may be better imagined than described. He died at Foggia, on the 7th of January, 1285, aged fifty-eight. 1282.

From the date of this conquest by Peter of Arragon there have been two kingdoms of Sicily so called, viz., on this side, and on that side, of the Faro of Messina. 1285.

It has been stated that Charles II., Count of Anjou, called "the Lame," was in prison when his father died. He remained so for three years. In the interval, Robert of Artois took the reins of government, and the war continued between the Houses of Anjou and Arragon. For the purpose of making a diversion in favour of the former, the Popes Martin IV. and his successor Honorius IV. offered the crown of Arragon to Charles, Count of Valois, grandson of St. Louis. Charles of Anjou obtained his freedom in 1288, but it was conditionally; that Sicily should belong to his adversary, and that he should prevail on the Count of Valois within three years to renounce his claim to the 1288.

1289. crown of Arragon. To these conditions, however, the Pope Nicholas IV. refused his assent, and not only released him from his oath, but crowned him King of the Two Sicilies on the 29th of May, 1289. The King of Arragon then carried the war into Calabria, and after some advantages and some reverses, concluded a truce for two years. During that period Ladislaus IV., King of Hungary, died without issue, leaving that kingdom to his sister Mary, the wife of Charles of Anjou. But Charles II. presented it to his son, Charles "Martel," who was accordingly crowned King of Hungary on the 8th of September, 1290. This branch of the family of Anjou gave three kings and one queen to Hungary. Louis, the third of these kings, was also King of Poland, and had three daughters, with whom the race became extinct.

The oath taken by Charles of Anjou on his release from prison still remained valid in the eyes of some diplomatists, notwithstanding the authority of the Pope. In order, therefore, to terminate the discord which prevailed, a council was held, and a treaty signed at Montpellier, in 1290. It was thereat decided, that Sicily should be restored to Charles of Anjou, despite his oath, and that Charles of Valois should renounce his claim to Arragon, receiving in consideration thereof the hand of Margaret, the eldest daughter of Charles "le Boiteux," whose dower was to consist of the counties of Anjou and Maine.

1290. This treaty was only executed in part; for the King of Arragon and his successors constantly refused to surrender Sicily. The marriage, however, of Charles of Anjou's daughter, Margaret, with the Count of Valois was duly celebrated on the 16th of August, 1290; and thus the county of Anjou passed away from the first family of Anjou-Sicily, in which it had remained forty-four years, and entered into that of Valois. It is

not our province to follow the fortunes of Charles II. of Anjou from the date of his cession of that province.

His immediate government of Anjou was chiefly remarkable for a bitter and implacable persecution in 1289 of the Hebrew race, which was, indeed, at that time expelled from the whole of France. His death did not occur until many years after, in 1309, at Casanova, near Naples. He was as celebrated for his large progeny as his sire had been for his ambition. He had by his wife, Mary of Hungary, ten sons and five daughters, eleven of whom, as having become distinguished, it will be as well to enumerate here.

CHARLES "MARTEL," King of Hungary.

ROBERT, King of Naples.

PHILIP, Prince of Tarentum, and titular Emperor of Constantinople.

TRISTAN, Prince of Salerno.

JOHN,

LOUIS,

} both Dukes of Duras.

MARGARET, wife of Charles of Valois, Count of Anjou.

BLANCHE, wife of James II., King of Arragon.

ELEANORA, wife of Frederick, King of Sicily.

MARY, wife of Sancho, King of Majorca.

BEATRIX, wife of Azzon VIII., Marquis of Este and Ferrara.

As most of these children of Charles II. became heads of families, thence arose the double titles for the sake of distinction of Anjou-Sicily, Anjou-Hungary, Anjou-Poland, Anjou-Tarentum, Anjou-Imperial, Anjou-Duras, &c. And yet, a hundred years later, there remained not a single prince of the blood of Charles II. of Anjou.

In the year 1290, Charles of Valois became by his marriage Count of Anjou, as Charles III. He was the younger son of Philip "le Hardi," and was remarkable for his skill and bravery in all the great events of his time. The war having been renewed between France and England, on occasion of Edward I. refusing to do homage to Philip for Guienne, Charles of Anjou was

successful in his engagements both with the English and the Flemish. Thus his brother, Philip "le Bel," in order to recompense his bravery, and at the same time to replace one of the twelve ancient counties or duchies, of which the neighbouring kings had obtained possession, elevated Anjou, in 1297, into a peerage county. Two years later, Charles of Anjou again commanded the forces of France against those of England and Flanders, with so complete a success, that the Count of Flanders was obliged to surrender at discretion; and the King of France detained him as his prisoner, and took possession of Flanders. The King of England thereupon abandoned the side of the Flemish, and having been re-established in Guienne, peace was restored. The Count of Anjou assisted at the coronation of Pope Clement V. at Lyons, in 1305. That pontiff was the first to choose Avignon as his abode. Louis X., son of Philip "le Bel," on ascending the throne of France, in 1314, complained to Enguerraud de Marigny, the treasurer of the kingdom, of the disordered state of the finances. Doubtless these disorders were attributable to the repeated wars of Philip's reign, in which Charles III. of Anjou had taken a principal part. The treasurer boldly ascribed the circumstance to Charles of Anjou, a great imprudence against a man of such princely power. Charles retorted by accusing Marigny of peculation, and succeeded in his design of crushing him; and Enguerraud was accordingly hanged at Montfaucon, in 1315, to the subsequent remorse and lasting disgrace of this Count of Anjou. In 1317 Charles bestowed the county of Maine on his son Philip. This separation of the rule of the two counties, which had been so long historically connected, lasted very few years.

Charles III. died at Nogent-le-Roi on the 16th of

November, 1325, and at his death the administration of Anjou also passed into the hands of his son Philip. 1325.

Charles IV. of France, surnamed "le Bel," leaving no direct heir at his death, Edward III. of England disputed the succession with Philip of Anjou and Valois. The former, as nephew of Charles IV., urged the right of his mother, Isabella, and in that way he was one degree nearer than his rival; but Philip's claim being from the male line was preferred. In the year 1328, therefore, Philip of Valois, Count of Anjou, ascended the throne of France as Philip VI., and re-united Anjou to the French crown. 1328.

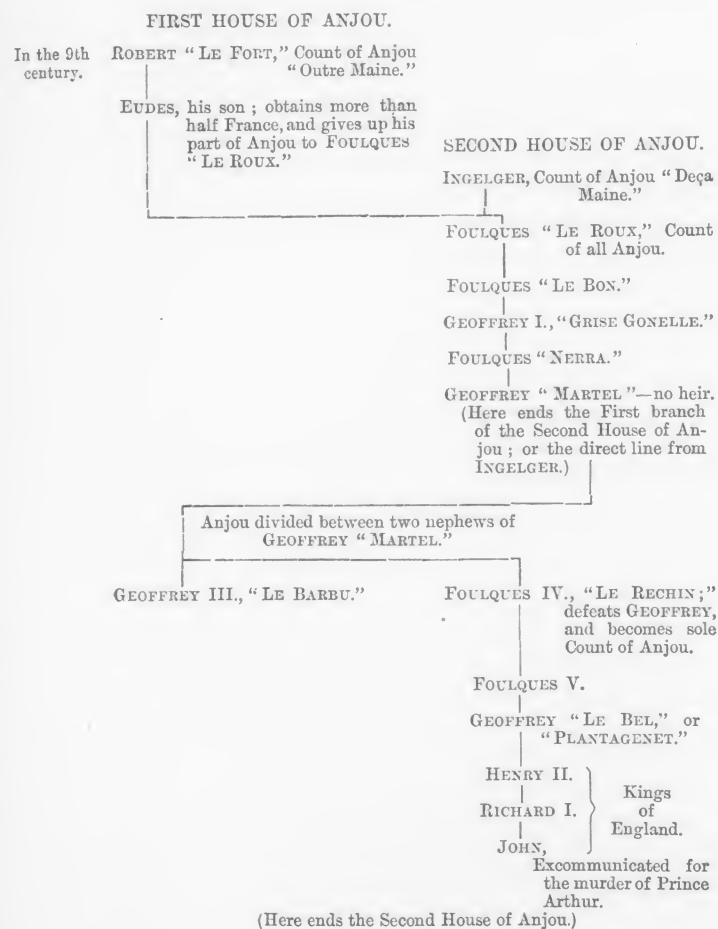
Subsequently, in 1332, Philip invested his son John with the territories of Anjou and Maine. They so remained until the accession of John to the throne of France, in 1350, as John II. "the Good," when they were once again united with the sovereign rule in his person. In the meanwhile, the battle of Cressy had intervened in 1346, and a period of humility and misfortune had set in for France, in which, however, Anjou did not play a very prominent part. John gave Anjou and Maine to his second son, Louis I., in 1356, the very year in which he was himself taken prisoner by the English, in their renowned victory at Poitiers. Finally, Charles, the eldest son of John, afterwards Charles V. of France, as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom during the captivity of John, erected Anjou into a peerage duchy, in 1360, in the person of his brother, Louis I., who then became first Duke of Anjou. 1356. 1360.

With this detail the reader has now been transported over a period of almost six centuries, to the epoch of the accession of the paternal grandfather of King René.\*

\* Bodin; Godard Faultrier; Chalon's France; Hallam's Middle Ages; Carte; Mezerai; Froissart.



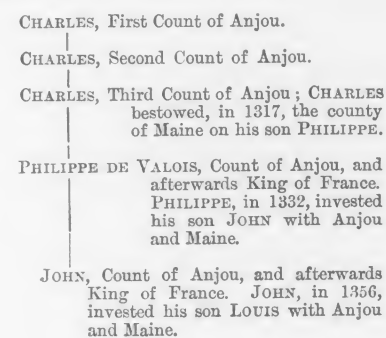
## GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSES OF ANJOU.



After the excommunication of King John, Philippe Auguste, King of France, regained possession of Anjou and Maine.

These counties were governed by a Seneschal, until the time of Louis IX., or St. Louis, who invested his brother Charles with them, in 1290.

## THIRD HOUSE OF ANJOU; OR FIRST HOUSE (OR LINE OF ROBERT "LE FORT") RESTORED, CALLED "VALOIS."



## INTRODUCTORY HISTORY.

### PART II.

#### THE ANGEVINE HISTORY—*continued.*

The Ancestors of King René.—John, King of France.—Louis, First Duke of Anjou.—Louis II.—Louis III.

THE history of the "Dark Ages," necessarily written with many imperfections, is generally read with still less of that earnest attention which the other chapters of history command. There exists a tendency to depreciate the value of its records, because some of them have been always enveloped in doubt and mystery. Can the public rest satisfied that there has been no stone left unturned, even at the present hour, in the course of the Herculean task of the historian, which might admit of a little more of the light of truth? If so, should we not rather trust to the moderate compass and concentrated efforts of the biographer's labours to disinter those facts from their silent tomb of ages? Is there not enough also of interest and importance in the times which gave birth to and cradled the first living germs of our present proud liberties to invite to further research? In a word, is there not in the dawn of civilization a strong enough motive to enchain us to its study?

As in the darkest hour which immediately precedes the natural morn, the mind's prospect alone serves to cheer and enliven the thickness of that gloom, so to us, who have learnt the certain result, should appear the

profound intellectual darkness preceding, and introducing, literature and civil and religious liberty.

Regarding only the stormy turbulence of those times, or the cruelties exercised by individuals, they might be pronounced "barbarous;" but, let it also be remembered, that from that period is traced the origin of all our noblest institutions, and of that total change which was effected in the manners and customs, politics and religion of England.

In this country, the seeds of dissent had already, before the establishment of the Lancastrian dynasty, paved the way for the great Reformation; but, while the preaching of Wycliffe and others had awakened inquiry, and agitated men's minds, it had also led to cruel persecutions; for the day had not yet arrived when Protestantism could prevail to the displacing of the forms of antecedent centuries. The clergy had obtained, through their great wealth, considerable influence in temporal, as well as in ecclesiastical affairs. Bigotry and superstition had not yet yielded to intellectual light, and they often gave rise to tumult and confusion, which, while they were increased by the ignorance of the lower classes, were augmented still more by the violent and unrestrained passions of the aristocracy.

Thus was it in matters appertaining to the church, in the period immediately preceding the civil contests of the Houses of York and Lancaster; that oasis in which all principles were temporarily absorbed by personal animosity, but, out of which happily arose a new order of things ecclesiastical for succeeding generations.

In politics, the same steady progress is observable; the Parliament, introduced by Henry III., was under the Lancastrians constituted upon a broad basis of liberality for that age; municipal rights were receiving

safe development, and daily the middle class was gaining wealth and strength. But here, again, all was interrupted and impeded by the civil war, only to take deeper root at its close, assisted by the surprising influence of the printing-press.

In France, during the same period, though no Reformation was at work in religion, we find at first, the political sway of the people grown strong enough, in the large towns, to curb the arbitrary tendencies of the monarch and nobles. But notwithstanding the incessant warfare with England, which lasted nearly the whole of the fifteenth century, the French kings were enabled, by favouring circumstances, to destroy the rights of their subjects, and to establish the foundation of that despotic system under which the nation has ever since suffered. Striking indeed is the contrast between the two countries at this epoch; civilization was fast gathering strength, and liberty was entrenching itself within impervious barriers in England; tyranny was levelling popular rights under Charles V., hiring the first regular standing army under Charles VII., and perfecting the scheme of its personal ambition under the crafty guidance of Louis XI., in France. These sovereigns have been called wise and great; but upon them, as the founders of such disastrous institutions, and not upon the pretended mercurial character of the French people, are strictly chargeable the fruitless revolutions of our own times.

Yet there were certain analogies between England and France in that period, closely connected as they had been by family ties, intermixed as they were by the rivalry of their arms. Their blended histories, in that era peculiarly distinguished by its chivalric institutions, present a series of extraordinary events, and introduce us to a perfect constellation of heroic characters, which appear equally to emerge from the

lowest as from the highest grades of society. Perhaps the most important analogy, because under the different circumstances of the two nations, the same result ensued, and the same unerring precept was inculcated in the science of administration, consisted in the disastrous minorities of Charles VI. in France, and of Henry VI. in England. Those regencies were productive of the greatest evils to their respective countries, and how truly does the chronicler exclaim,

*"Væ genti cujus Rex est puer!"*

*"Woe to that nation whose king is a child!"*\*

And how entirely beyond the poor limits of human foresight are the most approved of monarchical institutions, when civil war is the infallible inheritance of that people whose king may happen to be a child!

Charles V. had beheld the French provinces wrested from the English, and peace restored to the most rebellious portions of the monarchy.

He died respected for the greatness and the unity which his wisdom had created out of the ruins of Cressy and Poitiers. His son, Charles VI., was a minor at the date of his accession.

Civil war and foreign war burst forth, and with equal ruthlessness laid waste his miserable country. The famous battle of Agincourt supervenes, and the epoch of England's greatest continental conquest was precisely that of the minority of Charles VI. of France. But, flushed with the glory of his victories, with the gratified ambition of his aggrandizement, the English king, Henry V., regardless of the lesson of state concealed under the misfortunes of his prostrated enemy, bequeathed all his greatness to the puny grasp of just such a minor!

The tide rolls back from that hour as inexorably to

\* Baker's Chron.

the absorption of England's foreign possessions, and the abasement of all her boasted strength, unity, and grandeur. The personal fate of Henry VI. comes to be even more despised than that of the "King of Bourges" himself, in the petty conflicts of a miserable civil war. That England did not then succumb under as desperate a thralldom as held France for succeeding centuries, was certainly not owing to her monarchical institutions, but rather to that fortunate vitality, which had been already imparted to her in the liberal constitution of her Parliament, and her municipal freedom.

Not one of its numerous provinces had taken a more remarkable part in the politics of France, at the epoch referred to, than the county of Anjou. No families had rendered themselves more renowned in the history of the world, throughout the ages immediately preceding, than those distinguished by the early chroniclers as the "Three Houses of Anjou." Ambition, generally of a laudable character, seems to have been the ruling passion of the majority of the members of those Houses; lofty aspirations, for the most part accompanied by feelings of honour, were the instigators to their memorable deeds, whether considered individually, or as a collected family. To the illustrious ancestors of the "Good King René" and his celebrated daughter, Queen Margaret of Anjou, may be with singular justice applied the beautiful lines of our Bard of Avon:—

"Glory is like a circle in the water,

"Which never ceaseth to enlarge itself,

"Till, by broad spreading, it disperse to nought."

From a humble origin in the persons of Robert "le Fort" and Ingelger, two contemporary counts of the ninth century, the Houses of Anjou never ceased to extend their influence through individual enterprise and unexpected accessions of power, until they wielded the dominion over seventeen foreign kingdoms!

From the Houses of Anjou we trace all the kings of France of the Third, or Capetian dynasty; eleven kings of England, well known as the race of Plantagenet, besides several kings and queens of Jerusalem, Arragon, Spain, Naples, and Hungary;—so that, at one period, almost all the crowned heads of Europe could trace their pedigree by marriage or by conquest, to the House of Anjou as their great parent source. Yet, only one hundred years after the families of Anjou had, in the Third House, attained the zenith of their prosperity, not a single prince of that far-famed line survived!

In the person of René, became extinct the last of the hereditary Dukes of Anjou. At his death that province was finally re-united to the crown, and degenerated into a mere appanage possessed by the younger sons of the kings of France.

With René terminated the Fourth House of Anjou, according to the division of certain authors, although in reality there were but two distinct Houses, the First, Third, and Fourth having proceeded from Robert "le Fort," and the Second from Ingelger.\* The preceding historical details of the reigning families, and of the county of Anjou from the time of Charlemagne to that of John, King of France, will be found explanatory of this subject, and they will also render intelligible the numerous titles borne by King René, which only served to emblazon the escutcheon of an all but titular prince.†

But if, as the last male descendant of a long line of distinguished characters, René, Duke of Anjou, has a claim upon the attention of posterity, there is good reason to hope that when the poetry and chivalry, the virtues and misfortunes of his long life are set forth, the history of this king of Sicily and Jerusalem

\* Bodin.

† See page 32.

will command our interest and sympathy even in the annals of the "Dark Ages." And if, as the father of one of England's greatest, and most unfortunate, and most maligned of queens, modern literature ought to possess some English record of René of Anjou, how incomplete would it prove without an accompanying memoir of the heroic queen of Henry VI.! Yes, though biography has not omitted of late years to recognise, however briefly, the merits of Queen Margaret's chequered life, it is felt, that the whole history of the "Good King" is a further testimony of itself in favour of the unhappy queen, and that the melancholy romance which surrounded the last days of each, spent nearly at the same date, forbids the separation of the blended fates of father and daughter. Some short notice then, of the immediate progenitors of René, some narrow outline of the events directly preceding his accession, is a task essential to this introductory chapter.

1356. The battle of Poitiers, one of the most memorable conquests of English arms upon the French soil, was fought on the 16th of September, 1356.\* John "the Good," King of France, who was the great grandfather of René, was present in person, together with his four sons, Charles, Louis, John, and Philip, at this battle. Its loss to the French has been equally ascribed to the cowardice of his eldest son Charles, and to the temerity of the King himself and his youngest son, Philip. Edward the Third triumphantly led John and his son, Philip, captive to England, and a truce of some years ensued.

Previous to these events King John had bestowed upon his second son Louis, by Bonne of Luxembourg, then about seventeen years of age, the counties of Anjou and Maine, in hereditary appanage; and his

\* Bodin; Godard Faultrier.

eldest son Charles now first assumed the title of Dauphin, on the occasion of his father's imprisonment.

Louis, First Count of Anjou, the paternal grandfather of King René, was married in 1360,\* upon attaining his twenty-first year, to Mary of Châtillon, usually called Mary of Blois, the daughter of Charles of Blois, Duke of Brittany. The contract of marriage was concluded at the Castle of Saumur. Mary received as her dowry a great many castles, fiefs, and baronies, and the Count of Anjou added to her jointure the third part of his counties of Anjou and Maine.

1360.

Some months later in the same year, while King John yet remained in captivity in England, the Dauphin Charles, as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, elevated the county of Anjou one degree in heraldry in the person of his brother Louis I., whom he created First Duke of Anjou.

Although Louis belonged by origin to the House of Valois, he has been more generally denominated from this and subsequent occurrences the head of the "Second House of Anjou-Sicily."†

The treaty of Bretigny, between England and France, bore the date of the 1st of May in the same year, and from that period the name of Louis, Duke of Anjou, becomes of frequent repetition in the history of his country. By the articles of that treaty King John was, at length, released from his detention, under certain important conditions. His ransom was fixed at three millions of golden crowns, to be paid by instalments to England in the course of six years. But Edward III. required numerous hostages, meantime, for the performance of these stipulations, foremost among whom were to be the King's brother, the Duke of Orleans, and his second and third sons, the Dukes of Anjou and Berri. These princes voluntarily

\* Moreri; Godard Faultrier.

† Moreri; Bodin; Godard Faultrier.



surrendered themselves with the rest, and King John was freed on the 25th of October, 1360.

After remaining more than two years in an easy captivity at the English court, it appears that the princes of the blood, and some others of the hostages, became impatient for their release, and offered to barter the fortresses of their territories for their liberty. In pursuance of that proposal they were in due course transported to Calais, in May, 1363, preparatory to the arrangement of the necessary guarantees. The courteous treatment of the English king towards the hostages was continued in their new quarters. They had leave to scour the country on horseback for three consecutive days, and were only required to return before sunset on the fourth. On one of these excursions, Louis of Anjou took advantage of the liberality exhibited towards them, to absent himself altogether. That it was a premeditated act is certain, since he escaped in the first place to Guise, where his wife awaited him. Thus, after fulfilling his share of the treaty for more than two years and a half, he committed a deliberate breach of faith, and took to flight in a most discreditable manner, for the sake of a few months, or it might be only weeks, of freedom. King John, who was extremely punctilious upon points of honour between princes, was greatly displeased at the circumstance, although Froissart intimates that "the King had a mind to excuse the Duke of Anjou."

Some historians have asserted that the meaning of the King's second visit to England was a voluntary surrender, expressly to repair the fault of his son. But as John was occupied for months after in organising a new crusade to the East, in which exploit he strongly desired to enlist the support of Edward III., it is more natural to conclude that his second visit to England was performed mainly with that intention.

John embarked at Boulogne, on the 3rd of January, 1364, and there is some reason for suspecting the strong displeasure of the father towards his son from the mere circumstance, that, during the seven complete intervening months Louis did not present himself at his court, and in fact, did not come to Paris until after his departure. He then, however, aggravated the flagrancy of the dishonour by boasting publicly, that when his father learnt the motive of his escape he would excuse him! Perhaps it will be found a safer judgment, after following to the end the selfish track of this most unworthy ancestor of the "Good René," to adjudge as his motives, not any amount of patriotism nor even of marital affection, but a sordid and ambitious desire of preserving his bartered castles, even at the expense of his solemn bond.

King John died in exile in the hotel of Savoy, in London, in the year 1364, and the Dauphin succeeded him on the throne of France as Charles V.

The surname of "the Wise" has been perpetuated in history in connection with the name of the new monarch. It is objectionable, as exhibiting only one side of his character. In his own time he was called Charles "the Learned," but he was acknowledged to be the most pusillanimous being in the kingdom. It may be difficult to reconcile to modern ideas that the height of wisdom can consist in a series of the most disgraceful retreats before inferior numbers, and in ever refusing battle. Yet such was the successful policy by which Charles V. regained, under his rule, nearly the whole of France of that age.

Ever timid, ever sickly, he was rarely seen out of his palace, while his presence was felt in the country only through a course of timid, revengeful, or despotic edicts, issued from time to time for the rigid performance of his servants. Hated by most of his

subjects, and feared by all, there is yet no denying to his reign a comparative wisdom, for which one examines in vain the public acts of his brothers. Under such a reign and such a master were to be moulded and restrained for sixteen consecutive years the animosities and ambition of Louis, Duke of Anjou.

At the coronation of Charles V. at Rheims, his brother, Louis, was present. One of the first acts of the new king was to create Louis of Anjou his Lieutenant General in Languedoc, granting him an almost absolute sway over that populous and thriving province. He also confirmed his youngest brother, Philip, in the title and possessions of Burgundy. This prince was gifted with a far greater share of physical courage than his brothers, and also superior talents. He was, however, lavish in his expenditure, and the slave of luxury and external display, tastes in which the King's brothers all equally participated. The Duke of Berri was the most profligate, but he had not the same restless ambition, and hatred of England, to impel him to the military extravagances into which we shall find his brother of Anjou plunging headlong.

Louis never sought to repair his breach of faith with England, and continued to exhibit against her the most bitter animosity. Thus, when called upon to enrol soldiers for the war with England, which all saw approaching, he engaged with such eagerness in the occupation which he found so congenial, and betrayed such a thirst for the encounter, that the King found it necessary to rigorously forbid his brother from crossing the frontier, lest his plans, yet incomplete, should miscarry. The hatred which Louis nourished against the English was possibly augmented by the defeat of Charles of Blois, his father-in-law, by John of Montfort, with his Breton forces and English allies,

and by his loss after the death of Charles of the inheritance of Brittany.

In Languedoc, Louis governed with tyranny; and his exactions were to the utmost limits of toleration. The sums which he thus raised were employed by him in prosecuting his wars against the English in Spain and elsewhere. Louis revenged himself on the King of Navarre for permitting the army of the Black Prince to pass through his territories, by seizing the lordship of Montpellier, which adjoined his province of Languedoc. He also, by the aid of the brave Duguesclin, invested Tarascon, and penetrating Provence, laid siege to Arles, belonging to Joanna, Queen of Naples; but in this war he was arrested by the interference of the Pope, and by his means reconciled to his cousin, Queen Joanna. These unjustifiable wars could only be maintained by the exactions of Louis on his province of Languedoc, over which he again presided in 1368, to obtain fresh supplies.

1368.

There was in the character of Louis a selfishness of purpose, and a deep seated revenge, with a hastiness of disposition singularly at variance with the wonderful self-control of his brother Charles V. To this monarch alone must be ascribed the wise administration of his country, and the concealment of his designs until the very hour for the declaration of war with England had arrived.

Upon Louis may with justice be charged the glory of having precipitated the new war, by espousing so warmly, in the first instance, the cause of Henry against Peter of Castile. To these testimonies of weakness of character, events from this date add those of unbounded cruelty, the total lack of military talents, and the possession of a very limited share of personal bravery.

The sanction of Parliament had been sought and

obtained by King Charles for the new war with England, with a view to give it an air of popularity. No sooner had the Duke of Anjou, in Languedoc, and the Duke of Berri, in Auvergne, summoned to arms, than, as if by a signal, considerable forces crowded under their standards. The companies of adventurers also generally declared themselves French. But as the leaders of some of them yet remained undecided, Louis of Anjou adopted a summary expedient for securing the allegiance of their followers. He invited these captains to meet him at Toulouse, and there treacherously fell upon and drowned, or beheaded them all. Their soldiers, thus intimidated, quickly ranged themselves in his ranks.

1369. In the progress of this war during 1369, in which the King permitted no general engagement, there were many small places taken, and the enemy was much harassed, which afforded another instance of the cruel disposition of Louis. The English had captured Roche-sur-yon, a place of no account against such a force, but, according to the judgment of Louis, the commander surrendered it too soon, and was therefore, by his orders, sewn in a sack, and cast into the river.

1371. On the 13th of December, 1371, Louis was present at the coronation of Pope Gregory XI. at Avignon. Though the election of that pontiff was not owing to French influence, the Duke of Anjou well knew that he was favourable to France; but, in fact, as events soon testified, Gregory XI. was more concerned about some new heretics in the Church than about any of the material interests of neighbouring kingdoms.

It should be a matter of satisfaction to observe that so exemplary a prince as this Louis I. of Anjou was more beloved by the fire-making bigot Gregory XI. than any of the princes of the House of France; and that he resided much oftener than the others at the

pontifical court at Avignon, displaying always great zeal for, and obedience to that Pope. To him had been confided the government of Dauphiné, where he seconded Gregory in his cruel efforts to exterminate the Vaudois. Almost the entire population of these valleys was in prison, preparatory to being conducted to the stake. Gregory even complained to Charles V. at this period that there were not prisons enough. But not long after, in 1376, he was compelled, to the great chagrin of both Charles V. and Louis, to remove his chair from Avignon to Rome.

In the year 1374, King Charles V. issued an edict 1374. to enable his son, born on the 3rd of December, 1368, to enter upon the administration of the kingdom at the age of fourteen. At the same time he appointed, in case of his own death before that period, Louis of Anjou to govern the country in the interim, and passing over the Duke of Berri, bequeathed the guardianship of his children conjointly to his Queen Jane, his brother, Philip of Burgundy, and the Queen's brother, Louis, Duke of Bourbon. These provisions were registered in Parliament on the 21st of May in the succeeding year, in the presence of the Duke of Anjou.

Meantime, Louis governed in Languedoc as if he were its sovereign. He assembled the states there yearly, but it was in order to have voted to him, under pretext of the defence of the country, subsidies which he disposed of arbitrarily. That province was now in so ruinous a condition, and its population had been thinned to so great an extent in the course of his administration, that although the hearth-money, or tax upon fires, had been raised to two francs instead of one, it produced no more than had been collected by the half rate formerly. A day of reckoning was approaching for the selfishness, as well as great harshness, with which he exercised the extraordinary powers



delegated to him over Languedoc. But though his rule there was unlimited, it was but for life, and it has been already intimated that the personal ambition of Louis was great. He longed to bear the title of king, and to bequeath to his family a monarchy independent of the French crown. An opportunity had ere this occurred of laying claim to the kingdom of Majorca. Its king, the husband of Joanna of Naples, had been some time previously despoiled of his dominion by the King of Arragon, and the Duke of Anjou had lent him assistance to attack Catalonia in return. But the King of Majorca died in 1375, and Louis, from that time, pretended that he had bequeathed all his rights to him, in return for his succours, and asserted his title to that petty sovereignty. His claim was so far borne out that the sister and sole heiress of the King of Majorca, Isabella, Marchioness of Montferrat, had ceded her hereditary right to Louis for a sum of 5,500 livres; but no positive evidence appears of the dying testament of the late King.

The Duke of Anjou, however, declared war against the King of Arragon in his own name, and formed an alliance with the King of Castile, by which they agreed to share whatever conquests they might make. An army was raised in Languedoc, but the mediation of Gregory XI. was invoked at that juncture, and as the removal of that pontiff to Italy followed soon after, the whole question was suspended.

1376. In the spring of 1376, the Dukes of Anjou and Burgundy, with a pompous retinue, met the Duke of Lancaster and the Archbishop of Canterbury at Bruges to treat concerning a peace; but as Charles V. would enter into no terms that were not based upon the cession of Calais to France, no treaty was concluded, but, instead, the truce between the two countries was protracted to the 1st of April, 1377. In their hearts the

King and the Duke of Anjou really desired a renewal of the war, by which they had already profited much; and accordingly we find the latter employed in strengthening the French interests in various ways; but neither he nor Philip of Burgundy re-appeared at Bruges in April, as expected, to renew the pacific negotiations.

In the following year Louis invested the fortress of Montpellier once again, without experiencing any resistance. He next resolved to besiege Bordeaux, but an English fleet arriving at this place with succours, effectually put an end to his project.

The sovereignty of Louis over Languedoc was ostensibly independent and absolute. Charles V. never interposed so long as the people were passive, and they forbore to revolt while it was possible to hope. But Louis's exactions became insupportable, and in the beginning of this year (1378) Nismes first resisted, and refused to vote the new taxes; but being unsupported was compelled to succumb, and Louis, in lieu of learning a lesson, thought no more of so trifling an ebullition. Accordingly in March, 1379, he is found imposing the heaviest fire-tax yet known on the inhabitants of Languedoc, the fires having been already reduced in the course of the last thirty years by means of war, famine, and tyranny from 100,000 to 30,000. The Council of Montpellier refused to collect this tax, and the people, driven to despair, rose on the 25th of October, and massacred the Duke's officers and eighty of their suite. Clermont-Lodève followed the example of Montpellier, and the whole province seemed ready for revolt.

It had been well if the Duke of Anjou, then in Brittany, had hastened into Languedoc, to enforce or to withdraw the obnoxious tax; but although in his fury he threatened nothing less than to put all the in-

habitants of Montpellier to the sword and to burn down their town, he yet travelled first to Paris, and thence to his friend Gregory XI. at Avignon. The death of this Pope soon after at Rome, caused a schism in the East, and paved the way for the election of Clement VII.; when Louis, receiving from the new pontiff the assistance he required, dismissed his lieutenant to Montpellier. The citizens intimidated, threw open their gates, and suffered the leaders of the insurrection to be put to death. Louis afterwards entered this ill-fated town, seized upon all its strong places, and compelled the people to give up their arms. He then exercised upon them a terrible vengeance in hangings, decapitations, and confiscations; somewhat modified, however, through the intercession of Clement VII. and Cardinal Albans. It might well indeed be inquired what kind of man that might have been whose hand had to be stayed from the commission of atrocities even by so sanguinary a bigot as Clement VII.

It becomes necessary to remind the reader that there were two Popes at this epoch, who hated each other with the utmost zeal and fury, and divided between them the flocks of the faithful, Clement VII., at whose feet bowed France and several of the nations, including Naples and Sicily, and Urban VI. who ruled paramount at the same time over the spiritual dominions of England, Hungary, Poland, &c. This fierce sectarian rivalry impelled each to excite wars, for the territorial aggrandizement of his particular influence. It should also be borne in mind that the character of Joanna of Naples was dissolute and bad; and that there were crimes in her former life which should justly have caused her deposition. Louis "the Great," King of Hungary and Poland, who was nearly approaching the term of a long and worthy reign over those two countries, had amply borne witness to the

unworthiness of Joanna for the high position she occupied. He well knew both the weakness and cunning of her disposition, and justly suspected her intentions towards his nephew, Charles of Durazzo, who was his nearest relative and the rightful heir to her dominions.

Louis of Hungary therefore negociated with Urban VI. for the deposition of Joanna, and furnished his nephew with a small army to establish himself on her throne. Urban fulminated a pontifical bull against her, and favoured the march of Charles through Italy, in 1379, to depose her.

As Urban VI. had so strongly identified himself with this cause, it was but natural to expect a counter agitation, and a new claimant to issue forth from the rival See of Avignon. In fact an intrigue had been ripening for some time past between Joanna of Naples and Clement, by which the former proposed to exercise her vengeance upon the family of Anjou-Hungary, by depriving Charles of Durazzo of the succession, and the latter found a superior kingdom for his especial favourite, Louis of Anjou, without the trouble of adjudicating upon his claims to that of Majorca.

At the commencement of May, 1380, the Duke of Anjou quitted Languedoc for Avignon, to pursue his intrigues for the monarchy of Naples; and at length all preliminaries having been arranged, Joanna adopted Louis as her heir and successor on the 29th of June following.\*

The rights of this question cannot be better defined in few words than by citing the language of Sismondi, who says,—“It has sometimes been allotted to a king, “contrary to every principle of legitimacy, to have the “right of disposing by will of his crown, when the title “of succession appears so uncertain that it is necessary

\* *Eccles. History*; Daniel; Moreri; Hallam; Godard Faultrier.

"his authority should incline the balance of the scales. But there was no uncertainty in this case, and the adoption of Louis of Anjou by Joanna of Naples could not be esteemed of any value without overturning everything established in hereditary monarchical institutions. Charles of Durazzo, *the last male descendant of the first House of Anjou*, had married Margaret, the daughter of Joanna's sister and *her nearest relative on the female side*. It was impossible to raise a doubt concerning the constitutional validity of their united claims."

1380. Previous to the departure of Louis for Avignon on the 23rd of April, 1380, Charles V. had felt himself compelled, as a matter of policy, to formally revoke his brother's appointment over Languedoc.

It is presumable that Louis was too much interested in his premeditated Neapolitan inheritance to heed immediately the loss and censure which fell upon him through that act of royalty. But as soon as the negotiations with Clement and Joanna were terminated he journeyed direct to Paris, probably to plead privately with the King for a reversion of his decision. If such was the object of his mission, it entirely failed; he was never reinstated in the government of Languedoc, and during the remaining six weeks of Charles's life, the Duke of Anjou retired in resentment to Angers, and in fact, never saw the King again alive. Such a course was quite in keeping with the other characteristics of Louis I.

1380. Charles V. of France died, aged forty-three, on the 16th of September, 1380, at the Castle of Beaulé sur Marne, near Vincennes. That event introduced a new era in the life of Louis of Anjou, investing him, whether for good or evil, with higher and larger powers than he had ever yet enjoyed.

Where personal advantages of so brilliant a kind

were suddenly presented, it was hardly to be expected that a being so thoroughly selfish could long resist the temptation. But the unseemly behaviour with which Louis disgraced the yet unburied remains of his royal brother was unforeseen, even by those who were best acquainted with his greedy and arrogant disposition. During the last hours of Charles V., Louis had presented himself at the castle, and was actually concealed in an adjoining chamber at the moment of his death. At that instant the Duke of Anjou, who, devoid of feelings of affection, had sought for no reconciliation with his brother, appeared, and seized upon the crown jewels and other treasures of the King, which were preserved in one of the halls of that palace. He laid claim to the effects of the crown as the eldest of the princes of the blood, and his brothers, who were present, forebore, perhaps for the sake of decorum, to oppose him.

Charles VI. was, at this time, nearly twelve years of age, and according to the new law of succession, could not be crowned until he had entered his fourteenth year; the Duke insisted consequently upon his own right to the Regency in the meantime, but his brothers refused to acquiesce in that arrangement.

All the four royal Dukes were in Paris at this time, each surrounded by his own troops, and a fight appeared imminent; when Peter of Orgemont, the Chancellor, advised the immediate coronation of Charles VI.

The Duke of Anjou was, in reality, less interested about the Regency than the affairs of Naples: he coveted rather the possession of the public coffers than the temporary government of the country; and so that he only acquired the means of arresting the prosperous march of Charles of Durazzo through Italy, or of effectually dispossessing him of that kingdom at a

later stage, it was the last of his considerations whether the realm of France ought, or ought not, to be entrusted to the fickle and incapable rule of a child.

An arbitration, therefore, was appointed for the settlement of the rival claims of the Dukes to power. It was decided that the Duke of Anjou should retain all the private property of the late King which he had pillaged; that he should be Regent at once, until the end of the ensuing month, October, at which date Charles VI. should be consecrated King, and that afterwards he should be chief of the Council, while the education and guardianship of the young princes were to remain in the care of the Dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon. In spite of all their arrangements, Louis of Anjou proceeded to seize upon all the money in the coffers of the state, and thus arrested public business. The soldiers around Paris, thus deprived of their pay, fell upon the peasantry, to liquidate, by means of private property, the debt of the state. The Ile de France in particular fell a prey entirely to their brutal excesses. But there was no resistance to authority on the part of the people, the oppressions being probably supposed to be only temporary.

The Duke of Anjou, however, proceeded from one exaction to another, regardless of the public sufferings, until the people rose in open rebellion. Louis then had recourse to subterfuge, and overawed by the popular strength, he condescended to make promises he meant not to perform, and was obliged to concede a delay in the collection of the obnoxious taxes until after the coronation of the new king.

The next step in the career of this avaricious man was equally in keeping with his mean and cruel nature. Rumour whispered him that there was concealed, in one of the late king's palaces, a reserve of gold and

silver ingots. It had probably transpired that the treasure lay at Melun, and thither went the Duke of Anjou, and commanded the attendance of Philip of Lavoisy, the treasurer of Charles V. Lavoisy readily confessed that he had been made the depositary of the secret, but added that his master had imposed upon him an oath to reveal it only to his son, when he came to the throne.

The Duke appeared to yield to this just plea of an honest man. He gave orders for the coronation of his nephew at Rheims, whither he dispatched him, attended by the princes, peers, and the whole court. Louis himself, however, lingered behind, and with him the obstinate Lavoisy, who still declined to betray his secret. When again closeted with him, the Duke without further scruple, sent for the executioner, and at once commanded him there, in his presence, to cut off the unhappy treasurer's head. No one at all acquainted with the savage character of Louis could for a moment doubt the fell determination of the man at that crisis. Lavoisy doubted not that he was in the power of a wild, blood-thirsty animal, and hesitated not to propitiate him.

The bars of gold and silver had been built into the walls of the Castle of Melun as stones, and the labourers who had placed them there had been disposed of, as workmen who knew the secrets of princes usually were in those days. It is needless to add that the whole treasure was extracted, and consigned to the keeping of the Regent; who, satisfied with this last cunning plunder of his nephew's effects, hurried away to the solemn ceremony of that nephew's consecration and coronation.

It is highly probable that this and the previous outrageous conduct of the Duke of Anjou, since he had become Regent, were the source of a movement now

made by Philip of Burgundy, which resulted in open discord between the brothers.

1380. The coronation of the young King took place on the 4th November, 1380;\* and at that ceremony, we learn that the Duke of Burgundy, as first Peer of the kingdom, presided over all. The precedence of the "first Peer" over the Regent extended even to the dinner which followed, where, however, a little force had to be employed for its establishment. It appears that Louis was taking the highest seat at table next the King, when Philip placed himself between them, asserting and retaining his supremacy.

This act obtained for Philip the surname of "le Hardi," by which he was afterwards distinguished in history, and gave rise to the prediction of an astrologer, who happened to be present, that, "before a century should elapse, the race of Anjou would exterminate that of Burgundy;" a prophecy eventually fulfilled. The title of Regent should have protected the Duke of Anjou from this insult, if only for the sake of order; but the act can only with justice be ascribed to that pride and ambition for which Philip became celebrated, and also to a want of respect engendered by the despicable conduct of the Regent himself, and to the necessity, which was felt generally, for some bold spirit to resist his exactions and curb his intolerance. The circumstance, as might naturally be supposed, so violently offended Louis, that the royal brothers narrowly escaped a battle.†

The quarrel between Philip and Louis was almost immediately renewed, and perpetuated in consequence of the mean spirited extortions of the latter, without the slightest regard for the interests of the country, or even of his family. He had arrested the service

\* Menin; Bodin.

† Bodin; Menin; Selden.

of the state by his plundering, and he now refused even the means necessary for the maintenance of the royal household. In consequence of the serious rupture between them on this vital question, the Dukes were never after thoroughly reconciled, and it was fortunate for the country that ere long the destiny of Louis was to hurry him to another and distant sphere of action.

During the year 1381, it is said, that the Duke of Anjou endeavoured in vain, seven successive times, to re-impose the old obnoxious impositions in Paris. His avidity was sharpened by his projects upon Naples, though it should be observed, that he had taken no steps at present to establish his rival claims to that kingdom. 1381.

Charles of Durazzo had experienced no opposition on his march through Italy, and Urban VI. had crowned him at Rome, as Charles III. of Naples. Otho of Brunswick, the fourth husband of Joanna, was without an army to oppose the conqueror. The people of Naples rose on the 16th of July 1381, and opened the gates of the capital to Charles III., and on the 20th of August, Joanna herself, who had fled to the Castello Nuovo, was compelled to surrender it, and she became the prisoner of the new king.

It was already more than twelve months since Louis of Anjou had been adopted by the now captive Queen; and it has been keenly suggested that he was probably awaiting her death, that he might be invested with the title of king before making his entry.

Louis was, however, quietly amassing the means of raising an overwhelming force, and if tardily, yet with certainty he was approaching the ambitious ends at which he aimed. When he could bury so completely his rancour of former years, as to desire ardently to make peace with England, it was indeed time to



1381. suspect him of designs more nearly regarding himself. At the end of 1381, he concluded a truce with this country, which was to endure until the 1st of June following.

The Duke of Anjou set out for Avignon with a magnificent train, and all the French treasure he had plundered since the death of Charles V. packed on several hundred mules. His train, however, consisted only of knights and gentlemen, the officers of the large army which had been drawn together by his orders in the south, and which had already attacked Provence.

The Provençaux hated him, and had therefore immediately declared in favour of his rival, for they had not forgotten his former unprovoked attack upon their country while he was Governor of Languedoc. But they could organize no effectual resistance, while the Duke mustered upon their territory, 9,000 *hommes d'armes*.

1382. In the meantime, Joanna, Queen of Naples, was strangled in the Castello Nuovo, by command of Charles III., on the 12th of May, 1382. On the 30th of the same month Clement VII. invested Louis with the kingdom of Naples, and from that time he took the title of King Louis I.\*

In thus raising Louis to the summit of his power and ambition, Clement of course exhorted him equally to expel Urban from Rome, as well as Charles III. from Naples; but, whatever might have been the intentions of Louis, it will presently be seen, that he never had the opportunity of seconding the aims of Clement, and that, in fact, King Louis had now attained the acme of his selfish and vain-glorious career.

The people of Provence no longer held out against the troops of Louis after his arrival. To punish them

\* Hallam; Eccles. Hist.; Daniel; Moreri; Godard Faultrier.

for their temerity he surrendered their rich country to the pillage of his soldiers, and fortunately this licence was but for a short time, for in June he passed the Alps of Savoy, and entered Lombardy on his march southwards. By the middle of that month also his fleet of twenty-two armed vessels reached the Neapolitan coast. Louis himself entered the Abruzzi with his land forces by the 17th of July, and was there met by Jacques Caldora, the famed "condottiere," at the head of a body of insurgent Neapolitans.

The murder of their Queen Joanna had aroused the hatred and hostility of a great number of Neapolitan gentlemen, and alienated them effectually from the cause of Charles. At their head were the Sansaverini, some of the Orsini, Caraccioli, and Zarli, who, for a century and a half after, remained faithful to the Angevine standard in the kingdom of Naples.

To give some idea of the extent of Louis's army it is announced that it numbered at least 15,000 horse. Charles III. could not resist him openly; he therefore, with dexterity adopted the only course left to him. He avoided all encounter in the open country, fortified his strong places, and left his adversary entirely to the effects of the climate of La Pouille and Calabria, to the results of their change of nourishment upon his men and horses, and to the constant harass and gradual decay resulting from a kind of guerilla warfare which the population waged against Louis.

The French soldiery had soon exhausted the provisions they found in the public stores. They had reckoned on supplying themselves afterwards, as they had so often done in France, by plundering the peasantry. But the peasantry of Southern Italy were by no means reduced to the same degraded and impotent state as those of France. They boldly resisted the marauders, massacred small parties when-

ever such were detected, made ambuscades in dangerous passes, and surprised and pillaged in turn. By such means Louis and his rich nobility were reduced in course of time to the most excessive misery. He was obliged to rid himself in succession of all his treasure of silver, as well as, by degrees, of all the superb plate of Charles V. of which he had so covetously possessed himself, until but a single silver goblet remained. He had even been scrupulous in clothing himself in sumptuous apparel, but, at last, he was forced to content himself with a kind of worn-out finery. The splendid arms of his knights were all rusted, while most of them had lost their battle-horses and followed on foot, or on asses, or the meagre ponies of the country.

It was not, however, without an effort to recover himself, that Louis sank into such misery and despair. When he found his resources failing him, he dispatched Peter de Craon, his chamberlain, in whom he placed the greatest confidence, to his Duchess, at Angers, for fresh supplies of money. By the same messenger he also sent urgent letters to procure from his friends in Anjou, the funds necessary to prosecute his war of conquest.

The principal nobles, as well as all the wealthy individuals of Anjou, esteeming it a duty to send succours to their Duke, collected in a few days the sum of one hundred thousand ducats of gold, and entrusted them to Peter de Craon, to convey with all promptitude to his master. Craon was distinguished in rank among the first of the nobles of Anjou, yet he had been branded already as a hypocrite, thief, and assassin. How terribly misplaced was the confidence which Louis and his friends and people reposed in him!

Instead of transporting with all possible speed this

much needed treasure to the army, Peter de Craon, faithless to his trust, marched by short journeys, stopped at all the towns on his route which could afford him the opportunity of expending in an agreeable manner the sum he carried, and ended at Venice in dissipating it amongst the courtezans and gamblers with whom that city abounded.

Louis, impatient at not receiving the money he had expected, and of which he had such pressing need, beheld daily a great many of his followers dying of hunger. In vain he dispatched couriers to hasten the march of his chamberlain,—they never reached him. Ten times did Louis demand battle of Charles, even provoking him with insulting language, but in vain.

At length, in the summer of 1384, the fevers and dysenteries of La Pouille broke out simultaneously in the ranks of both armies. Charles himself became dangerously indisposed, and was at one time reported dead, but recovered. Shortly after, the town of Biseglio was delivered up to Louis, by some barons of the Angevine party, under a solemn engagement that he would preserve it from all outrage.

It was not easy, however, to restrain his famishing soldiers from satisfying themselves at the expense of the inhabitants; and accordingly Biseglio fell a prey to their plunder and outrages. Louis, inflamed by pride and fury that his royal oath should be violated by his hirelings, and anxious, for once, not to illtreat a defenceless town which had fallen into his power, ran in person through its streets, stick in hand, to stay the disorder and repress the pillage. It appears that he overheated himself by means of his passion and his bodily exertions, on that occasion; the fever seized him, and he never rallied. Louis, King of Naples, and Duke of Anjou, died on the 10th of October, 1384,\* at the age

\* Moreri; Godard Faultrier.



of forty-five. But the bitterness of his last trials, upon such a temperament, cannot be omitted in enumerating the combined causes of his early death, since it has even induced some historians to ascribe it erroneously to a broken heart. Immediately upon his dissolution his army was scattered abroad in a confused and ignominious flight. Most of its soldiers, however, met their death upon the Italian soil, while some of the proudest knights of France were seen to traverse all Italy on foot, their clothes in shreds, and begging their bread.

Thus ended this vain-glorious expedition to establish an hereditary monarchy in the person of a weak, selfish, avaricious man; thus all the hoarded treasures of the "wise" King of France were lavished by his ignoble brother, and the lives of tens of thousands of Frenchmen were sacrificed to render only the more secure the right of Charles III. over the kingdom of Naples.

While the remains of the unfortunate army of Louis begged their way back to France like walking skeletons, Peter de Craon had the audacity to re-appear at court with a magnificent train.

Louis had entrusted to his consort, Mary of Blois, the government of Anjou in his absence, as well as the guardianship of his three children, Louis, who was then but five years old, Charles, and Mary.\*

With the spirit and resolution which characterised Mary of Blois, she proceeded immediately to Paris, and there in her own name as the widow of Louis, and in those of her two sons, now styled Louis II. of Naples, and the Prince of Tarentum, summoned Peter de Craon to appear before the Parliament of Paris, and to restore to her the 100,000 ducats of gold which she had confided to his charge. She prosecuted the baron for robbery and felony, and demanded, as the just penalty of his crime, that the barony of Craon, and his other

\* Lobineau; Bodin; Moreri; Guicciardini.

property, situated in Anjou, should be confiscated. Craon did not appear, although summoned four times.

The Parliament, therefore, pronounced him convicted of felony, and ordered the forfeiture of all his estates to the duchy of Anjou. He was condemned, besides, to restore the sum of gold he had withheld, and to submit to perpetual banishment; but his high rank and influence with some of the French nobility, enabled him to escape the just punishment of his crimes.

The enterprising Mary of Blois occupied herself at this time also, in seeking the assistance of the Dukes of Berri and Burgundy, to preserve for her son Louis the sovereignty of Provence. In this undertaking she was unfortunate. All Provence, with the exception of the towns of Marseilles and Arles, had revolted to Charles III., unfurled his flag, and installed in Aix the Governor Spinola, whom he had dispatched there.

The body of Louis I. was buried in St. Martin's at Tours, and his heart was deposited in the Cathedral of St. Maurice at Angers.\*

His character has been shown by his actions, already recorded, to have been one of the worst. In summing up the annals of his life, scarcely one virtue shines forth to modify the indignation inspired by his vices and crimes. Happily, his whole career affords a complete contrast with that of his grandson, and will thus serve to display only to the greater advantage the heroism, amiability, and benevolence of the "Good René." So insatiable was his love of wealth, that he created "letters of protection" which passed current in his chancery, and with the riches thus acquired, he purchased the county of Roucy, and the castleward of Rochefort; but Parliament annulled the contract of

\* Bodin; Godard Faultrier; Sismondi; Hallam; Lobineau; Ville-neuve Bargemont.

sale, and he was compelled to restore those lands to the family of Roucy. He also adopted a method of raising money employed in Italy, by selling at an extravagant rate "letters of familiarity" to all those who wished to engage in his service.

He was so utterly devoid of true magnanimity, that, although always restlessly fomenting new quarrels and campaigns, he was personally concerned in no single act of physical bravery during life. When to the long list of his evil qualities he added the no less certain evidence of his morose disposition, exemplified in his unrelenting resentment against Charles V., and his quarrel with his brother Philip, it might be truly affirmed, that, however miserable his end, his punishment was inadequate to the injuries he had inflicted. He seems not even to have enjoyed the reputation of counterbalancing virtues in private life, for it is expressly affirmed, that he evinced but little regard for his consort. An ordinance was made by Louis "the First" during his last hours, expressly to appease the remorse of his conscience; and this, while it makes some trifling amends, is confirmation also of the bad character assigned to him. By that last enactment he distributed to the shop-keepers and peasantry of Anjou and Lorraine the sum of 20,000 livres, (or 145,000 francs,) to reconcile them to the taxes and imposts which he had so unjustly levied. His title to the kingdom of Naples and Sicily was as empty as to that of Jerusalem; and his descendants only inherited as possessions, *de facto*, the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Provence.\*

The events in connection with the rival claim to the throne of Naples should here be retraced, to make clear the causes of a protraction of the struggle in that kingdom after all hope for the Angevine standard seemed to have been utterly annihilated. A little

\* Sismondi; Lobineau's Bretagne; Gaufridi; Godard Faultrier; Bodin.

episode in the history of Hungary, and of great moment in the affairs of Naples, explains how, after the death of Louis I. of Hungary, the enthusiastic people elected his daughter Mary to succeed him, crowning her *king*, contrary to their law, by which the throne was hereditary only in the male line. The rightful claimant to the throne of Hungary was Charles III. of Naples; who, after the death of Louis of Anjou, was no sooner established in peaceful possession of the Neapolitan territory, than he prepared to assert, by force of arms, his rights over Hungary. His enterprise was successful. He compelled "King Mary" to abdicate, and was himself crowned, by the nobility, in her place. This prince, who was in the prime of life, and had been not merely exercising a sound policy in all the personal matters of his rule, but whose knowledge of military tactics had kept at bay, for so long a time, his rival of Anjou, was generally applauded. The life of Charles III. was, however, shortened, through the intrigues of an ambitious and bad woman, Elizabeth, the widow of the great Louis of Hungary. She first employed assassins who failed to dispatch him, and then, as it is believed, administered poison which caused his death.

1385.

Summary justice was inflicted on the unprincipled Queen Dowager, who was seized and thrown into the river, by the Ban of Croatia.

Her daughter Mary was also cast into prison, and detained there until the 4th of June in the following year, when she was released and married to Sigismund, brother of Wenceslaus, King of the Romans. Sigismund and Mary then mounted the Hungarian throne.

1387.

Had it not been for these occurrences, Southern Italy and Sicily might probably have enjoyed under Charles III. a protracted reign of peace; and the Angevine

family might not, after their utter defeat in the person of Louis I., have again enforced their pretensions.

Charles III. left one son, named Ladislaus, only ten years of age at the date of his death, to inherit and protect, under the tutelage of his widow, Margaret, the interests he had found so difficult to defend from spoliation. The eldest son of his rival, Louis II. of Anjou, was even a few months younger than Ladislaus, and under the guardianship of his mother, Mary of Brittany. It might have been inferred from this circumstance, that the cessation of hostilities would endure, at least during the minority of these princes. To calculate thus was, however, to lose sight of the unbending firmness and dogged perseverance of character of Mary of Brittany, evinced by her sometimes to such a degree, as to make her unscrupulous and utterly indefensible in the means she employed.

Ladislaus was acknowledged King of Naples without loss of time under the regency of his mother, Margaret; the form was fulfilled, but the fact was hollow, and the struggle of the two mothers for their children was even then impending. For before Mary of Brittany and her son Louis II. had even left France to countenance their party, it was already disputing with the adherents of Ladislaus by force of arms, both in Naples and Provence, for the claim of Louis.

Mary of Brittany had determined to contest her son's pretensions even during the lifetime of Charles III., and she repaired with him from Angers to the court of Avignon immediately after her husband's death, and there easily prevailed on Pope Clement to espouse the interests of Louis II. Secure of the papal support, she then hastened to Paris to present her children Louis and Charles, who are styled by the annalist of Anjou "the most accomplished princes in the world," to their cousin Charles VI. Accordingly

on the 9th of February, 1385, the title of Louis II. to the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Provence was acknowledged by Charles of France, and in May following recognised publicly by the Pope.\* On the 10th of December, 1385, Mary and her two sons entered Arles, and confirmed its privileges, a stroke of policy which won her the future hearty support of that town.

The intelligence of the death of Charles III. in June, 1386, gave at length the signal for a general revolt throughout Provence against the House of Durazzo. When established at Avignon, Mary devoted herself, with all her zeal, to the prosecution of her son's interests, and was enabled before the end of the succeeding year, 1387, to reckon with certainty on the allegiance of entire Provence.

Meantime, at the instigation of Clement, Otho, the husband of the late Queen Joanna, had entered the Neapolitan territory soon after the death of Charles III., and had occasioned a rising at Naples in July, 1386, which, after a sanguinary battle, obliged Margaret and Ladislaus to fly to Gaëta.

Louis II. was then formally proclaimed there, under the regency of his mother Mary, and at that epoch his cause seemed equally prosperous and hopeful both in Naples and Provence.†

Southern Italy might be styled peculiarly the battleground of the Popes in this era; they fomented all the discords, and encouraged all the battles of that unhappy country, because each beheld in the aspirant whom he seconded, a vassal and a temporal ally whose propinquity to the Eternal city made him all important as the conservator of the chair of St. Peter. Thus on this first success of the adherents of Louis II., the Gonfalonier of the Roman pontiff, Raymond des Ursins, was

\* Godard Faultrier.

† Moreri; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier; Sismondi; Bourdigné.

chased out of Naples with the same ardour as were Margaret and her son, Ladislaus. For on either hand the rival Popes had taken sides in the quarrel for their own ends only, and Mary and Otho had taken oath to drive Urban VI. out of Rome in the event of their permanent success, just as Margaret, and in good time Ladislaus, were sworn to preserve the temporal power of Urban in Rome, if needs be against all Europe.

At this critical juncture the good fortune of Mary of Brittany was arrested on a sudden by her own hand. The Duchess of Anjou was not ignorant of the fickle enthusiasm with which the Neapolitans frequently acted before their conquerors of the hour, and fearing lest the husband of Joanna by the late success of his arms might become a new pretender, she now at once deprived him of his charge of captain general. This act proved her keen foresight, no less than the great enterprise of her character. That it was not, as at first supposed, impolitic, that on the contrary it was an act of true wisdom, will be sufficiently clear to the minds of many from the circumstance that Otho immediately placed himself under the banner of Ladislaus. The man who would be guilty of tergiversation so rapid and complete, of the abandonment in a moment of the entire principle for which he had fought, even for the sake of a slight practised on him personally, might well be suspected of the unworthy ambition for which he was displaced.\*

1389.

In the year 1389 Charles VI. of France, having attained his nineteenth year, resolved to bestow the Order of Chivalry upon his two cousins, Louis and Charles of Anjou. That fête was celebrated on the 1st of May, at St. Denis. The young knights passed through all the forms of the institution; and a tournament of three days' duration followed, ending with a *bal masqué*.

\* Eccles. History; Hallam; Godard Faultrier.

The coronation of Louis II. by the Pope, Gregory XI., took place six months later at Avignon. Charles VI., with a brilliant company, was present at this ceremony. Provence had already declared unanimously in favour of the young Louis, then only twelve years of age, who was on the first of November duly crowned and anointed King of Sicily with great magnificence. The court broke up soon after; Charles VI. returned to Paris, and the King of Sicily proceeded to Anjou, where great rejoicings were made in his honour.

Mary of Blois appears to have exercised an admirable perseverance and adjustment of designs towards the goal of her ambition, her son's advancement. She had undoubtedly, before the date of his coronation, been in treaty with John I. of Arragon concerning a project for marrying him advantageously. The Arragonese fleets were among the best of that era, and keeping in view the disputed question of succession in the sea-girt island of Sicily, and the Neapolitan peninsula, an alliance with such a power was peculiarly desirable for the pretensions of Louis. On the other hand the King of Arragon could hardly be adverse to a match which offered to his daughter the prospect of a throne, with many other advantages.

In the course of the winter the young King journeyed to Barcelona, and there was united to Yolande, daughter of John I., King of Arragon. Louis was not yet thirteen years of age, but the espousals were in unison with the matrimonial custom of the age. On the occasion of this ceremony, Mary announced publicly the next step in her projects for her son's aggrandizement; viz., that he should set out in person in the ensuing summer to Italy, to assert his rights.\*

Louis II. of Anjou did in fact set sail from Marseilles on the 20th of July, 1390, with a fleet of twenty-

1390.

\* Moreri; Godard Faultrier; Sismondi; Bodin; Villeneuve Bargemont.



one ships, and landed at Naples on the 14th of August.\* He there met with a triumphant reception. The feudal government, first introduced into the kingdom of Naples by the Norman kings, had been strengthened by the Angevine princes, and at the close of the fourteenth century the government of Naples continued altogether feudal. Extensive domains had been bestowed by way of appanage on the princes of the blood, and these were at one period numerous. The greatest part of the kingdom was the principality of Tarentum, and the rest belonged to some great families, who exhibited their power and their pride in the number of men-at-arms they could assemble under their banner. Thus it was that at the coronation of Louis II., the Sansaverini appeared, attended by 1,800 cavalry completely equipped.

The supporters of Ladislaus had become discontented, by reason of the exactions which his mother had been compelled to levy to prosecute the war. The people of Naples, as well as the feudal lieges of great part of the surrounding territory, had changed sides; and it was not perhaps wonderful, that the child who had never yet taxed them for his necessities, and who now for the first time presented himself before them, should succeed under these favourable circumstances in winning their present homage and support.

He was well escorted and received in Naples; but at first, all the forts around were in the possession of Ladislaus, and it required time, especially with the superior military tactics then practised in Italy, to besiege and capture them. A year later, we find Ladislaus still at Gaëta, and in secure possession of the northern provinces.

It would appear, at first sight, that Margaret of Durazzo laboured under a great disadvantage as com-

\* Bourdigné; Sismondi; Eccles. Hist.; Hallam; Godard Faultrier.

pared with Mary of Blois, in being compelled to draw largely upon the resources of the country itself, for whose dominion she was contending. A reaction had, however, already begun in the affairs of the latter, and it became evident that the dissatisfaction of the other countrymen, over whom Mary ruled and whose resources she drained, could prove as detrimental to her cause as any difficulties upon the Italian soil itself.

It is remarkable, that neither Charles VI., who had professed so staunch a partizanship for the cause of Louis, nor France, of which Anjou was an integral part though an appanage, did anything whatever for him in this enterprise, from the date of his coronation. To Mary of Blois alone was due all the praise for the vigour and perseverance with which Naples had hitherto been attacked and maintained, for she was the soul of those strenuous efforts by which the Angevines had been numerous and continually pressed into the service of Louis II.; but upon her also rested the entire responsibility of having taxed and levied arbitrarily and exorbitantly, for the same purpose, the people of Provence, totally regardless of the privileges she had confirmed to them four or five years before. In consequence, although the ever loyal province of Anjou continued in tranquillity, the old civil war between the factions of Anjou and Durazzo broke out again with renewed vigour in Provence, and raged there at the same time and with the same intensity, as at Naples. Upon the head of Mary of Blois rests the odium of having kindled anew these flames; of having foiled, by her unscrupulous excesses, the masterpiece of her previous talented career; and of having ruined the brightest hopes which her maternal pride and affection had built up, by disregarding the happiness of her subjects and the solemn pledges by which she had sworn to protect them.

1395

By the time that Louis II. had attained the age of eighteen, his own mediocre capacity, combined with the bad faith of his mother in violating the capitulation by virtue of which the Provençaux had submitted to her, and the greater talents and energy of his rival, had nearly disinherited him of Provence as well as of Naples. Count Raymond de Turenne, a partizan chief of the House of Durazzo, had, by the year 1395, subjected anew nearly all Provence to Ladislaus.

Mary of Blois, at length, relinquished in despair the task of directing her son's cause, and quitted the neighbourhood of the struggle altogether. She now alternately employed herself in the government of her loyal subjects at Angers, and frequenting the grandeurs of the King's court at Paris; while Louis continued at Naples in the enjoyment of a very limited sway.

The Angevine cause was shortly after arrested wholly by the Pope at Avignon, the Seneschal of Provence, and the Bishop of Valence. The disputed territory of Provence was fearfully laid waste, for the civil war raged most violently there at this period; and so numerous became the bands of adventurers who crossed the frontier from France, to join the camp of Turenne, that Benedict XIII., who had succeeded Gregory XI. at Avignon, sued for, and obtained an edict from Charles VI. to interdict and restrain that practice.

Mary of Brittany, when devoting herself to her rule over her attached people of Anjou, in some of her enactments exhibited much wisdom and piety. There had existed for a long while among the Angevins a tax called *Tierçage*, which consisted in allotting to the clergy a third of the value of his household goods, on the death of an individual.

This tax had an immoral tendency, and was a sub-

ject of great affliction. Perceiving how dangerous to religion was the struggle which this impost occasioned, Mary contrived to reconcile the inhabitants of Anjou to their curates, by converting the *Tierçage* into a tribute of *fouage* or hearth-money, which, less arbitrary in its nature, only obliged them to pay one penny as an oblation for each fire on the sabbath-day, and the curates were then expected to inter without any other remuneration. The poor besides, were exempted from paying this tax altogether. This act, which redounds so creditably to the memory of the Duchess, was finally confirmed by Parliament.\*

Again, we are constrained to admire the strength and pertinacity of character of Mary of Brittany, when devoting herself to a good purpose, for it was not out of a weakness for the gaieties and luxuries of the court of France that a woman of her mould resided at repeated intervals in the French metropolis. She was engaged in the pursuit of justice; she had been plundered, and she watched her opportunities for bringing the culprit into court, that she might obtain a reimbursement of her due. Doubtless she had watched the dawn of a broad ray of hope out of the iniquitous attempt made upon the life of the Constable Clisson by the same Pierre de Craon, who, ten years before, had failed to appear before Parliament in answer to her charges of robbery. The patronage of the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany had sheltered him from the execution of the sentence then passed upon him. Mary had, however, entered a new cause against him before Parliament, for the restitution of the late Duke of Anjou's 100,000 ducats of gold; but Craon dared not to appear, on account of the greater crime of which he had since been guilty. Even this difficulty was at length surmounted by the Duchess, who solicited and

\* Godard Faultrier.

obtained for him letters of abolition or exemption for his greater crime of attempted assassination, in order to compel him to appear in answer to her accusation. A trial in due form ensued, and Pièrre de Craon was sentenced to refund immediately to the Duchess the whole amount in question, or to be imprisoned until such time as her claim should be satisfied. Mary formally returned thanks to the assembly, and Pièrre de Craon was at once seized, and imprisoned in the castle of the Louvre.\*

1400. In the course of his long contest with Ladislaus, Louis II. had, at length, drained all his resources; and although by the year 1400,† Provençe was once more beaten into submission to his rule, and although he never omitted to style himself King of Sicily, his generalship and personal administration of affairs would appear to have alienated from him, during the same period, the kingdom of Naples. He had besides, before this date, lost the support of his spiritual chief by the blockade of Benedict XIII., at Avignon, by the arms of France.

At Tarentum, on the 13th of July, 1400, he learnt that the city of Naples had opened its gates to his rival, and that his brother Charles was besieged in the Castello Nuovo. His partisans were still very numerous, and he was yet in possession of half the kingdom; but, unable to bear the straits of poverty, he hastily relieved his brother, and then abandoned the country altogether for which he had been so long contending.‡ This circumstance is sufficiently demonstrative of the mediocre talents of this prince, as well as of a total absence of ordinary energy, perseverance and judgment in his disposition and character. Like his cousin, Charles VI. of France, he had been prematurely, as a child, invited to a throne; even, perhaps,

\* Bodin; Sismondi; Godard Faultrier. † Bodin. ‡ Bodin; Sismondi.

before he had learnt to wield the sceptre, which he thus hastily suffered to escape his grasp. It might be, however, that he relinquished it to attend the ceremony awaiting him in Provençe; viz., the celebration of his nuptials there with Yolande of Arragon.

That event took place with the accustomed rejoicings not long afterwards, and thence the royal couple proceeded to Avignon, where they resided for two or three years; during which time, no effort was made to revive the hereditary claims of Louis on the kingdom of Naples.

The consort of Louis II. brought to him as her dower, her right to the crowns of Arragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, and by her marriage received that of Sicily; therefore was she usually styled "The Queen of the four kingdoms." Yolande subsequently inhabited the castle of Angers, and took pleasure in embellishing it. To her, as well as to her mother-in-law, Mary of Brittany, has been attributed the construction of the chapel which forms part of the castle, and the roof of which is raised above its towers.\*

While Yolande dwelt at Angers, she exhibited great partiality for the promenade of Lesvière, a priory near Angers, surrounded by cornfields and vineyards. Bourdigné relates a curious anecdote of Yolande. He says that—"during one of these walks, diverting herself "in the company of her ladies and gentlemen, she "reached the priory of Lesvière, and there seated herself upon the ground, and contemplated the sports of "some young spaniels belonging to the party. Suddenly, a rabbit sprang from a neighbouring bush, and, "frightened at the barking of the dogs, took refuge in "the lap of the queen. She fondled the animal, which "evinced no desire to escape and remained in its new "quarters for some time, apparently forgetting its natural

\* Moreri; Bodin; Daniel; Godard Faultrier.



"wildness. Queen Yolande construed the circumstance into an omen favourable to herself, and commanded the bush to be dug up whence the rabbit had sprung; when, to the surprise of all, a subterranean vault was there discovered, containing an image of the Virgin holding an infant in her arms, with a glass lamp in front of her. In her satisfaction, Yolande caused a little oratory to be erected on this spot, which, like similar endowed edifices, had its visitants and its miracles from that time."\*

1403.

The schism in the papacy had endured so long, and so many fruitless efforts had been made to terminate it, that a kind of public opinion had been raised against it, which, shortly before the beginning of the fifteenth century, had displayed some activity upon the question. Benedict XIII. had refused, in opposition to the Dukes of Berri and Burgundy, who then directed the destinies of France, to resign simultaneously with his rival and submit to the decision of a council. He had been, consequently, besieged during five years in his palace at Avignon, as a fomentor of the schism, by an army sent in the name of the French king. The king's brother, the Duke of Orleans, still supported Benedict, perhaps chiefly because whatever party received the favour of Burgundy was certain to engage his cordial hatred.

Louis II. also, from other motives, countenanced Benedict. This pope had sustained his pretensions to the kingdom of Sicily, and if he succumbed, his Italian interests must suffer seriously, for the new pontiff elected by the council might favour the rights of Ladislaus, and the anathemas of a pope exercising a spiritual autocracy over the millions were not to be lightly estimated in that age. Louis therefore determined to act in opposition to the government, court, and army of

\* Bourdigné; Godard Faultrier.

France, and upon this occasion he evinced symptoms of energy and vigour. Early in 1403, he went to Avignon, and gained easy access to the pontifical palace; he rendered his homage to Benedict, offered him his protection and assistance, and concerted with him for his liberation. Not long after, Benedict escaped in disguise to Château Renard, a fortress belonging to Louis, where a guard of safety awaited him.

Unworthy indeed must have been the subject of this solicitude, for within one short year after he had thus obtained his freedom, both the King of Sicily and the Duke of Orleans were utterly disgusted with the pride, selfishness, and obstinacy of this elect of half Christendom. 1404.

On the 12th of November, 1404, Mary of Blois, the queen-mother of Sicily and Duchess of Anjou expired at Angers; and was interred in the Cathedral of St. Maurice in that city.\* 1404.

As long as she lived she had governed Anjou and Maine as a patrimony out of which to make her profit. She had amassed there a treasure of two hundred thousand crowns, which had been accumulating even during the period when her son was in distress in Italy, and was constrained, at last, to abandon the kingdom of Naples for want of money. Her maternal solicitude seems to have undergone a serious change from the date of her son's reverses. There was no great expression of public lamentation in Anjou on the occasion of her demise.

The life of the King of Sicily from this period becomes rather closely identified with the history of the court and government of France. He occupied the third rank in the royal council, which ruled the kingdom; but as minister he did not, whether from want of

\* Moreri; Godard Faultrier.

talents or ambition, distinguish himself in his new and exalted position.

It was much in that age not to have rendered himself notorious for his vices, not to say crimes, like his father and his uncle of Berri did before him, and like some of his contemporary relations, who did disgrace and brutalize themselves a little later, as it were, in his presence and company.

If he never signalised himself by the practice of great and exalted virtues, at least, he can never be charged with the exercise of gross vices, or even of petty crimes. It has even been affirmed that, whilst in Italy, he had learnt by heart, as a lesson of faith, the necessity of making himself beloved, in order to win and preserve a crown. It is asserted of him, that at Naples, and still more in Calabria, he had gained credit for good nature, amiability, and a degree of liberality which partook rather of prodigality.

In this new character the King of Sicily became adverse to intrigue and unambitious; not the leader of factions, but the mediator between hostile parties on many occasions in the course of the terrible and tedious ordeal of civil feud to which France became subsequently exposed.

Louis II. assisted at the funeral obsequies of the Duke of Orleans, as well as at the subsequent reception of his widow, the Duchess, whom he led into the King's presence to make her formal complaint of the inhuman murder of her lord by the Duke of Burgundy.\*

It must be remembered that the French court was at this time the most dissolute of the age, and that the French people were sunk in misery and deprived of the shadow of liberty; thus we may more readily comprehend the strange dereliction of duty, and the fatal

\* Sismondi; Monstrelet.

display of imbecility, immorality, and injustice which supervened. When the formidable and unscrupulous Jean "sans Peur" appeared before the capital in hostile array, no one remained near the imbecile monarch bold enough, or sufficiently talented to oppose the designs of this insurgent, and the council contented themselves with praying him to grant a conference ere he advanced on the city.

It is observable, as delineating the more accurately shades of character, that while the King of Sicily and the renegade old Duke of Berri could so far tolerate the triumphant murderer of Orleans as to meet him at Amiens for a parley, the upright brother-in-law of the late king, the only member of the royal family of France in those times whose character remains wholly unsullied at the bar of history, the Duke of Bourbon, seeing only disgrace in this unjust compromise, retired in disgust to his duchy. The good service which the moderate Duke of Anjou thought to render to his king and country by that compact was, in fact, a deliberate surrender of the nation's, the king's, and his own honour.

Following then, an invariable rule, innocence and truth having first conceded, there was no end to the impudent encroachments of guilt, until it became evident at last, that France would have been in a better position if every other member of the royal council had followed the example of Bourbon. Early in February, 1409, a pretended reconciliation was effected with the Duke of Burgundy at Châtres. The King of Sicily was one of those present in close proximity to the king.

The scene is once again changed from the court and civil contests of France to the soil of Italy. Here, in May, 1409, Louis II. found another opportunity for contesting the Neapolitan dominion. The Council of Pisa had deposed the two popes, Benôit XIII. and

1409.  
Sismondi.

Gregory XII., and had elected Alexander V. But the chair of St. Peter and the Papal States were forcibly subjected to the temporal power of a refractory and ambitious king, to wit, Ladislaus of Naples. This monarch, now verging on the prime of life, and having been successful through his talents, energy, and perseverance, aspired to the Imperial crown and adopted for his device, "*Aut Cæsar aut nullus.*" He rejected, therefore, as a matter of course, the Council of Pisa, and declared in favour of the easy Gregory XII., who was indeed nothing better than his paid and passive instrument. He had already made war on the Florentines, because they would not acknowledge him legitimate sovereign of the states of the church. On the other hand, the Florentines and their allies had recognised the council and the new pope. They desired to expel Ladislaus from Rome, and fixing upon Louis of Anjou as a worthy coadjutor, in consequence of his claims to the throne of Naples, they offered him the command of a joint expedition against their common enemy. They accordingly influenced the Council of Pisa to acknowledge Louis, King of Naples, and he in turn, thus supported, undertook to establish Alexander V. in the papal chair. With this view he embarked 1,500 Provençal cavaliers on five vessels at Marseilles, and arrived at Pisa by the end of July.

Alexander there invested him with the kingdoms of Sicily and Jerusalem, and with the Gonfalon of the Church; and Louis, having joined the Florentine army, entered the pontifical states. The Florentine army was commanded by Braccio di Montane, Malateste di Pisaro, and Ange de la Pergola, all celebrated generals, and better versed in the art of war than any Frenchman of that period. Some of the cities of the Papal States opened their gates to them without opposition, and this emboldened Louis with Quixotic

valour to push his army to the siege of Rome, where, however, he soon suffered a repulse from the Count de Troya, who commanded the city for Ladislaus. Thus the campaign of Louis terminated for that year. He could not patiently await in camp in person beyond November, when he crossed again to Provence, and hastened back with all speed to Paris. Before he reached that city the army he had abandoned had been admitted into Rome, and Paul Orsini went over to the Florentines with 2,000 horsemen.\*

The intelligence of the success of his army, *malgré lui*, did not induce the King of Sicily to retrace his steps to the scene of action. An interval of four months elapsed before he returned to Italy. That period was employed by him in seeking an alliance with the Duke of Burgundy; and it does not redound to his credit that he was at this time conveniently oblivious of the murderer's confession addressed to his own ears, and that he testified no sense of degradation in the step he was taking in the betrothal of his son Louis to Catherine, the daughter of this powerful Duke of Burgundy. This proposal being accepted, after the espousals, the young princess was consigned to the charge of Queen Yolande, to be brought up at Angers along with her future husband. This lady's dower, ten thousand crowns, was paid at the same time by Burgundy to Louis, and was of vast utility to the latter in the preparation of a new armament with which to invade the Italian shores once again. Arms, men, and ships were from that moment, by his orders, levied and prepared with the utmost dispatch in Provence; so rapidly was this expedition organised, that in a month's time, by the beginning of May, Louis actually set sail from Marseilles for Porto Pisano, with sixteen large ships and numerous smaller vessels.

1410.

\* Daniel; Sismondi.

Circumstances of an unexpected nature, however, interposed to convert his triumph into defeat, and to punish him with remorse for having bartered his child's and his own honour for gold.

Six of his larger vessels were, in the first place captured by the Genoese. The others arrived in safety, and disembarked the remainder of his army at Piombino; but on his arrival there, Louis was apprized that Pope Alexander V. had died at Bologna, on the 3rd of May, and that John XXIII. had been appointed his successor. He proceeded at once to Bologna. On this occasion of the arrival of Louis of Anjou with so large a force in support of the council and the papacy at so inopportune a moment, it was not unnatural that he should be met by a numerous clerical deputation. There were present twenty-two cardinals, two patriarchs, six archbishops, twenty bishops, and eighteen abbots, all handsomely equipped. Monstrelet adds to this account, that "the King of Sicily himself was clothed in scarlet, and his horse's furniture was ornamented with small gilt bells, and his attendants consisted of fifty knights arrayed in uniform." On the 6th of June, Louis did homage to John XXIII. for the kingdom of Naples, but was compelled to postpone his operations until the autumn, in order to concert afresh with the new pope, and the Florentine republic.\*

1411.

The army of Louis of Anjou seemed formidable, for besides his Provençal troops, there were the emigrants from Naples of the Angevine party, and the companies of Braccio di Montane, of Sforza, paid by the Florentines, of Angelo de la Pergola, retained by the Sienese, and of Paul Orsini in the pay of the Pope. There was, however, a scarcity of money and ammunition, and much time was lost in reconciling the generals, who were ever readier to turn their arms against each other

\* Godard Faultrier; Monstrelet.

than to unite in a common cause. At length, the Florentines having seen the Pope re-established in Rome, seceded from the compact, and made peace with Ladislaus. Louis accompanied the pontiff to Rome, determined to prosecute the war, although he had not money enough to maintain his 12,000 soldiers, the bravest warriors of Italy, during even a short campaign. He then conducted them at once to Ceperano; Ladislaus took up a position at Roccasecca, on the other side of the Garigliano, and awaited him with forces nearly equal in number. After passing the river, Louis attacked the enemy with impetuosity. It was the 19th of May, 1411, and Louis of Anjou then obtained a great victory, which went by the name of Roccasecca. Almost all the barons in the army of Ladislaus were taken prisoners, and the baggage, and even the King's table utensils fell into the hands of the conqueror. Ladislaus fled, but rallied his troops at St. Germaine. Then, strange as it may appear, the extreme poverty of Louis's soldiers caused them to sell to the large body of their prisoners both their liberty and their arms; and Ladislaus apprized of this, dispatched from St. Germaine some trumpets and money, and thus, in a few hours, he regained his army.

Louis of Anjou had indeed employed his victory to so little profit, that when he would have advanced, he found all the defiles which led to the kingdom of Naples occupied by hostile troops, while his own men were in want of the necessaries of life, a prey to sickness, and even more untractable on account of the booty they had seized. Three days after the battle of Roccasecca, Louis was compelled to retreat before Ladislaus. In the month of July he reconducted his forces to Rome, and in the following month abandoned the struggle altogether to return to France. This was



the last bold attempt of Louis II. to retrieve what he considered his hereditary and rightful possession. He never again returned to Italy.\*

At the time that Louis II. was thus, for want of resources, compelled to evacuate the kingdom to which he had aspired as rightful heir, his consort, Yolande, "the Queen of the four kingdoms," was endeavouring as fruitlessly, for the same reason, to assert her more genuine rights in Spain.† On the death of her father, John of Arragon, in 1395, his brother Martin had possessed himself of the crown. Martin died in 1410, having no children; therefore the right of Yolande, as John's daughter, to one of her four kingdoms seemed incontestible. A pretender to the succession, however, appeared in the person of Don Ferdinand, Infante of Castile, the nephew of King John. The rival claims of Yolande and Ferdinand were brought before the Parliaments of the different States of Arragon. Queen Yolande appeared personally at Barcelona in defence of her rights; and the Count of Vendôme, with other ambassadors, repaired thither from Charles VI., to further her cause. These negotiations lasted three months, when the claims of Yolande failed, and Ferdinand obtained a peaceful recognition as king. The court of France was glad to procure a confirmation of their former alliance with Arragon, and Yolande was forced to content herself with the promise of 200,000 crowns in compensation, a sum afterwards reduced to 200,000 francs.‡

1412. The last failure of Louis II. in Italy seems to have been generally considered final. In the following year, 1412, Ladislaus was duly invested with the kingdom

\* Monstrelet; Sismondi; Daniel.

† Jean Michael of Beauvais, who for his talents became secretary and counsellor of Louis II., and afterwards of Queen Yolande, drew out for her a genealogy to prove her rights to the crown of Arragon.—Godard Faultrier.

‡ Daniel; Sismondi; Eccles. Hist.

of Naples, and Louis returning to France, engaged in the intrigues of that court, and had soon to raise troops in Maine and Anjou to defend his own states against the attacks of the Counts of Alençon and Richmond, and the Duke of Orleans.

A change had taken place in the opinions of Louis II., and since the treaty of Bourges he had openly espoused the faction of Burgundy's enemies. Hitherto Burgundy had perhaps taken small heed of this, for his daughter Catherine, who had been affianced to Louis, eldest son of the King of Sicily, had already lived three years at Angers, and was still under the guardianship of Queen Yolande.

On the 20th of November, however, the Lady Catherine was sent back, with a good escort, to the city of Beauvais, and thence to Lille, to her father, who uttered furious imprecations at this treatment of his daughter, and took a solemn oath to be revenged upon the Duke of Anjou. He regarded this act as a deep personal insult, and his resentment continued throughout his life. It is difficult to assign the motive of Louis for this extreme proceeding, since it was not because Burgundy had been branded with the crime of murder, which had happened before these espousals were proposed.

The useless advances of the Duke of Anjou a little later, with a view to an accommodation with Burgundy, exhibited only his usual instability of purpose, and encourages the inference that the dismissal of Catherine could have arisen from no high-minded cause. It is probable that Charles VI. may have asked at that date for the hand of Louis's eldest daughter, Mary, for his third son, Charles, since their pledges were exchanged two years after. Louis, the intended of Catherine of Burgundy, was at the same time espoused to Margaret of Savoy. Poor Catherine, who was as amiable in

disposition as she was tender in years, did not long survive the ignominy of this occurrence. She died unmarried, not long after, at Ghent.\*

1414.

The King of France supported by his princes entered upon a campaign, in 1414, against the Duke of Burgundy; but, after some success, a recurrence of the King's malady and sickness in the camp obliged them to conclude a treaty with the rebellious duke.†

In the year 1414 died Ladislaus, Louis's successful competitor in the kingdom of Naples. His sister, Joanna II., succeeded; who, surrounded by unworthy favourites, passed her time in licentious fêtes, utterly neglectful of the cares of government. Many princes, however, sought her in marriage, and feeling the need of support, she, at length, decided in favour of Jacques de Bourbon, Count de la Marche, hoping, by an alliance with a prince of the House of France, to protect herself from a recurrence of any active pretensions on the part of Louis of Anjou.

She secured to herself an undivided monopoly of the regal power, allowing her husband only the title of Count and Governor-General of the kingdom. The marriage took place in 1415.

1415.  
Sismondi;  
L'Abbé  
Milot.

Soon afterwards Jacques de la Marche, not content with the semblance of power, and besides resolved to reform the manners of his wife and her court, cruelly put to death one of the Queen's favourites, and confined Joanna herself within her palace, out of the sight of her people, appointing as guard over her an old French officer. She was, however, soon rescued by the Neapolitans from this captivity and re-established in her authority, while Jacques de la Marche was, in his turn, thrown into prison.‡

\* Mezerai; Bourdigné; Barante; Monstrelet; Daniel; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Bourdigné; Mezerai; Barante; Monstrelet.

‡ Sismondi; Monstrelet; Eccles. Hist.; Daniel; Mezerai; L'Abbé Millot.

The wars of Henry V. of England at this period wholly absorbed the attention of Louis II. On this invasion of France by the English, Louis joined the large army which King Charles VI. led on in person against Henry in Normandy. In the disastrous defeat which followed, Louis of Anjou was present, and must have saved himself by flight; but his relatives, Sir Robert of Bar, and Edward, Duke of Bar, who, with the Duke of Alençon commanded the main army, were numbered among the heaps of slain.

From this time little more is recorded of Louis II., whose life was drawing to a close. At this juncture he felt ill, and retired to Angers. While under this indisposition, he sought an accommodation with the Duke of Burgundy, but his overtures were treated with haughty contempt by Jean "sans Peur," whose vengeance could only be appeased by the life of the King of Sicily; nay, this was even at this period augmented by two unforeseen events: first, the death of the Dauphin making way for the next son of the King, as heir to the throne, and who was wholly Burgundian; again, by the death of the profligate old Duke of Berri in 1416. This same year a conspiracy was discovered amongst the Burgundians, affecting the lives of the Queen of France, the King of Sicily, and others; also a similar attempt was made on the life of Louis in the following year.\*

1416

The fury of the Duke of Burgundy against Louis had not yet been goaded to the utmost. On the 4th of April, 1417, his son-in-law and *protégé*, John the Dauphin, died suddenly, apparently poisoned by the Armagnacs. Again, and for the last time, the rage of Burgundy was evinced, and this branded ally of the foreign invader, this absentee from the patriot field of Agincourt, whose success in life had been achieved

\* Daniel; Monstrelet; Barante; Mezerai; Villeneuve Bargemont.



by the impudence of his crimes, whose hirelings had twice attempted to assassinate the Duke of Anjou as they had of old the Duke of Orleans, had now an audacious public clamour ready to ascribe the death of the young Dauphin John to the agency of Louis II., because by that event his son-in-law became Dauphin and heir to the throne of France.

There was no real index to the author of this crime, if such it was. But, ere its authorship can be assigned for an instant, even by innuendo, to the instrumentality of Louis, some evidence of crime in his former life should at least be charged against him, and some consideration must be allowed for the well authenticated moderation and want of energy in his character; and in common justice also, some examination should be made into the respectability of his accusers. Besides, in twenty-five days after the decease of the Dauphin John, the King of Sicily himself was no more. Louis II. died in Paris, at the early age of forty, on the 29th of April, 1417.

1417.  
Moreri;  
Monstrelet.

With how much greater appearance of truth might the death of Louis have been ascribed to the machinations of the criminal Burgundy!

"This Duke of Anjou," says the annalist of Anjou, "was in great triumph and lamentable honour carried to Angers, and interred in the cathedral, near the great altar." Charles VI. and many of the princes of the blood were present at his funeral obsequies.

Louis II. left to his children the possession of Anjou Maine, and Provence. They also inherited his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, and his hatred to the House of Burgundy.

From an engraving inserted in the Parnassus of Angers, we have a portrait of Louis II. His features were regular and imposing. He is represented with a jagged turban on his head, and in a robe of great

richness embroidered with flowers, with a cope of fur.\*

Such was the father of René. He was certainly a great improvement upon the grandfather, and there was reason to hope that the race might perfect itself in the next generation.

The children of Louis II. were of a more estimable and high-minded character than their relatives who had preceded them; Louis III., René, and Mary, Queen of France, were not more distinguished by their position in life than by their virtues and excellent qualities.

Louis III. was born in 1403, and at the age of fourteen succeeded to his father's titles and estates; his mother, Yolande, undertaking the government during his minority. The nobility of Provence united their tribute of respect to the memory of Louis II. with that of the court of France, and framed an address to his successor to testify their fidelity. They also deputed some of their nobility to wait on Queen Yolande, and renew to her the oath of obedience in the name of their states. These were so graciously received by Yolande, that, it is said, she even conceded on this occasion her son's rights over Nice and the Valley of Barcelonnette, to the Count of Savoy, in liquidation of a large sum of money furnished by Amé VI. to Louis I.†

1417.  
Villeneuve  
Bargemont

The memory of Yolande is fondly cherished by the Angevines to this day, for her good works in their country. The writers of her time praise her benevolence, and the wisdom of her administration. One fact may be cited, corroborative of this view of her character.

\* Moreri; Daniel; Monstrelet; Sismondi; Bourdigné Mezerai; Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

1418. The fortifications of Anjou had fallen into ruin, and required, as an imperative necessity in those days of walled cities and frequent sieges, to be almost completely rebuilt, in 1418. A considerable sum was needed for this undertaking, and the people, already heavily taxed, were alarmed at the project. Yolande accordingly published an ordinance, fixing the impost of these repairs at a tenth of the tenanted value of all the houses of the city; and this, without exception even of the clergy, who were too often, through their great influence in those times, exempted from the operation of taxes which it was their duty to have borne equally.

Further, this princess authorized the people of Angers to assemble, and fix for themselves the value of their dwellings. To encourage also the citizens who usually bore alone the burden of public offices, and who might have been intimidated before the privileged classes, she caused the members of her council to preside at the meetings, in order to effect both a prompt execution of her ordinance, and to invite the free discussion of its interests.\*

On the 10th of September, 1419, another of those great crimes occurred, which at intervals afflicted France at this period of her history. This was the foul murder of the Duke of Burgundy, upon the bridge of Montereau, where he came by appointment to ratify a treaty with the Dauphin Charles, in whose presence he was assassinated. The consequences of this base act were long after of grave import to the rival arms of France and England. Philip of Burgundy, the son and successor of John "sans Peur," had vowed ven-

\* This ordinance, made by a woman, is remarkable for its wisdom; and after the lapse of more than four hundred years, it has been restored amongst the Angevins, who, in its observance, still honour the memory of Queen Yolande.—*Bodin*.

geance against the assassins of his father, and gone over directly from France with all the renowned wealth and power of his house into a close alliance with the English, and by the treaty of Troyes, in 1420, 1420. Henry V. and his heirs were declared legal successors to the throne of France after Charles VI., to the total exclusion of the Dauphin Charles; Henry was also appointed Regent of the kingdom during the life-time of his father-in-law, Charles VI.

The Dauphin Charles thus beheld on the one hand his father, his mother, and his sister Catherine, Queen of Henry V., strenuously bringing to bear against him, the arms of France and England united; it appeared at least strange, that, on the other hand, his cousin and brother-in-law, Louis III. of Anjou, should first studiously cultivate a good understanding with his enemies respecting his French provinces, and then wholly desert his cause for the rest of his life, in order to pursue the conquest of the kingdom of Naples.

Louis III. departed in the summer of the year 1420, 1420. with a great number of warriors and a large amount of munitions of war and money, to assert anew his right to what might almost be called, the hereditary calamity of his family;\* but he never returned to France. The events which led to his adoption of this course may here be briefly related.

When Martin V. had been acknowledged Pope, he concluded a treaty, in 1419, with Joanna II. of Naples, on very advantageous terms, since she was induced to flatter his nephew, Antonio Colonna, with hopes of the vacant succession to the Neapolitan throne. At his request she also released her husband, Jacques de la Marche, after a captivity of four years, and he returned to France, and died there in a convent.

\* Sismondi; Villeneuve Bargemont.

Joanna was then crowned Queen of Naples in the name of Pope Martin V.; but ere long that pontiff took offence, because she did not realise his expectations in nominating his nephew her successor, and he resolved to withdraw his alliance and to second the pretensions of Louis III., Duke of Anjou, to the kingdom of Naples.\*

The discontent of the nobility of Naples, and the hatred of Sforza Attendolo against his rival Caracciolo, added to the fact that there was no true heir to the crown, although Joanna was now advanced in age, seemed to prepare the way at length for the elevation of the House of Anjou.

The Queen, troubled by the contests of Sforza and Caracciolo, who, even with arms in their hands, disputed for her person, willingly gave up the former, with all his devoted followers to the Pope, and Sforza repaired to Rome. There Martin confided to him his secrets, hoping he would assist him to take revenge on Queen Joanna and her favourite Caracciolo.

It was not without some compunction that Sforza abandoned the party of Durazzo, to which he had sworn fidelity; but at this period, ambassadors from Louis III. arrived at Florence, and advancing to him considerable sums of money, engaged him in their master's service. By these means Sforza assembled a new army, and marched upon Naples. When he approached that city, he restored to Joanna his bâton of Grand Constable, declaring that, to escape from the caprice of Caracciolo, he renounced her service, and revoked his oath of fidelity. After that declaration, considering himself no longer under obligation to her, he at once proclaimed Louis III. of Anjou, King of Naples, asserting his hereditary rights, founded on the

\* Monfaucon; Moreri; Sismondi; Monstrelet; l'Abbé Millot; Daniel; Godard Faultrier.

adoption of Joanna I. He then invited the Angevine barons, and all the partisans of Louis, to join his standard, and in the month of June, 1420, he invested Naples.

1420.  
Sismondi.

A deputation of Florentines and Genoese, with fifteen galleys, about this time entered the port of Marseilles, which then belonged to Queen Yolande. She gave permission to them, but, as we are told, "not without heavy sighs," to transport her eldest son, Louis III., to Rome, in order that he might be crowned there by the Pope. As she did not entirely confide in the loyalty of the deputation, she demanded as hostages for her son, eight of the chief nobility of Naples, who had accompanied it from that kingdom. Accordingly the young Louis embarked at Marseilles, and sailed to Rome, where the Pope solemnly invested him with the kingdom of Naples; and although not actually crowned, he ever after obtained the title of king, as his father had done. Louis brought with him to Naples an armed fleet of nine galleys and five transports, with which he arrived on the 15th of August, 1420. He immediately seized on Castellamare, while Sforza made himself master of Aversa, which was afterwards the head-quarters of the Angevine party.\*

1420.  
Sismondi.

This new enterprise had originated with the Pope, but he now affected neutrality, and engaged Louis and Joanna to submit their rival claims to his arbitration.

To defend herself against Louis, the Queen of Naples applied to Alphonso, King of Arragon, for succour, offering to adopt him as her son, and that prince dispatched to her, eighteen galleys and three of his best generals. When these approached Naples, the fleet of Louis, being inferior in strength, retired; and the Arragonese (although opposed by Sforza,

\* Sismondi; Hallam; Monstrelet.

who, with Louis, was besieging Naples) effected a landing.

1420.  
Sismondi.

Alphonso's generals were received with great honours by Joanna, who assigned them the Castello Nuovo and the Castello dell'Uovo, to hold for Alphonso, who was now proclaimed the adopted son of Queen Joanna II., and presumptive heir to her throne.\*

1421.  
Sismondi.

Calabria and almost all the eastern boundary of the country had declared for Louis of Anjou. The feudal lords committed ravages from time to time in the territories of their enemies, but it was at the gates of Naples that the war was really carried on. There Alphonso appeared early in 1421, and was joined by the celebrated Braccio, who was honourably received by him, and created Prince of Capua, Count of Foggia, and Grand Constable.

No important event, however, resulted as yet from the near approach of the two hostile kings and the two great generals; and at length Louis, wearied by such inaction, returned to Pope Martin at Rome.

Braccio succeeded in seducing one of the generals of Sforza, Jacques Caldora; but another, named Tartaglia, was arrested and put to death by Sforza.†

The court of Joanna meanwhile was agitated by the secret plots of Caracciolo, who beheld with distrust the increasing power of Alphonso. Fearing for himself the fate of the other lovers of the Queen, he prevailed upon her to negotiate with Louis. Alphonso, who was not ignorant of these intrigues, resolved to secure his fortresses even against the Queen herself, while Braccio

\* Sismondi; Hallam; Monfaucon; Godard Faultrier; Monstrelet; Villeneuve Bargemont; l'Abbé Millot.

† Sismondi.

was intent only on extending his own principality of Capua. Sforza was fully occupied in supplying his troops at the expense of the Neapolitans, for his army was almost destroyed, and required considerable expense to restore it. Martin V. had besides now grown weary of furnishing subsidies to Louis of Anjou; and alarmed at Alphonso's threats that he would acknowledge Benedict XIII. in all his kingdoms, and thus revive the schism in the Church, he prevailed on Louis to restore to the papal dominions the cities of Aversa and Castellamare, which alone remained faithful to him, while on his part, Martin surrendered to Queen Joanna the strongholds which the Angevine party possessed in the kingdom.

Upon this Louis III. retired to Rome, to live in obscurity. The interests of the House of Anjou were still cherished in secret by Sforza, but being no longer able openly to espouse them, he was again received into the Queen's favour, and he was employed by her to oppose Alphonso.

The Spanish monarch soon made himself independent of Joanna, and filled the fortresses with his troops. Disgusted at beholding the Grand Seneschal ruling the states and armies of the Queen, he refused to submit, as others did, to his commands; and feeling sure of the attachment of Braccio di Montane, he resolved to assert his own claims to the throne. His intentions were perceived by Caracciolo, who, desiring to preserve the equilibrium between the rival aspirants to the throne, and for the better security of the Queen, formed a secret alliance with Sforza. Already had Joanna repented of her adoption of Alphonso; for had she chosen Louis, she would by that act have united the Houses of Durazzo and Anjou, and have ended the civil war in her kingdom.

1422.  
Sismondi.

It now became more and more evident that the

1423.  
Sismondi.

Arragonese faction was the stronger of the two, and Braccio, who supported it, was daily making new acquisitions, and at length, in 1423, his authority extended almost all round Rome, seeming to block up the pontifical court. He needed only the conquest of the Abruzzi, and this he was attempting with 3,000 horse and 1,000 infantry. Martin V. beheld his increasing power with dismay, and exhorted and encouraged the people of Aquila to defend him. He next sought the protection of Queen Joanna for the besieged, and endeavoured to persuade her to deprive Braccio of his command.\*

1423.  
Sismondi

The unexpected arrest of Caracciolo by Alphonso occurred on the 22nd of May, 1423, which gave reason to believe that the arrest of the Queen was likewise intended, had not her guards prevented it. Joanna, finding herself besieged in the Capuan castle, sent for Sforza, who hastened to deliver her, and a pitched battle ensued, which lasted six hours, with equal intrepidity on either side. At length Sforza triumphed, and Alphonso was in his turn besieged in the Castello Nuovo.

A fleet from Catalonia soon brought a considerable military armament for the relief of Alphonso; and Sforza, unable to prevent the landing of this force, was obliged to conduct the Queen from Naples to Aversa.† Queen Joanna, while separated from Caracciolo, had abandoned herself to despair, and would have resigned even her crown to procure the freedom of her lover. His liberation was effected without loss of time, and twenty of the most distinguished of the prisoners taken at the late battle of Formelles were exchanged for the Seneschal.

From this time the Queen resolved to look for

\* Sismondi; Eccles. Hist.

† Sismondi; Eccles. Hist.; l'Abbé Millot.

defence to the party of the Angevines. She invited Louis III., who resided still in poverty at Rome, to repair to her at Aversa, and wrote to the different courts of Europe to make known the ingratitude of Alphonso, to revoke her adoption of him and to substitute in his place Louis III., Duke of Anjou, whom she declared Duke of Calabria and presumptive heir to the throne. She even permitted him the title of king, that he might not be inferior in dignity to his rival.\*

It is not a little to the credit of Louis III. at the early age of twenty-one, that his naturally mild character, perhaps further modified by the ordeal of his previous misfortunes, never allowed him, when he had grown powerful again, to raise his pretensions beyond that which Queen Joanna willingly granted him.

The Pope supplied him with such troops as he had at command, and at their head he repaired to Naples, in obedience to the summons of the Queen. The Genoese and the Duke of Milan also furnished him with soldiers, and thus Louis was soon enabled to retake all that the ambitious Alphonso had gained in the kingdom; and he preserved these acquisitions till his death. He remained but a short time at the court of Queen Joanna, and then withdrew into Calabria, where the mildness of his administration and his amiability made him beloved by all his subjects.†

Alphonso, alarmed at the combination formed against him, returned to Catalonia, leaving his brother, Don Pedro, at Naples, with some Italian condottieri. In his passage he surprised Marseilles, and pillaged it, to

1423.  
Sismondi.

\* Sismondi; Eccles. Hist.; Moreri; Hallam; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier; l'Abbé Millot.

† Sismondi; Eccles. Hist.



revenge himself on Louis of Anjou. Enriched with the spoils of that city he proceeded to Spain, carrying off the body of Saint Louis, Bishop of Toulouse, his relative.\*

1424.  
Sismondi.

The following year witnessed the death of the two hostile generals, Sforza and Braccio di Montane. The former was succeeded, both in the army and in the Queen's favour, by his son, Francesco Sforza. The principality of Braccio was destroyed on the death of that general.

Of the generals left in support of Don Pedro, one went over to Braccio, and another, the notorious betrayer, Jacques Caldora, once more changed sides, first entering into treaty with his enemies, and then opening to them the gates of Naples.

On its return to the capital the Queen's army exercised no cruelties towards the inhabitants, and Caracciolo, now once more in the enjoyment of the supreme power, would not suffer the siege of Don Pedro and his small force shut up in the Castello Nuovo, in the politic intent of retaining Louis III. in submission through fear of his rival. Louis became, however, at this time virtually as well as in name, King of Naples; during the life time of Queen Joanna, he had, in fact, won more than his father or his grandfather in that kingdom, since his inheritance was no longer actively disputed.†

As Caracciolo advanced in age, the passion of love, to which he owed his elevation, gave place to ambition. In his sixtieth year he continued to rule the Queen, whose passion had made her his slave, and he was never satiated with power, riches, and honours. His demands became exorbitant, and excited the jealousy of the courtiers. At length Joanna, distressed by his importunity, to console herself, admitted to her confi-

\* Sismondi; Eccles. Hist.; l'Abbé Millot.

† Sismondi.

dence the Duchess of Suessa. Through the instigations of this lady, the Queen gave orders for the arrest of Caracciolo, and her servants, exceeding her commands, murdered him.\*

1432.  
Sismondi.

Louis III. had been suffered to reside at Cosenza, in Calabria, an exile from the court of Queen Joanna, in order that she might without restraint resign herself and the government of her kingdom, into the power of Caracciolo.

When, therefore, Louis was apprized of the death of the Grand Seneschal, he flattered himself that he should be recalled to court, and at last enjoy the prerogatives of the presumptive heir to the throne. It was not so, however, for the Duchess of Suessa, who now in her turn became desirous of maintaining the sole influence over the Queen's mind, would not suffer his return. In fact, Joanna, incapable of having a will of her own, was from this time governed by her *confidante* as she had formerly been by her lover.†

Louis did not resist the intrigues of the court; he was content to live in Calabria. He had been united on the 22nd of July, 1431, to Margaret, the daughter of Amé VIII., first Duke of Savoy, and this princess came to him at Cosenza in the year 1434. On her progress thither, she rested at Bâle, where the Diet was then being held, and where the King of France was receiving various high personages.

1434.  
Villeneuve  
Bargemont.

"The King treated her very courteously," adds the historian, "and came after supper, and after that the said Princess had made reverence to the King, they danced a long time, and afterwards they brought spices and served the King," &c. After the entertainment, Princess Margaret took her leave of King Charles, and was received at Avignon with much liberality by the

\* Sismondi.

† Hallam; Sismondi.

Cardinal de Foix, the Pope's vicar. Thence she journeyed to Tarascon, where she was lodged in the fine old castle which was now her property. The Governor and chief nobility of Provence welcomed her there, and provided her with 50,000 florins, while each town presented to her a vessel of gold or silver; and a grand fête was given in her honour which lasted three days. She then went with her attendants on board her galleys on the Rhone. On leaving Nice a furious tempest arose, but they succeeded in reaching Sorrento in safety; the Princess, however, having been much indisposed by the passage.

At first, Queen Joanna wished her to come to Naples with her husband, Louis of Anjou, in order that they might there receive the honours due to their rank; but she was again dissuaded by the Duchess of Suessa from inviting them, and contented herself with making some presents to Princess Margaret, who proceeded to Cosenza.\*

Louis III. did not long enjoy the sweets of wedlock and the genuine attachment of his people. Ever obedient to the caprices of the Queen of Naples, he undertook, by her command, in the year 1434, a war which he considered to be unjust.

He was required to reduce the most powerful of the Neapolitan feudal lords, Giovanni Autorico Orsini, whom the Queen's favourites desired to despoil of his wealth. Orsini was in danger of losing all his estates, when besieged in Tarentum by Louis of Anjou and Jacques Caldora.

Suddenly these proceedings were arrested by an attack of fever; and Louis III., like his grandfather Louis I., was cut short in the midst of his career by

\* Moreri; Sismondi; Villeneuve Bargemont; Mezerai; Monfaucon; Rapin; Monstrelet.

this virulent malady, of which he died on the 15th of November, 1434, in the thirty-first year of his age.\*

1434.

This prince left no children by his wife, Margaret of Savoy. His remains were interred at Cosenza, in Calabria, excepting only his heart, which was deposited in the Cathedral at Angers, the sepulchre of his ancestors.† By his extreme mildness of character, Louis III. had won the affection of all who surrounded him. He had lived long amongst the Calabrians, and in his person commenced a genuine and firm attachment on their part to the House of Anjou, which never failed during the civil wars that succeeded.‡

The condescension of Louis, it may be said, even amounted to a weakness, in having surrendered Queen Joanna to her bad counsellors. For to his long exile from the Neapolitan court must be attributed, in some degree, the loss to his family of the rights he had acquired by his adoption, as well as the long wars, which, after his death, once again devastated the kingdom.§ His death was generally and deeply regretted: it is even said, that his enemies shed tears for the loss of one so respected for his amiability in private life, and so justly celebrated, considering his years, for his talents as a military commander. The Queen of Naples especially, seemed to be inconsolable at his death.

It is pleasing to observe, that amidst the wars with the English and the expeditions to Naples, the attention of Louis III. and of his mother Yolande, who was the practical ruler of Anjou during his absence, had been nevertheless directed towards an establishment of

\* Sismondi; Monfaucon; Moreri; Eccles. Hist.; Monstrelet; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Moreri; Godard Faultrier.

‡ Sismondi.

§ Sismondi.

lasting utility to the people of that province. Until that period, degrees in the law only could be conferred by the University of Angers; but, through their united solicitations, it acquired from Pope Eugene IV., the right of completing its studies by the addition of the three new faculties of medicine, theology, and the *belles lettres*.

1434.  
Godard  
Faultrier.

At the request of Yolande also, on the death of her son Louis III. in 1434, Charles VII. granted to his mother-in-law, letters patent for conferring degrees in all four of these branches of public instruction.\*

1435.  
Sismondi.

Queen Joanna herself died in the ensuing year, 1435, in her sixty-fifth year. All her recent efforts had been consistently directed towards ensuring the succession of Louis III., and his premature death did not change her project regarding his family. Shortly before she died, she executed a will, nominating as her heir to the kingdom of Naples, René, Duke of Anjou, the brother of Louis III. This testament was confirmed by the unanimous voice of the people, who were then so devoted to the memory of Louis, that they felt a gratification in declaring themselves for his untried and unknown successor, René of Anjou.

To maintain her people in their fidelity to this prince, Queen Joanna left behind her a treasure of 500,000 ducats. She also appointed a Council of Regency, composed of sixteen lords chosen by herself; and with these were associated twenty deputies selected from the nobility and people. By these lords an embassy was dispatched to their new monarch, inviting him to come to Naples, and take possession of the kingdom.†

\* Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Sismondi; Bodin; Moreri; Eccles. Hist.; l'Abbé Millot; Godard Faultrier; Hallam.

Joanna II., following the example of her brother Ladislaus, had assumed the title of Queen of Rome. She was the last individual of the "First House" of Anjou.\*

\* l'Abbé Millot.

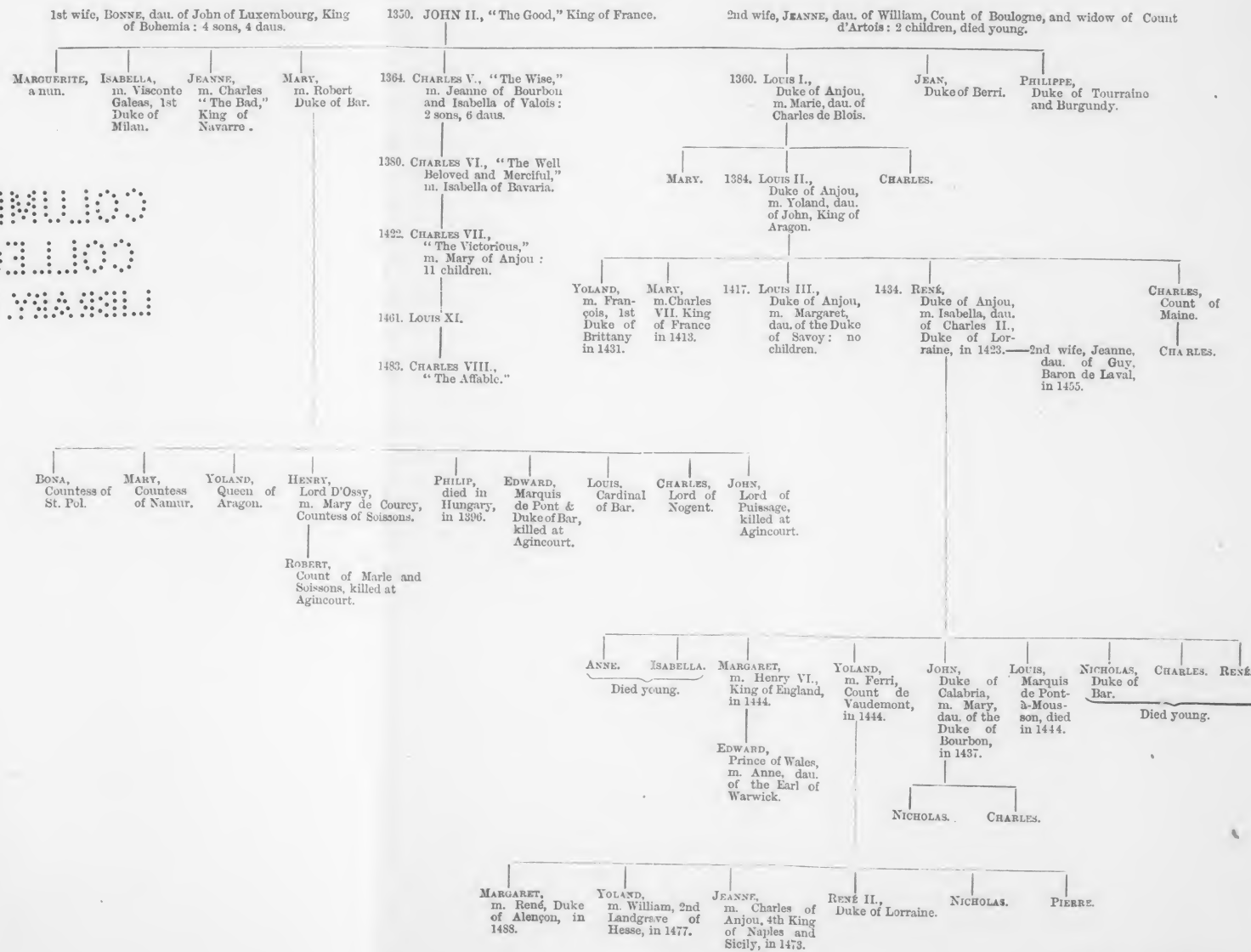
THE  
LIFE OF  
MARGARET OF ANJOU,  
QUEEN OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE,

WITH  
A MEMOIR OF HER FATHER,

RENÉ "THE GOOD,"  
KING OF SICILY, NAPLES, AND JERUSALEM.

# GENEALOGY OF THE ANCESTORS OF MARGARET OF ANJOU.

ABRILIO  
1011100  
Y. X. Y. A. R. L.





# MARGARET OF ANJOU.

## CHAPTER I.

"He is a king, that in himself doth reign;  
"And never feareth fortune's hott'st alarms,  
"That bears against them patience for his arms."—DRAYTON.

René's birth—Infancy—Education—Adoption by the Cardinal of Bar—René's tastes—His first campaign—His marriage proposed—Death of John "Sans Peur"—The Cardinal and the Duke of Lorraine institute René heir to their duchies—The Duke of Berg's enterprise—René's marriage—The Count de Vaudemont's threats—Siege of Metz—René joins King Charles VII.—Successes of René—Death of the Cardinal of Bar—The Duke of Lorraine dies—René acknowledged by the States of Lorraine and Bar—The Battle of Bulgneville—René taken prisoner—He is released on his parole—The decision of the Emperor Sigismond—Fêtes in Lorraine—René returns to his prison—Death of Louis III.—Queen Joanna dies—She appoints René her successor—René sends his Queen, Isabella, into Provence and to Naples.

THE second son of Louis II., Duke of Anjou, and of Yolande of Arragon, was René,\* called "the Good" and also "the merry monarch," from his fondness for the tournament, which was so peculiarly the taste of the age in which he lived. This prince was born on the 16th of January, 1408, in the noble Castle of Angers, situated on the banks of the Mayenne. This castle was erected by St. Louis in the thirteenth century, on a perpendicular rock.† The lofty, massive

1408.  
Moreti;  
Bodin.

\* René has been variously called Renuet, Rheneit, Regné, Regnier, Reyné, and Reygnière.

† The palace was situated between the two towers, called "du Moulin" and "du Diable," the first having supported a windmill, and the last being so named from its vicinity to the fearful "Oubliette" into which criminals were thrown alive. The palace has fallen into ruins, but that portion of it, said to have been the birthplace of René, has been converted into a prison, and is ornamented by gun turrets.

walls and circular towers, eighteen in number, with the deep moat and two drawbridges leading to its Gothic and machicolated portals, gave it a truly imposing character. Within these barriers stood the ancient ducal palace, the residence of the Angevine princes, and at this time inhabited by Queen Yolande, who evinced a strong attachment to Angers and its vicinity.

The winter of 1408 was one of the most remarkable for its severity ever recorded in history. The Danube was frozen over, and Provence suffered extremely from a continued frost, but its inhabitants rejoiced greatly on the birth of the young prince, as though they anticipated the fortuitous events which would pave the way for his exaltation, or entertained a secret presentiment of the permanent affection which would hereafter be felt for them by their future sovereign.

It was while René was yet in his cradle that those dissensions originated, which during his whole life prevailed throughout France. The civil warfare which they caused,\* added to the invasions of foreign armies and the desolation consequent on the victories of the English, reduced this kingdom† to a deplorable condition, which has been aptly depicted by the annalists of that period.

We are not informed who undertook the sacred charge of sponsorship at the baptismal font for René; but he received his name, a very uncommon one before his time, in memory of the holy bishop, St. René, much respected by the people of Angers, and who, according to a pious tradition, was resuscitated at the end of seven years, whence he was called Re-né, or twice born.‡ The title of Count of Piemont had been be-

\* Just before the birth of René occurred one of those prominent events in the history of that kingdom which paved the way for its misery, viz., the cruel murder of the Duke of Orleans by John "Sans Peur," Duke of Burgundy.

† Morel; Bodin; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier; Monstrelet. Biographie Universelle.

‡ On the banks of the Loire, in a charming situation, stands the Châtean

stowed upon René at his birth. The care of his infancy was entrusted by his mother, Queen Yolande, to a virtuous nurse named Theophaine la Magine, who was a native of Saumur, and had already fulfilled the same duty for his sister Mary. The solicitude of this poor woman was ever after remembered by her foster-children, who did not neglect her in after life, but loaded her with benefits, and evinced their gratitude for her tenderness and care.\* The infancy of René passed under the eye of his mother and her ladies at Angers,

de la Possonnière, and near it the ruins of another more ancient edifice, with the Chapel of St. René. St. René has been cherished among the pious Angevins, though forgotten by the world; and the history and miraculous legend of this saint are too important in the annals of Anjou to be passed over in silence. St. René was born near the end of the fourth century, in the villa of Possonnière, of illustrious parents. He preached some time at Chalon, and on the death of St. Maurille, was elected Bishop of Angers. After filling this office twenty-two years, he went to Rome, and thence repaired to Sorrento, where his fame caused him to be advanced to the dignity of bishop. He died at this place in the year 450; and his remains being claimed by the Angevins, were conveyed into Anjou, and deposited, first in the Church of St. Morille, and finally in St. Maurice, at Angers. The shrine of St. René has been much celebrated. Leo X., in 1513, and Clement VII., in 1533, granted edicts in favour of the institution of the brotherhood of St. René, whose members of both sexes then amounted to more than 7,000. Some of the kings of France inscribed their names at the shrine of this saint, amongst whom were Louis XII. and Henry III.

The legend of his second birth runs thus:—"The parents of St. René having no offspring, addressed themselves to St. Maurille, the Bishop of Angers, promising to dedicate to God their first-born. Bononia became a mother, but her joy was transient;—her son, being carried into the Cathedral of Angers, died before his baptism. After this event St. Maurille went into Britain, and after an exile of seven years returned to Angers. The illustrious lady of Possonnière then besought this bishop to restore her dead son. St. Maurille approached the tomb—caused the stone to be raised—sprinkled it with holy water—and then, throwing himself on the ground in an attitude of devotion, he offered up aloud his supplication, upon which the tomb opened and the child was restored to the world and baptized. This miracle may be doubted by many, but the existence and episcopacy of St. René are not to be contested. The legend passed through the Middle Ages, and even in these times, the country people may be seen carrying a banner over their heads while descending the hills or passing the Loire on their way to the Chapel of Possonnière to implore the aid of St. René. It is a pretty sight this march of young mothers, some praying for deliverance, others offering their newly born." One author adds, "it is remarkable that the people of Angers, our ancestors, have had a great veneration for mothers and children."—*Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.*

\* René even composed her epitaph, which still may be seen on one of the

and in occasionally visiting the French court, where Louis II. chiefly resided. In his early years the Count de Piemont is described as "remarkable amongst the children of his years, for an agreeable figure, a sweet, intellectual and precocious disposition, and great aptitude to learn."

The father of René, Louis II., in the year 1409, engaged in a new expedition into Italy, to regain the kingdom of Naples. He returned, however, the same year to Provence, where he was rejoined by Queen Yolande and her three children. The object of this journey was to gain plenary indulgences, granted to the ancient abbey of Mont-Major; the pilgrims of both sexes, who, together with the Duke of Anjou and his family, resorted thither on this occasion, amounted to 150,000 persons.\*

When he had attained his seventh year René passed from the control of the women of Queen Yolande into

pillars in the Church of Notre Dame de Nantilly, at Saumur. On a block of stone is the following inscription:—

"Cy gist la nourrice Theophaine  
 "La Magine, qui ot grant paine  
 "A nourrir de let en enfance  
 "Marie d'Anjou, royne de France  
 "Et apres son frere René  
 "Duc d'Anjou, et depuis nommé  
 "Comme encore Roy de Sicile  
 "Qui a voulu en cette ville  
 "Pour grant amour de nourreture  
 "Faire faire la sépulture  
 "De la nourrice dessus dicté  
 "Qui à Dieu rendit l'âme quiete  
 "Pour avoir grace et tout deduit  
 "Mil cccc. cinquante et huit  
 "Ou moys de Mars XIII. jour  
 "Je vous pry tous par bon amour  
 "Affin qu'elle ait ung pou du vôtre  
 "Donnez-lui ugne patenôtre."

Beneath this epitaph, which was anciently in the choir, on a stone monument was represented Theophaine reclining, and holding in her arms her two foster-children, Mary and René of Anjou. The verses remained entire in the year 1840; but the monument was destroyed in the civil wars of the sixteenth century.—*Bodin; Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.*

\* Villeneuve Bargemont.

the hands of the men; and although the heir of a sovereignty, he was, like the son of a private gentleman, submitted to the guidance of certain old barons and knights of high reputation and experience, under whose instructions, enforced by noble examples, a manly and severe education succeeded to the tenderness of maternal care. The effeminate games of childhood also gave place to violent and painful, and sometimes dangerous exercises. It was thus that the youth of that period were inured, even in the bosom of the palace or castle, to the fatigues and perils of war.\*

It was about this time, upon the occasion of Queen Yolande's visit to the capital with her little son, that the good disposition and extraordinary application to study evinced by René first attracted the attention of his uncle Louis, Cardinal of Bar, who began, when his pupil was only seven years of age, to direct his studies. He had frequent opportunities of observing his character, and delighted to behold in him those inestimable gifts with which nature had endowed him, and which his parents had most assiduously cultivated. It was indeed to these that René owed the unexpected change in his destiny which the notice of the Cardinal procured him, and which paved the way to his subsequent distinction. Being only the second son of the King of Sicily, René had no hopes of any inheritance beyond the title of Count of Guise. It was not, however, his fortune to be throughout life only a titular prince; yet, while seeming to delight in overwhelming him with unlooked-for favours, this same fortune granted him not one of these without subjecting him to some new adversity.†

The relationship of the Cardinal of Bar to René was

\* Godard Faultrier.

† Dom Calmet; Bodin; Biographie Universelle; Villeneuve Bargemont. Godard Faultrier.

that of great-uncle on the maternal side. He was fourth son to Sir Robert of Bar and Mary, daughter of John, King of France. Sir Robert, who was both learned and valiant, died in 1411, and having lost his two eldest sons, he bequeathed the duchy of Bar and castlewick of Cassel to his third son Edward, Marquis of Pont. This duke, with a younger brother John, lord of Puissance, and Robert their nephew, Count of Marle and Soissons, all three perished on the field of Agincourt; and thus the Cardinal became sovereign of Bar, although this inheritance was claimed by his sister Yolande, Queen of Arragon, and their dispute only terminated in 1419, when the Cardinal gave up his rights in favour of René of Anjou. After the death of so many relatives, the Cardinal, seeing his name about to be extinguished, and having already felt some affection for René, gave him the preference over his other nephews; and, as his attachment increased, he took upon himself the charge of his education, under the *surveillance* of Jean of Proissy, to whom René had been entrusted by his mother Yolande.\*

Prelates of the fifteenth century lived like sovereigns within their own dioceses with great magnificence. They did not always find the thunders of the Church sufficient to defend their temporal rights, and were sometimes obliged, as Monstrelet tells us, "to carry a helmet for a mitre, a breastplate instead of a cope, and for a cross of gold, a battle-axe." The breviary was not more familiar to them than the sword, and Louis of Bar, surrounded by examples of glory, had, as it were, imbibed in his infancy the hereditary valour of his race, while at the same time he possessed in the highest degree the virtues which honour the Church. He united to the most extensive information a taste for literature; and his love for the arts, of which he was

\* Dom Calmet; Monstrelet; Villeneuve Bargemont.

the enlightened protector, induced him to extend his munificence to most of the artists of his time, whom he attracted to him, either to the old palace of Bar or to Paris, where he often prolonged his stay.

It may be presumed that this prince neglected no means to perfect the rising talents of his pupil, and it is probable that in these visits which they made together to the French court, René received his lessons in drawing and painting of the brothers Hubert and John Van Eyck. The latter, better known by the name of John of Bruges, had passed great part of his youth near Charles V., who had conferred on him many favours. It is believed that it was to these celebrated masters, or to their pupils, that René was indebted for his first instructions in an art which he constantly loved, and cultivated at all periods of his life.

It is in childhood, when the imagination is susceptible and the senses are awake to every impression made on them by external objects, that the strongest tastes are formed, and the outlines of future character are observable.

René's taste for painting was not more surprising than his inclination to engage in all that related to chivalry.

In the Middle Ages the institutions of chivalry formed the best school for honour and moral discipline, and were very influential in promoting intellectual improvement. Hallam, who has so ably written of these times, says, "Chivalry preserved an exquisite sense of honour as effective in its great results, as the spirit of liberty and religion on the moral sentiments and energies of mankind."

There were notwithstanding amongst the members of the chivalrous orders, many individuals more conspicuous for their vices than for the virtues they professed.

At the same time that René was taking his first lessons in the art of drawing, he probably beheld the commencement of a chivalric institution, in which no doubt, although so young, he was permitted to take some part. This was the "Order of Fidelity" which Thiebaut, the fifth Count of Blamont, desired to found; but of which, in order to confer *éclat* and durability, the Duke of Bar was declared the supreme chief. It was at Bar that this order was recognised, on the 31st of May, 1416. Forty knights of Lorraine, some of them very young, were associated together during five years, bound by oath in love and unity to support one another in every reverse of good or bad fortune.\* It may be well to notice here, that one of these knights who thus pledged himself with others, was Robert de Sarrebruche, called the *Damoisel de Commercy*, afterwards much distinguished by the frequent violation of his engagements to René.

Time was rapidly passing with the young pupil while occupied in his new exercises and delightful employments. He had just entered his ninth year when his father, the King of Sicily, died. On being informed of his dangerous condition, René hastened to him, and received his last farewell. He then beheld the tender interview between this dying monarch and his son-in-law, Charles VII., who was counselled by him especially "never to trust the Duke of Burgundy, but to employ every means to keep on good terms with the formidable John 'Sans Peur.'" It had been well for Charles had he obeyed these counsels.

René, who became by his father's will, Count of Guise, continued to reside with the Cardinal. By his happy disposition and attractive qualities, he so far confirmed the good opinion of his patron, that he began to regard him truly in the light of a son, and

\* Dom Calmet; Monstrelet; Villeneuve Bargemont.

1417.  
Rapin.

did not hesitate to name him as his heir in the duchy of Bar. He initiated him in the affairs of his state, and associated him in all the acts of his government. He even desired that René should be considered by his subjects as their future sovereign. In 1418, this young prince first acted in concert with his uncle in the government, and addressed letters in his own name to the different officers of Barrois.\*

At this time the greater part of Lorraine was infested by brigands, deserters, and vagrants, who upon being repulsed from the interior of the kingdom, and from the fortified cities, dispersed themselves towards the provinces on the borders, where they pillaged, committed murders and all kinds of violence. Such were the sad results of the long wars which had desolated France. More than once the Cardinal of Bar had been compelled to take up arms, and go in person to defend his states; but he resolved at length to put an end to these evils by forming a league with Conrad Bayer de Boppard, Bishop of Metz, another martial prelate like himself. They attacked together several lords, who were even more culpable than the brigands themselves, inasmuch as they had sheltered them from justice in order to profit by their plunder. René of Anjou accompanied his uncle in this rapid expedition which might be said to be the first campaign of this young prince, and it proved successful.†

Discussions were at this time entered into between the States of Lorraine and Bar. Their proximity to each other caused their interests sometimes to clash, and involved them in dissensions and bloodshed. A furious war had been recommenced in 1414, under

\* Dom Calmet; Biographie Universelle; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

† Villeneuve Bargemont.

1418.  
Villeneuve  
Bargemont.



Edward, Duke of Bar, which had brought destruction by fire and sword on these unhappy states. Two years later a treaty was concluded between them; but they were again apprehending a speedy rupture, when the Cardinal of Bar proposed a means of establishing peace between these duchies on a solid basis.

After nominating René of Anjou to succeed him in his own states, the Cardinal did not rest here, but further evinced his solicitude and the interest he took in his welfare, which, added to political considerations, induced him to propose an alliance between his young relative and Isabella, the daughter and heiress of Charles II., Duke of Lorraine, and Margaret of Bavaria. Thus he hoped to form a lasting union between the States of Bar and Lorraine, and to restore unanimity and peace.\*

It might naturally have been expected that much opposition would have been raised to this marriage, although many lords of Lorraine openly expressed their desire that it should take place.

Charles II. had been a long time devoted to the Duke of Burgundy, who had in a manner protected him in his youth. His consort, Margaret of Bavaria, was a near relative of the Duchess of Burgundy; and besides that, he had entertained a personal enmity against the princes of the blood, and was at variance with the Duke of Orleans at the time of his death.† Great manœuvring was required to negotiate for the hand of this duke's daughter, since it was on the part of an Angevine prince, but the Cardinal triumphed over all obstacles; Duke Charles readily consented to the marriage, and appointed an interview with him on

\* Villeneuve Bargemont; Monstrelet; Dom Calmet; Biographie Universelle.

† Duke Charles of Lorraine had in his will, made in 1408, even forbidden that his eldest daughter should be united to a prince of the House of France.

the subject. They repaired to the Castle of Foug, near Toul, which belonged to the Cardinal, on the 20th of March, 1418; and it is remarkable that Charles of Lorraine, besides the lords of his court, should have brought with him Antoine de Vaudemont, his nephew, to countenance by his presence the articles of this marriage, since he ultimately became the most powerful opponent of René.

1418.  
Dom  
Calmet;  
Villeneuve  
Bargemont.

The Cardinal was accompanied by his young *protégé*, of whom it was said, that his prepossessing appearance, his courage, of which he had already given proof, and his rising reputation charmed the Duke, and contributed, as much as policy, in deciding him to bestow on him the hand of his daughter. The agreement\* was then entered into by the two princes.

It had been previously decided that the Duke of Lorraine should have the control of the person of René until he had attained his fifteenth year; that on that same day the parties should be betrothed, and that on the following day the marriage ceremony should take place.†

At the time that the articles of this marriage were published in Lorraine, and when the nobles were joyfully taking their oaths, another assassination occurred which struck consternation throughout France. This was the murder of John "Sans Peur," Duke of Burgundy, in open day, on the bridge of Montereau, on the 10th of September, 1419.

It might have been apprehended that Philip, the

1419.  
Villeneuve  
Bargemont.

\* This agreement states,—

1stly. That on the day of Pentecost, 1419, the Count of Guise should return from his journey into Anjou, the object of which would be to obtain the consent of his mother.

2ndly. That he should repair to Bar, where the Duke of Lorraine would meet him, to arrange the conditions of the marriage.

3rdly. That they should then fix the period when René should be conducted to Nanci, and cease to reside with his uncle, that he might be entirely under the *surveillance* of his future father-in-law.

† Villeneuve Bargemont; Dom Calmet; Biographie Universelle.

next heir to the Burgundian States, would seek to revenge his father's death on all the members of the Angevine family; but happily this was not the case, for although he vowed eternal enmity against the Dauphin (who was suspected to have commanded the criminal act), he had not the injustice to involve others indiscriminately. He did not, therefore, offer any opposition to the alliance which the Duke of Lorraine was about to make with the brother-in-law of one, whom he regarded as his father's assassin, but received with favour the ambassadors sent by that prince to condole with him on his misfortune.\*

Profiting by this unexpected kindness, and fearing that other difficulties might arise, the Cardinal of Bar immediately passed an act to confirm the adoption of René, and his resignation to him of the duchy of Bar and the Marquisate of Pont-à-Mousson,† conditionally on his taking the name and arms of Bar.‡ This act was passed at St. Mihiel, on the 13th of August, 1419, and the treaty of marriage, agreed upon the preceding year, was then also ratified.§

The dower of Isabella was fixed at 5,000 livres annually, or 4,000 only in the event of Duke Charles having a male heir to succeed him in Lorraine. This

\* Villeneuve Bargemont.

† The Marquisate of Pont-à-Mousson appears to have comprehended St. Mihiel, Briey, Longwy, Marville, Saucy, Stenay, Longuyon, Foug, Pierrefort, Condé-sur-Moselle, and l'Avantgarde.

‡ In the shield of the complete arms of Bar, René was allowed to carry a small escutcheon with the arms of Anjou.

§ The historian of Lorraine informs us that King Henry V. of England having demanded the hand of Catherine, the daughter of Charles VI., for himself, hearing that the Duke of Burgundy was reconciled to the French king, feared that this would re-unite the forces of France, and oblige him to abandon his conquests in that kingdom. He, therefore, applied to the Duke of Lorraine, and asked his daughter Isabella in marriage for his brother the Duke of Bedford, hoping by this alliance to unite Duke Charles in his interests, and place France between two fires. It is, however, surprising that Henry V. was ignorant that the Duke of Lorraine had already contracted his daughter to René of Anjou, in March, 1418.

princess had, besides, the sum of 40,000 livres, ready money.

All the States of Barrois had been convoked upon this occasion. The sister of the Cardinal, Bonne of Bar, was also present. She was the wife of Valeran of Luxembourg. The Count of Ligny was also there, besides Jean of Sarrebruche, Bishop of Verdun, and the three abbots of St. Mihiel, La Chalade, and Lisle en Barrois. The same day the Cardinal and the Duke of Lorraine mutually engaged to appoint René and Isabella as their heirs; and they obliged all their vassals to take oath to acknowledge them as their legitimate sovereigns after their death.\* When these arrangements were confirmed on both sides, Yolande of Arragon, called by the chroniclers "*La belle Reine de Sicile*," conducted her son to his uncle, to whom she had already sent Mansard de Sue, bailiff of Vitry, to signify her willingness to take the name and the arms of Bar. The Cardinal then prepared to conduct his young nephew to Nanci, there to entrust him to the care of the Duke of Lorraine, when an unforeseen obstacle occasioned a delay equally fruitless and unexpected.

Arnould, Duke of Berg, the husband of Mary of Bar, a sister of the Cardinal, had entertained secret pretensions to the duchy of Bar, and had even been eager to make it known immediately after the battle of Agincourt; but repulsed by the energetic measures of Duke Edward, he had continued at peace until René became the declared heir to this duchy, when, aroused by the feeling that this adoption would annihilate for ever his own claims, his disappointed ambition stimulated him to a new enterprise. Assembling his troops he advanced with rapid strides, and attacked the forces of the Cardinal; but no sooner did that

\* Dom Calmet; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

prelate appear, with René, in arms against him, than he was defeated in a pitched battle, and taken prisoner.\*

Rejoicing in their success, the Cardinal and his nephew then proceeded to the capital of Lorraine, where the nobles of the two duchies came, to ratify solemnly the promises and conditions stipulated in the contract of St. Mihiel. So great was the satisfaction universally expressed on witnessing the cordial affection which existed between the betrothed, that Duke Charles could no longer defer the marriage, notwithstanding the youth of the affianced, René being only twelve years and nine months old, and his consort still a child.

Isabella, who was born in 1410, has been described as being at the time of her nuptials, tall in person, and possessing regular and uncommonly beautiful features. To a mind above her age she united strength of character; and the gentle piety of her mother, Margaret of Bavaria, seemed to have been transmitted to her as a precious inheritance.

René was equally remarkable among the young lords of Lorraine. He was distinguished by an open physiognomy, and large eyes "à fleur de tête;" he was fair and fresh coloured, and his amiable manners attracted the attentions of the ladies, and had already rendered him dear to his young betrothed.†

Henri de Ville, Bishop of Toul, a worthy prelate and a relative of the Duke of Lorraine, was chosen to officiate as priest at this marriage, which was celebrated on the 14th ‡ of October, 1420, in the Castle of Nancy, with the greatest pomp which could be displayed; and as one author tells us, amidst a joy which

\* Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

‡ The 14th of October in the MS. prayer book of King René.

seemed to approach delirium. The same rejoicings prevailed throughout Barrois upon this union, formed under such happy auspices; and it was generally regarded as the means of annihilating former animosities and divisions, and of restoring that happiness which had long been banished from every heart.\*

Few events rendered the early years of René's wedded life remarkable. During this period of happiness, his leisure was devoted to his studies; indeed after their marriage the young bride and bridegroom continued both in their own way to pursue their education, which they completed under the active *surveillance* of Margaret of Bavaria, Charles of Lorraine, and the Cardinal of Bar, three notable characters of that age; of whom the two former were so peculiar as to claim especial notice.

Margaret of Bavaria, the mother of Isabella, was the daughter of the Emperor Rupert, and one of the most virtuous princesses of her time. She lived in such complete retirement at her palace at Nauci that she was almost a stranger to the pleasures of her court, and occupied herself in works of benevolence and in founding pious establishments. Her life has been written in Latin by her confessor, Adolphus de Cirque, a Chartreux. He says, "she lived an austere life, chastising herself with fasting and wearing sackcloth," and he relates of her, that, "having found a little book entitled "La Rosaire Evangelique," containing the life of Our Saviour and of the Holy Virgin, this princess was so deeply touched by it that it was continually in her hands. The Almighty, by this means, poured so much blessing on her soul, that she became a model of every virtue. He bestowed upon her also some miraculous gifts, and even granted her several

\* Moreri; Bodin; Monfaucon; Dom Calmet; Biographie Universelle; Villeneuve Bargemont; Monstrelet; Sismondi; Godard Faultrier.

victories in her husband's favour. Of these, not only the people of Lorraine, but also foreigners and the Duke's enemies, bore witness. Upon one occasion the Duchess, while the combat lasted, caused public prayers to be offered in the city, and ordered a solemn procession, at which she assisted barefooted, and with tears implored the succour of heaven for her husband's cause. After the battle of Champigneules, the vanquished prince acknowledged that the victory was not owing so much to the valour of Duke Charles, as to the Duchess Margaret, who had appeared at the head of the army with a brilliancy that their eyes could not endure. This occurred a second time under other circumstances; and the enemy, who were put to flight, afterwards declared that they had been terrified, and unable to support the presence of this princess whom they had beheld at the head of the army of Lorraine." When asked by her confessor if she had been present at the battle, the Duchess replied, "That it would not have become either her sex, or her condition; but that she had addressed her prayers to Jesus Christ, imploring the protection of her subjects." Her prayers were always—"Lord, thy will be done and not mine;" and she never asked of God either the death or captivity of her enemies.

We shall be less surprised at the influence which this extraordinary woman held over the minds of the people, when we contemplate her exceeding piety. Such was the self-control she had obtained that her humility, patience, temperance, disinterestedness, and charity were unequalled. She visited the hospitals with her ladies, and personally waited on the sick, and dressed their wounds. By her means several sick persons were restored to health; and when this became publicly known, the afflicted ones were brought from afar to the gates of her palace, that

as she passed them on her way to church, she might bestow upon them her blessing. Many of these were cured; but the Duchess declared that she could do nothing for those who remained in their sins, or wanted faith, or who placed greater confidence in the art of medicine than in the goodness of God.

The Duchess took great care of her servants; nor would she allow her daughters to remain in idleness, but set them herself an example of useful occupation. On fast days and Sundays she gave them instruction in the scriptures, conducted them to church and to the Lord's table. Her mornings were all spent in devotion, her afternoons in the care of her household and attendance on the poor. She confessed herself daily, took the holy sacrament every feast day and Sunday, and submitted her body to a severe scourging when the Duke, her husband, was absent. Such was the austere life of Margaret of Bavaria.

The Duke of Lorraine, on the contrary, was not very devout. He did not attribute the advantages he obtained to his wife's merits, and still less to his own; but to the prayers of the good people who prayed for him. The Duchess, however, was somewhat afflicted at the temporal prosperities enjoyed by Lorraine, fearing that God might reward her during her life for the little good she did, and deprive her in eternity of that bliss which was her only ambition.

Charles of Lorraine had no taste for solitude, and his capital became, during his reign, the centre of the most brilliant fêtes. The Duke was one of the most polished and intellectual princes of his time, although naturally of a warlike disposition and educated in the battle-field. That portion of his time which was not employed in war, or in the gratification of his passions, he devoted to literature. He was particularly fond of

history, and it was said of him that he never passed a single day without reading some chapters of Livy or of Cæsar's Commentaries, his favourite authors, which he took with him on all his expeditions. Often, in speaking of himself, he would say that, "in comparison with Cæsar, he seemed to be only an apprentice in the art of war."

It may be inferred that this prince did not fail to encourage his pupil René in the love of study, and from the period of his first visit to his court also may have originated the taste and talents of René for music, a science in which Duke Charles delighted. He was always surrounded by the most eminent musicians of the day, and evinced his own love for music by playing skilfully on several instruments.\* We are informed that René was engaged alternately at the courts of Lorraine and Bar in the cultivation of music and painting, the study of the ancient languages, legislation, and feudal customs; and he thus acquired, during the short intervals of peace, an education superior to the age in which he lived.

While occupied by such agreeable studies the life of René must have been tranquil and happy; but it was only a brief period. As early as the 10th of November, in 1420, this prince was at once awakened to the anxiety of protecting his states from a powerful competitor, to repulse whom it might even be required to unite with others in some military expeditions.

The Duke of Lorraine had, upon his daughter's marriage, taken on himself the care of the estates of René, as well as the charge of the person of his son-in-law; and he was occupied in November of 1420, in obtaining the recognition of Isabella as his successor,

\* Dom Calmet; Villeneuve Bargemont.

in case he should die without male issue. To this he had been compelled by the conduct of his own nephew, Antoine de Vaudemont, who, from motives of interest, had not participated in the general satisfaction upon the marriage of René and Isabella. He had long enjoyed the hope of reigning in Lorraine after his uncle's decease, but the union which had just taken place had destroyed his illusions, and he could with difficulty restrain his feelings of resentment on beholding himself superseded by an Angevine prince. The age of René precluding explanation, De Vaudemont stifled his resentment at the offence and injustice, as he considered it; yet his apparent composure gave occasion for serious apprehension. This prince, who had been born in the midst of political storms, had aspired to personal distinction; and priding himself on his illustrious ancestry, he thirsted to add glory to his race. He was a devoted subject, a faithful friend, and a respectful relative. His noble character, and especially his frankness, added to his military talents, had secured him some powerful allies. As an enemy he was the more to be feared, as it was well known that justice and good faith only could make him draw his sword; but, when indeed he did so, his haughtiness led him on to extremes, even beyond the bounds of prudence, for he did not estimate the chances of war, nor the misfortunes and oppressions which might drive a people to despair. Such was the character of a prince, who, unable to endure even the shadow of an injustice, had so unexpectedly found in the youthful René a powerful rival, against whom he only awaited the opportunity of revenging himself.

Antoine de Vaudemont insisted that the Salic law being still in force in his family, Lorraine, a fief male, ought not, under any pretence, to revert to a female, or



to leave his family by marriage. Finding, however, that he could not prevail upon his uncle to revoke his will in favour of Isabella, this prince declared that upon the death of Charles of Lorraine he would prove his rights, and obtain with his sword that inheritance of which he considered himself so unjustly deprived. These menaces made it necessary for the Duke of Lorraine to call upon the nobles of his States to swear to perform the conditions of his will; and he also caused his daughter to be crowned as his immediate heiress.\*

1424.  
Dom  
Calmet.

On the 5th of February, 1424 (according to the chronicle of Lorraine), Isabella, Duchess of Bar, made her first entrance at Pont-à-Mousson, where many gentlemen, knights, and esquires awaited her, and celebrated her arrival there by jousts and grand fêtes.† On the 1st of August of the same year Isabella gave birth to her eldest son, John, afterwards Duke of Calabria. This event was commemorated with rejoicings in Lorraine. Her eldest daughter, Yolande, was not born until two years later, in 1426, with a twin-brother called Nicolas, Duke of Bar, who died young.‡

1429.  
Dom  
Calmet.

The second daughter of René and Isabella, the renowned Margaret of Anjou, was born on the 23rd of March, 1429, at Pont-à-Mousson, which was then one of the finest castles of Lorraine and had formed a part of her mother's dower.

The infant Margaret was baptized, under the great crucifix in the Cathedral of Toul, by the bishop of that diocese. Her sponsors were her uncle Louis III., King of Naples, and Margaret, Duchess of Lorraine, her maternal grandmother.§

\* Moreri; Dom Calmet; Bodin; Biographie Universelle; Godard Faultrier; Barante.

† Dom Calmet.

‡ Moreri; Bodin.

§ Moreri; Dict. Historique des Femmes Célèbres.

René's faithful nurse, Theophaine la Magine (who, by this time, had doubtless advanced in experience as well as in age,) was appointed\* to watch over the first years of this favoured child, who inherited the excellence and talents of her father; to these, as she grew up, she added the beauty and grace of her mother, afterwards appearing as a bright star in the horizon, destined to shine conspicuous with transcendent lustre.

At a very early age Margaret of Anjou gave proofs of those virtues which win the affections, and of such great abilities as seldom fail to command the notice of the world. In her case they led to the splendours of a throne, where she became immersed in difficulties and afflictions.

In the military expeditions which René undertook with the Duke of Lorraine and the Cardinal of Bar, he was very successful. He effectually checked the aggressions of the Count de Vaudemont, and in all his enterprises exhibited great activity, ardour, and bravery. It was during the sojourn of this prince on the borders of the Meuse that he improved himself in the profession of arms, while engaged in repelling the rebellious vassals; until, fatigued with such petty warfare, he sought to enlarge his sphere, and was induced to join the forces of Charles VII.

It was just at that remarkable era when Joan of Arc† had miraculously effected the deliverance of Orleans,

\* Dom Calmet; Moreri; Baker.

† René had already seen the heroic shepherdess of Vaucouleurs, on her first appearance in the presence of Duke Charles, at Nanci. She had there spoken of her high mission, and in reply was reminded of her unfitness for war; in order to inspire the Duke and his court with confidence she requested to have a horse brought to her, when, springing upon this high battle-horse without the use of the stirrups, she seized, with a martial air, a lance which was handed to her, and executed in the court of the castle several courses and evolutions as well as the best-trained man-at-arms.

René of Anjou was blockading the city of Metz which the Duke of Lorraine had besieged. Had that prince been influenced by policy or prudence, he would have remained neutral in those contests which desolated France; but his affection for King Charles, his brother-in-law, and his predilection for the French, irresistibly impelled him, with all the enthusiasm of a youthful breast, to join the royal standard on the plains of Champagne, where his brothers, Louis III., Duke of Anjou, and Charles, Count of Maine, had already appeared. Nor could the solicitations of the Cardinal of Bar, or of the Duke of Lorraine, deter him from his purpose. The experience of these princes led them to fear the results of the union of the English with the Burgundians against themselves, should they declare war against them; but René, unmoved by their arguments, left the siege of Metz almost by stealth, and his conduct was soon justified by the success of the cause he embraced.

1429.  
Muzerai.

It was on the 16th of July, 1429, the eve of the same day on which King Charles was consecrated in the church of St. Denis, that René joined him, bringing with him the *Damoisel de Commercy* and other lords; and he afterwards accompanied that monarch in his brilliant career of triumphs and conquests, serving him with devotedness and fidelity.\*

René ventured, although but twenty-one years of age, to second the advice of Joan of Arc, the Duke of Alençon, Dunois and others, contrary to the counsel of the powerful La Tremouille. He soon became united with all the great generals of France, Potou, La Hire, the Duke of Bourbon, and still more intimately with Arnaud de Barbazan, called "*le chevalier sans reproche*," and it was with this general that he appeared before Paris. They seized together on

\* *Biographie Universelle*; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

Pont-sur-Seine, Chantilly, Pont Saint Maxence, and Choisy, and finally they entered with Charles VII. at St. Denis. Then detaching himself from the royal army, René distinguished himself particularly at the head of his troops, by the taking of the fortress of Chappes, in Champagne, near Troyes, where, with 3,000 men, he defied 8,000 English and Burgundians united,\* and triumphed over them in spite of the efforts of their skilful chief, Antoine de Toulon-geon. Also at the village of La Croisette, near Chalons-sur-Marne, René gained a victory over the English.†

When this prince was rejoicing in his good fortune, and becoming daily more illustrious by the success he obtained in the cause of the neglected and despised "*King of Bourges*," as King Charles was styled, he was compelled to quit the field of action somewhat hastily, being summoned to attend the death-bed of his warm-hearted and generous relative, the Cardinal of Bar. With deep and unfeigned regret, René paid his last tribute of respect and honour to the memory of his uncle, who died in 1430, and then, repairing to Bar, he attended his funeral obsequies.

1430.  
*Biographie*  
Univer-  
selle.

This loss was almost immediately after succeeded by that of the Duke of Lorraine; and scarcely had René taken possession of the territories of his uncle, when he was called upon to assume the reigns of government over the dukedom of Lorraine. Charles, the second Duke of Lorraine, expired on the 23rd of January, 1430,‡ and was interred in St. George's Church at Nanci. He left a will, made in 1425, abrogating his former testament, and prescribing the manner in which his son-in-law should govern in Lorraine, in the event

1430.

\* Monstrelet says the number was only 4,000.

† *Biographie Universelle*; Barante; Godard Faultrier; Monstrelet.

‡ Some place the death of Duke Charles in 1431.

of the decease of his wife Isabella.\* René of Anjou thus became an independent prince, and was solemnly acknowledged by the nobles and clergy of the two States.

René made his entrance into Nanci with Isabella, both mounted on magnificent chargers, amidst the blessings of the multitude, and the olden cry of "Noel! Noel!" The clergy and the most distinguished of the nobility attended them, according to ancient usage; and near an antique stone cross, erected at the gate of St. Nicholas, the Duke and Duchess dismounted, previous to their entry into the city. They gave their horses to the Chapter of St. George, who preceded them, bearing the cross and the *cuissard* of the holy knight. The *Veni Creator* was then chanted by the people.

René and Isabella were thence conducted in procession to the ducal church; they knelt before the high altar, and the Dean presented to them a half-expanded missal. "Most high and honourable seigneurs," continued the aged ecclesiastic, "we beg of you to take upon yourselves to swear that you will conform to the duties which your predecessors of glorious memory have been accustomed to respect, in compliance with ancient usage, on their entry into the duchy of Lorraine, and the city of Nanci." "Willingly," replied René and Isabella, and laying their hands on the sacred volume, they swore by their hopes of paradise, faithfully to maintain the rights of Lorraine. The Duchess Margaret, who was dressed in mourning, was delighted to see her daughter thus honoured.†

The history of the Middle Ages offers nothing more

\* Dom Calmet's Hist. of Lorraine; Biographie Universelle; Godard Faultrier.

† Chronicle of Lorraine.

solemn than these acts of religion, in which the people, the clergy, and nobility summoned a prince on his accession to the crown to protect their franchises, their liberties and privileges. This admixture of loyalty and rudeness, of submission and independence always prevailed in these free customs of Lorraine.

The earliest acts of René developed a maturity of wisdom rarely discovered in a prince of two-and-twenty, the age at which he had succeeded to his inheritance of Bar and Lorraine. The people of these countries, who had so lately been rejoicing in their reunion through the marriage of René and Isabella, were destined to experience the vanity of their hopes and expectations, and to feel no less than their Duke and Duchess, the cruel vicissitudes of war, for Lorraine was again plunged into an abyss of evils after the death of Duke Charles. On the occasion of this visit of René, he concluded with the city of Metz a peace which was happy and lasting. He called to the presidency of his council, the virtuous Henri de Ville, Bishop of Toul; assembled about him men the most distinguished for their merits and learning, and renounced fêtes and pleasures to devote himself to the administration of the duchy. A law against blasphemers, a statute which granted an indemnity to men at arms whose horses had been killed in his service, and other letters patent in which he assigned to certain cities and abbeys his protection and a confirmation of their privileges, have been preserved as pledges of his faith and constant solicitude.

This epoch of the life of René was no doubt the happiest of his career. Blessed by his subjects, at peace with his neighbours, he had not yet felt the gales of adversity, and no reverse had tarnished the *éclat* of his arms. It is pleasing to dwell on the

tender solicitude he felt for his people, his brilliant valour, and his sincere piety; and also on the virtues of the good Isabella, whom heaven had rewarded by granting her four beautiful children, bright ornaments of the Court of Lorraine.

René visited successively all the towns of his duchy, and received, in his progress through them, the most affecting proofs of devotion and love. For the first time the strife of arms was not heard in Lorraine, and but for the ambition of the Count de Vaudemont, nothing had occurred to disturb the general tranquillity and happiness.\*

An oath had been taken by the Count de Vaudemont to maintain with his sword his right to the Duchy of Lorraine, and he pretended that the fief was male, and could not pass to René by the right of a woman. This prince had been educated in the camp, had served in eight pitched battles, and was inured to war; he therefore despised the youth and inexperience of René, and when required to do homage to the young Duke, on taking possession of Lorraine, he positively refused. The fortress of Vaudemont was immediately besieged by René, but the garrison being assured of assistance, defended it for three months with great valour. This was but the commencement of a grievous war. No two leaders could be more opposed to each other in their views and interests. The Count de Vaudemont had always belonged to the Burgundian party, while René, a son of Louis II. of Anjou, one of the greatest enemies the House of Burgundy had ever had, had not only joined the French army, but had made deplorable war upon the Burgundians, assisted by Arnaud de Barbazan, First Chamberlain to the King of France, by whom he had been distinguished as "le chevalier sans

\* Dom Calmet; Barante; Biographie Universelle; Godard Faultrier.

reproche" and permitted to assume the *Fleurs-de-lys* for his arms.

To recompense René for the services he had rendered him, King Charles at this time sent him some reinforcements led on by his friend Barbazan. René was also joined by the Bishop of Metz, the Counts of Linanges and Salu, the Lord of Heidelberg, the Sire of Sarrebruche, the Sire of Châtelet and others, with whom he united a considerable army. On the other side was the Marshal de Toulangeon, who, taking part with the Count de Vaudemont, rendered him no little assistance by raising for him an army in Burgundy and Picardy; and, as a further means of promoting his cause, he circulated a report that the object of René, after the defeat of the Count de Vaudemont, was the conquest of all Burgundy. A tax of 50,000 francs was accorded by the States of Burgundy, and Duke Philip also taking part with the Count de Vaudemont, supplied him with a large body of troops, headed by Antoine de Toulangeon, who, having been defeated before the fortress of Chappes by René and Barbazan, eagerly thirsted for revenge.\* This army, amounting to 1,000 or 1,200† men, all experienced in war, advanced towards Vaudemont, and in order to provoke René to fight, commenced by ravaging his territories.

This prince, much affected by witnessing the misfortunes to which his people were thus exposed, became impatient to terminate the contest by a decided battle, and quitting the blockade of Vaudemont, advanced to meet his adversaries on the plain, where they had strongly entrenched themselves. The Burgundians, however, were not sufficiently numerous to

\* Bodin; Barante; Monfaucon; Sismondi; Monstrelet; Mezerai; Biographie Universelle; Godard Faultrier.

† Monstrelet says 4,000.

risk an engagement in a country where this was rendered difficult by the hedges and ditches which intersected it; and provisions failing them, the Marshal advised a retreat into Burgundy, much to the chagrin of the Count de Vaudemont. They had already begun their march, when they were overtaken by René, and challenged to fight. The Lord of Toulangeon replied that he was prepared for battle, and such was the gallant bearing of this party that Barbazan, perceiving it, would have prevented the engagement, advising delay, and representing that the want of provisions would soon compel the Burgundians to retreat, but he was not listened to, so urgent were the younger knights for the attack.

1431.  
Bodin.

The two armies met, on the 2nd of July, 1431, on the plains of Bulgneville, near Neufchâteau, and in this battle, called "*La journée des Barons*" on account of the number of lords present, the Count de Vaudemont gained the advantage by making a sudden attack with his artillery, and the Duke of Lorraine was defeated. His general, Barbazan, was killed, and René himself wounded, and taken prisoner along with two hundred of his followers. The total loss of the vanquished was estimated at 3,000 men.\* The engagement lasted but an hour; some even say, but a quarter of an hour. René had fought in this battle like a lion, and was not overcome until blinded by the blood which flowed from a wound on the left brow, the mark of which he carried to the grave.

The Marshal de Toulangeon conveyed his prisoner with all speed into Burgundy, where, at first, René was confined in the château "*de Talent*," near Dijon, but afterwards removed to that city, and im-

\* Bodin; Moreri; Dom Calmet; Monfaucon; Barante; Sismondi; Mezerai; Monstrelet; Baudier; Biographie Universelle; Godard Faultrier.

prisoned in a tower of the palace of the Dukes of Burgundy.\*

Isabella meanwhile, with her children and her widowed mother, Margaret of Bavaria, had remained at Nanci, to await the issue of the battle of Bulgneville, which ended so fatally for the interests of the Duke of Lorraine. The first news of this disaster was conveyed to these princesses by some of the affrighted fugitives from the battle. They told the unhappy wife of the capture of her lord. "Alas!" exclaimed Isabella, clasping her child, the little Margaret,† to her bosom, "Alas! where is René? He is taken, he is slain!" "Madam," they replied, "be not thus abandoned to grief; the Duke is well, though disabled, and a prisoner of the Burgundians." But the Duchess appeared inconsolable. The news of René's defeat was speedily confirmed, and when Isabella was assured that her husband's life had been spared, she became more composed, and prepared, with the assistance of her mother, to take such steps as the exigency of the state demanded.

1431.  
Villeneuve  
Bargemont.

These courageous princesses, far from being overcome by this terrible shock or by the trouble and consternation which ensued, were only animated to greater exertions. They soon displayed the utmost firmness and presence of mind. They immediately convoked the Council, and Isabella appeared in the midst, dressed in a long mourning veil, and leading her four little children. As she entered the hall, she exclaimed, "Alas! I know not if my husband be dead or taken?" "Madam," replied the lords who were present, "be not discomfited; Monsieur the Duke has indeed been taken by the Burgundians, but fear not, he will be ransomed. By the grace of God, we will see

\* Moreri; Biographie Universelle; Monstrelet; Godard Faultrier.

† Then only two years old.



the end of this war. The Count Antoine would have the duchy, but it is well defended. We will not cease to make war with him, and in a short time your husband will be released." At these words the good Duchess was a little consoled. She commanded, by the advice of her council, a general levy in Lorraine and Barrois. In a few days a numerous army was assembled, well furnished, and to these were added the remnant of the army which had escaped from Bulgneville; and these were conducted by the valiant knights before Vezelise, having repulsed the attacks of the Count de Vaudemont. On the sixth day of the siege this unfortunate town was taken and sacked to the utmost. They also took the fortress of Toullo, and guarded Nanci from a *coup-de-main*. Deputies were sent to most of the towns to exhort the people to maintain their fidelity to René, and to refuse obedience to any orders which might emanate from the Count de Vaudemont.

To this prince, their kinsman yet their most bitter enemy, the unhappy Isabella and her mother even ventured to address themselves in person. They obtained an interview with him at Vezelise, when with all the pathos and energy inspired by misfortune, they represented to him the evils attendant on a civil war in Lorraine, and so affecting were their supplications that they obtained from the Count a truce for three months, from the 1st of August to the 1st of November, and which afterwards was prolonged to the 25th of January following.\*

While Isabella was thus engaged in courageously defending her rights to her paternal inheritance and preserving her duchy from invasion and civil war, René, from the solitude of his prison, was vainly addressing to Duke Philip numerous messages. This

\* Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

prince, however, at a distance from his capital, refused to listen to any treaty respecting the freedom of his illustrious captive. Hard and austere as the Duke must then have appeared towards his prisoner, yet Philip of Burgundy was not insensible to feelings of compassion, or unable to appreciate merit. When he came, some time after, to Dijon, to preside at the Chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and to bestow the collars of this Order on his victorious generals, Vergy, Toulangeon and others, who had been triumphant at the battle of Bulgneville, he remembered Duke René, and when passing the Tour de Bar, he stopped, and commanding the guards to admit him, he then hastily entered the prison, and evinced his great sympathy towards his captive whom he subsequently often revisited, showing great satisfaction in his society.

The Council of Lorraine regarded with the deepest sympathy their Duchess, in her afflicted and desolate condition, being left with four young children—two boys and two girls—described as the most beautiful ever seen.

The intercessions of the unfortunate Isabella with her hostile kinsman, the Count de Vaudemont, although somewhat availing for her country, were altogether useless in procuring the liberation of her husband. René had become the prisoner of the Duke of Burgundy, who consigned him to a tedious incarceration in his own dominions. The first days of René's captivity passed in the fortress "de Talent;" these were days of sorrow; but he expected to be transferred to Dijon, and hoped for the change, as promising him a less rigorous confinement. Orders were, however, received by the Marshal de Toulangeon to convey his illustrious prisoner to Bracon-sur-Salins. At this place the governor of the castle, Antoine de Bracon

surnamed Simard, was entrusted with the care of René; and the dungeon being in a ruinous condition, this prince was placed, for a time, in the Saulnerie or Salt-mine. At the expiration of four months, a contagion breaking out near this spot, René was, by orders of the Council of Burgundy, conducted to Dijon. The Council was, indeed, too much interested in the preservation of the life of René to risk it by such a distemper, but its members were also influenced by other motives in the removal of their captive.

1431. Several attempts had been made to rescue this prince, and another being discovered in November of this year, 1431, it caused so much alarm to the Bishop of Langres, and to the Council of Burgundy over whom he presided, as to occasion them to write, during the night, to the bailiff of Châlons, to whom, at that time, was entrusted the chief *surveillance* of their prisoners. This new enterprise was undertaken by Robert de Baudricourt, who assembled in the little town of Gondricourt a body of soldiers devoted to the Duke of Lorraine, and equally resolved with their leader to procure his freedom, even at the risk of their lives. The dispositions had been made with the greatest secrecy; and a German taken prisoner at Bulgneville, who had been just set free, contrived to acquaint René, while he was being conveyed from the Salt-mine to the château de Bracon, of the plan concerted for his deliverance: but the Duke's removal to the château de Rochefort, near the town of Dôle, completely defeated this project.

In this new abode René was only permitted a few days of repose, when he was conducted to Dijon, and such severe measures were there resorted to for his security, that he became convinced he must renounce every hope of escape. The most delicate attentions were, notwithstanding, paid to him, in order

to make his captivity less painful. The melancholy situation of the youthful prisoner was also mitigated by the presence of the Bishop of Metz, of Erard de Châtelet, of the brave Rodemark, of the faithful Vitallis and others, who had all been taken prisoners, like himself, by the Burgundians. René was incapable of selfishness, and he hastened to guarantee a part of the ransom required of his companions in misfortune, and having thus assisted in procuring their return to Lorraine, he remained himself a solitary captive in the Tour de Bar, at Dijon, which ever after retained this name from its illustrious inmate.\*

One of the first cares of René, after the battle of Bulgneville, was to found, at the chapter-house of Notre Dame de Vancouleurs, a perpetual mass for the soul of Barbazan his general, and for all those who had been slain in that engagement. Not confining himself to this act of piety, this religious prince, shortly after his arrival at Dijon, had a chapel erected on the right of the choir of the palace church, under the invocation of Notre Dame and his patron St. René. Amidst these sacred occupations and duties, how many sorrowful thoughts and protracted regrets must have assailed him! In the solitude of his prison, René found leisure to reflect on the early disappointment of all his prospects of glory and of happiness. A single battle had deprived him of the flower of his army, of liberty, and, perhaps, even of his states; had separated him from all he held dear, and had banished for ever his projects for the welfare of Lorraine. He felt but too sensibly—from the excessive precautions taken for the security of his person—the great importance which Philip, Duke of Burgundy, attached to his prisoner, and he contemplated the calamitous influence which his imprisonment would have over his future life.

\* Villeneuve Bargemont.

Thus he gradually fell into a sombre melancholy, which was much augmented by the recollection of his wife and four helpless children; and although treated with all the regard due to his misfortunes, rank, and personal merits, a deep grief took possession of his heart. Nothing seemed to alleviate his sorrow, and even the very distractions offered him became importunate. The most absolute solitude could alone soothe him.

It was at this mournful epoch of his life that René, in order to escape from the *ennui* which consumed him and from his melancholy reflections, had recourse to the fine arts, which he had constantly cultivated. He applied himself with great assiduity to the study of painting, music, and poetry, and these, which had already delighted him in his youth, proved his consolation under misfortune, and afterwards became the solace of his old age. The first fruits of his talents for painting René consecrated with affecting piety to the decoration of his newly constructed chapel in the palace church, in which he placed the arms of Bar. In the same manner, that which he had ordained the foundation of, in the church of the Carthusian friars of Dijon, was ornamented by his own hand. He afterwards painted his own portrait on a window of the Duke's chapel. Two years later there were placed there the emblazoned arms of nineteen knights of the Toison d'or, who had been present at the Chapter held in 1433. Thus the portrait of the Duke of Lorraine was found surrounded by the escutcheons of the greater part of the generals who had borne arms against him at Bulgneville.

Nor was it only in the company of the muses that René solaced his captivity: he employed himself in more serious studies, and if his genius was aroused, his judgment also became matured amidst the reflections which his solitude awakened. He learnt the value of

the study of history, which forestalls the lessons of experience, and he engaged earnestly in the difficult science of administration, and in the art of war in which he had already received so severe a lesson; in short, he learnt how to profit in the school of adversity. The rich library of Philip was situated at no great distance from the prison of René, and it may be presumed that this illustrious captive was permitted to explore its literary treasures, and that this fortunate resource proved conducive to his resignation, while it also prompted him to the useful occupation of that time which he had so much at his own disposal.\*

The Duchess Isabella, meanwhile, with her mother, Margaret of Bavaria, continued indefatigable in their endeavours to obtain the release of René. When they found their hopes of carrying him off were disappointed by his removal to Dijon, they applied themselves to their relative, the Emperor Sigismund, and also despatched an embassy to the Duke of Burgundy, to demand the liberation of the Duke of Lorraine at whatever price. Erard de Châtelet (himself but just ransomed out of the hands of the Sire de Vergy), was employed by the two princesses in this embassy; and, as they neglected nothing to secure the success of their attempt, they previously concluded with the Seigneur de Vergy (who, at this time, had great power at the court of Philip) a treaty, the articles of which had been drawn up by the Council of Dijon.

The success of Erard de Châtelet's embassy was unfortunately annulled by one of those rare fatalities which occasionally set aside the wisest combinations and arrangements of human foresight. The benevolent protection of Sigismund, which had been exerted in favour of René from the very origin of the pretensions of the Count de Vaudemont, now rendered null this

\* Moreri; Villeneuve Bargemont.

embassy. The Duke of Burgundy having learnt that the Emperor had recognized his prisoner as Duke of Lorraine, haughtily opposed the right he arrogated to himself, and protested that he alone had the power of disposing of the fate of René.\*

This reply, so discouraging to the two princesses, caused Margaret of Bavaria to endeavour to procure, by a personal application, the mediation of King Charles VII. She set out accompanied by Henri de Ville, Bishop of Toul, and Conrad Bayer, Bishop of Metz. At Lyons she found the Count of Genoa, the brother-in-law of the Duke of Burgundy and his father, the Duke of Savoy, whom she sought to interest in the release of René. She then proceeded to rejoin the King of France, who was at that time traversing a part of Dauphiné.

Isabella of Lorraine also presented herself before King Charles, being unable to restrain her impatience to learn his resolves. Several ladies and gentlemen of her court attended Isabella on this journey, and to this visit has been attributed the origin of the passion of King Charles for the fair and amiable Agnes Sorel, who accompanied her benefactress on this occasion. The beautiful Agnes, placed in the flower of her age near the person of Isabella of Lorraine, had received in her palace and under her eye the most finished education, and the example of every virtue; but the attractions of her mind and person became the unfortunate snare which led to a brilliant celebrity, and the "Damoiselle de Fromenteau," deceived by bad counsels, had the weakness to sacrifice her reputation to the dangerous pride of passing for the mistress of her king. It was her gaiety, pleasing manners, and agreeable conversation which fascinated this monarch as much as her beauty. Of this last it was said, that it

\* Villeneuve Bargemont.

exceeded the beauty of any other woman in France, and she was distinguished as "la belle des belles." When she had attained the rank of declared favourite, Agnes made use of the influence which the superiority of her character had given her, to awaken noble sentiments in the breast of King Charles who was naturally inclined to indolence.\* She was charitable to the poor, and liberal in her donations for the repair of churches and the relief of distress. It was at this time, when Queen Isabella, full of anxiety and deep interest in the result of her mission, came to plead on behalf of her beloved husband, that she sought to avail herself of the ascendancy which the beauty, elegant figure, and intellectual conversation of Agnes Sorel were obtaining over the King. Isabella engaged the fair Agnes to espouse her cause, and to use her influence with Charles VII. to obtain his assistance in procuring the release of her husband. It must be observed here, that it was not only the King who was pleased with the merits of the fair Agnes, but his Queen also; and Mary of Anjou, little fearing for her own future happiness, at this period entreated that Isabella of Lorraine would permit her favourite to enter her service. But the beauty of the amiable Mary had not yet fixed the heart of her husband, and the time soon arrived, when, detained at Loches by a royal order, her days were passed in sadness; and amidst the joyful exultation of the triumph of King Charles, the tears of his consort flowed in her cheerless retreat, not far from the castle of Agnes Sorel. When King Charles visited Anjou, the most brilliant fêtes were given for this lady, at Saumur, whilst the English ravaged the country and carried mourning and desolation throughout the provinces of Maine and Anjou.†

\* Villeneuve Bargemont; Hallam; Monstrelet; Chalon.

† Bodin; Monstrelet.

A short time previous to the arrival of the Duchess of Lorraine at the court of France, René, who probably was ignorant of this step, had sent instructions in full to his Seneschal, Charles of Haussonville, and others, to appear in his name in the presence of the Duke of Burgundy who was then in Flanders, to sustain his interests against the Count de Vaudemont. In the interval, however, Philip had left Lille, and after traversing some of his provinces, came to Dijon on the 16th of February, 1432, with his nephews, the Counts of Rethel and Nevers.\*

1432.  
Villeneuve  
Bargemont.

We are told that upon entering this city, so great was the impatience of the Duke of Burgundy to behold René, that, without taking any repose, he proceeded immediately to the Tour de Bar. Thus it was that in the narrow compass of a prison, these two princes, both descendants of King John, for the first time beheld each other; the one being at the height of his power, called the "Great Duke of the West" and the "equal of kings," and the other appearing in the lowest depth of misfortune, as his captive. These princes were only disunited by the dissensions of their families, while their brilliant tastes and excellent qualities were such as to ensure their mutual esteem.

They both experienced much gratification at this meeting, and Philip especially embraced René tenderly. He dismissed all their attendants, and enjoyed a long and affectionate interview with his prisoner.

When about to separate, René agreeably surprised the Duke, his cousin, by presenting him with his own portrait, which he had copied on glass, and also that of John "Sans Peur," whose features he had rendered with fidelity. These proofs of the talent of René were, by the orders of Philip, placed in one of the Gothic windows of the church of the Carthusian friars founded

\* Villeneuve Bargemont.

by his ancestor, Philip "le Hardi;" and for a long time they were objects of great interest to travellers, though now lost to France.

The Duke of Burgundy's visit to Dijon had no relation to René, although he was so eager to behold him. The design of the Duke in this journey was to preside, with the utmost pomp which was customary in those days, over a Chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece instituted in January, 1430, on the occasion of the second marriage of Philip. It is probable that Isabella of Portugal was there with her husband, and also that René sought permission to assist in a ceremony so analogous to his tastes. Philip saw his prisoner several times, he frequently invited him to his banquets, and as he became more and more acquainted with the amiable disposition of René and the gentleness and grace of his manners, he felt all the early prejudices, which had been instilled into him against this prince, vanish away.\* Nor did he confine himself to these outward marks of interest. He appointed, on the 1st of April, the meetings for the consideration of the conditions which should be exacted for his release, and to fix the epoch of his liberation. It would even appear that from the 1st of March, 1432, René regarded himself as free.† In the first session the Chancellor of the Duke of Burgundy read through the articles of this provisional treaty, and at the second meeting they were accepted. "René therein makes mention at length of the obligations under which he was to the affectionate prayers of his mother-in-law and of the princes of the blood; he acknowledges the kindness and courtesy of the Duke of Burgundy; submits, as a guarantee of his word, to give as hostages his two young sons, John and Louis of Anjou; he moreover

1432.  
Villeneuve  
Bargemont;  
Monstrelet.

\* Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Heures Manuscrites du roi René.



concedes to the Duke Philip the castles of Clermont in Argonne, Châtillon, Bourmont, and Charmes; and consents to pay the Burgundian troops that were to form their garrisons." For greater security, on the 16th of the same month, thirty gentlemen of Lorraine, who were devoted to their Duke and the greater part of whom had been present at Bulgneville, undertook, upon oath, that "that prince should return within the Tour de Bar on the 1st of May, 1433," but if he failed, they were to surrender themselves prisoners at Dijon one month after the expiration of the term assigned. Besides these clauses of the treaty, there was a pecuniary ransom not yet stipulated, and upon which were exacted in advance, 20,000 saluts d'or, as well as 18,000 florins claimed by the Marshal de Toulon-geon as the ransom of the Sire de Rodemach. René subscribed without hesitation to all these conditions, in order to get free, and that he might return to Lorraine, once more preside over the government of his states, and by his presence afford some remedy for the accumulated evils which overwhelmed his people. There was yet, however, one condition more added to these numerous exactions, and this was still more painfully extorted from him.

The imperious Count de Vaudemont had again taken up arms, and at the head of 7,000 men threatened to possess himself by force of the duchy with which they refused to invest him. When he heard of the negotiations entered into at Dijon he again proclaimed his rights, and took active measures with the approval of Philip, only consenting to remain at peace in expectation of a final decision, conditionally, that René should bestow the hand of his eldest daughter Yolande upon his own son, Ferri of Lorraine.

At first René rejected this demand, and his repugnance was only too just; but motives of general policy

prevailed, and he submitted this point to his council. It was afterwards referred by René and Antoine to the arbitration of the Duke of Burgundy to determine the conditions of this marriage, and it was finally settled that Yolande should receive 18,000 florins of the Rhine as her dower, the half of which sum should be appropriated to the purchase of a domain for the betrothed. It was agreed that the parties should be affianced on the 24th of June of the same year, and that afterwards the princess Yolande should be conducted to Neufchâtel, and confided to the care of Count Antoine de Vaudemont until the day of the marriage. This treaty was signed by the two princes who were reconciled to each other, and all the articles were duly observed, to the great joy of the people.

In a letter addressed about this time by René to the Regency of Lorraine, in which he required them to send his two sons to him, we find stated the considerations which induced him to submit himself to these rigorous exactions. "The misfortunes and divisions caused in my states by my detention, make it a law for me," says he, "to employ as soon as possible all the means in my power to put a speedy end to them."

The return of René was indeed imperatively demanded by the grief of his beloved wife and mother, as well as by the miserable condition of Lorraine. John of Fenestranges, Grand Marshal of Lorraine, Gerard of Haraucourt, Seneschal, James of Haraucourt, Bailiff of Nanci, Philip of Lenoncourt, and others, conducted John and Louis of Anjou to Langres and thence to Dijon, where they arrived on the 28th of April, previous to their father's liberation. René finally left his prison on the 1st of May, 1432,\* and about the same period Yolande, his eldest daughter, was

1432.

\* Moreri; Monfaucon; Biographie Universelle; Sismondi; Monstrelet; Mezerai; Baudier; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

separated from her mother, and departed to the Countess de Vaudemont.\*

1432.  
Monstrelet.

It was at this time that René entered into a treaty with two princes, with whom he had been for some time at war. These were two brothers, the Counts of St. Pol and of Ligny; the latter had conquered Guise, a city which had formed part of the inheritance of the Duke of Bar, and which René had ceded to his mother, Queen Yolande, in 1424, when her guardianship ended. For the security of this place René freely gave up the Castle of Bohein, in the presence of many of his nobility, by his orders assembled. Upon this occasion the proposals were made for the marriage of Margaret, René's younger daughter, with the Count of St. Pol's second son, Peter of Luxembourg; † but this was deferred until another meeting. ‡

Margaret of Anjou, the fourth child of René and Isabella, was at this period scarcely three years of age, and just commencing her education, at Nanci, under the eye of her illustrious mother. By this tender parent she was carefully instructed, and gave early promise of the talents and beauty which afterwards so much distinguished her.

1433.  
Monstrelet.

The Duke of Burgundy, in 1433, held the feast of the Golden Fleece, at Dijon; and shortly after, being invited by Amé, eighth Duke of Savoy, to be present at the marriage of his son, the Count of Genoa, about to be united to the daughter of the King of Cyprus, at Chambery, the Duke repaired thither with an escort of two hundred knights and esquires. René of Anjou was also there. He was received with the greatest respect by the Duke of Savoy, and was placed at the nuptial banquet next the bride. There were

\* Villeneuve Bargemont; Biographie Universelle; Monstrelet.

† The equerry of the Count of St. Pol had taken René prisoner.

‡ Monstrelet; Villeneuve Bargemont.

also present, the uncle of the bride, the Cardinal of Cyprus, the Count of Nevers, and the heir of Cleves. On the day of the arrival of the Duke of Burgundy, the wedding took place, and it was followed by a plentiful feast, and a succession of diversions. At this court was seen a luxury quite regal, and the most exquisite politeness.

It was here that René beheld for the first and last time, Margaret, the daughter of the Duke of Savoy, who, at this time, was preparing to rejoin her husband, Louis III., Duke of Anjou. This princess, resplendent in beauty, youth, and grace, was the ornament of the wedding feast.

After these fêtes, Margaret of Savoy immediately set out for Italy, with a numerous suite. Philip and Amé also departed; they only separated at Chalons, where, by an act of the 26th of February, the Duke of Burgundy completed his marks of generosity towards his prisoner, by prolonging the period of his freedom, and allowing his two sons to go and meet him at Nanci.\*

It was in the interval of this journey to the Court of Savoy that Charles VII., his Queen Mary, Charles of Anjou, and the Duke of Bourbon, not satisfied with the treaty of Brussels, had made overtures to the Regency of Lorraine, to act directly, and even without the authority of René, with the Emperor Sigismund. This monarch appeared in fact to be the only arbiter whose right of decision regarding the sovereignty of Lorraine could not be disputed. The Bishops of Metz and Verdun undertook earnestly to commence this delicate negotiation, and supported by the French ambassadors, they had all the success they could anticipate; consequently, René and the Count de Vaudemont were summoned to Basle, where the

\* Monstrelet; Villeneuve Bargemont.

Emperor was staying, in order that in his presence they should maintain their respective pretensions. One thing, however, had not been considered, viz., that René, who was only free on his parole, could not absent himself without the consent of the Duke of Burgundy, and that it became necessary to inform this prince of all that passed. The Duke was hurt that René should have thus acted without his knowledge, and at a moment when he was himself showing so much generosity towards his captive. At first, he haughtily refused to permit René to depart from Nanci; but, on reflection, he consented; requiring, however, that in their father's absence, his two sons, John and Louis of Anjou, should be conducted to the Tour de Bar. This order was immediately executed, and René quitted Lorraine, followed by some gentlemen, who all arrived at Basle at the same time as the Count de Vaudemont, on the 23rd of April, 1434.\*

1434.  
Villeneuve  
Bargemont.

The relationship of the Emperor Sigismund to René,† as much as the apparent justice of his cause, inclined him to favour his young relative. Thus, in his reception of the two illustrious competitors with the greatest marks of regard, he yet could not help exhibiting peculiar goodwill towards René. His court and Council participated in this feeling, which became so manifested, that it could not escape the observation of the Count de Vaudemont. This prince fearing, and not without reason, that this prejudice would influence the decision of the tribunal of the empire, caused an act to be committed to paper, in Latin, declaring his opposition to any judgment unless the title produced by his rival should be first communicated to him; and so anxious was he that this writing should be delivered safely into the hands of Sigismund, that he accom-

\* Biographie Universelle; Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.  
† He was the son of a sister of Louis I. of Anjou.

panied the lawyers and advocates who were to present it. He entered with them into the cabinet of this monarch, and after it had been read, began to discuss it himself; but he was interrupted by Sigismund immediately, who told him he perfectly understood his reasons, and that he would confer with his Council about the matter. This abrupt manifestation of the Emperor's will did not prevent one of the Count's advocates beginning a long harangue, in which, going back to the origin of Lorraine, he sought to prove that the duchy being a fief male, was not transferable by marriage; and in support of his arguments, he brought so many quotations foreign to the case, that the Emperor at last offended, withdrew, leaving the Bishop of Passaw, the Count of Cetingen, and Chicala, his Aulic Counsellor, to listen to the conclusion of the discourse.\*

The next day, the 24th of April, the Duke, with his principal officers, went in state to the cathedral of Notre Dame at Basle, where a mass of people awaited his arrival, expecting that the investiture of Lorraine must be irrevocably fixed. Each person was seated according to his rank. When Sigismund was about to ascend the magnificent throne which had been prepared for him in the choir, the Count de Vaudemont advanced to him, and solicited and obtained from him permission to plead his cause in public. His advocate then commenced his harangue, which, as he entered into minute details and repeated facts already well known, was of great length; but he was, notwithstanding, heard in profound silence. He had scarcely finished when the Emperor made a sign to his Aulic Counsellor to pronounce judgment. Chicala then, with a loud voice, said, "that the Emperor being well instructed on this important proceeding, and of the respective titles of

\* Villeneuve Bargemont.

the august pretendants, and having reflected on it maturely, as well as the princes and lords who composed his Council, gave, by provision or grant, the Duchy of Lorraine to René of Anjou; yet without prejudice to the future rights of the Count de Vaudemont."

Sigismond then motioned to the young prince to draw near, received his oath of fidelity, and recognised him as Duke of Lorraine, according to all the formula in use from time immemorial. This prompt and unlooked-for decision much disconcerted the Count de Vaudemont, who instantly quitted the assembly, earnestly protesting against the validity of this judgment, and with his mind intent on disturbing anew the tranquillity of his fortunate rival, he departed from Basle.\*

René, meanwhile, full of joy and gratitude, and desiring to profit by a second prolongation of his liberty granted to him by the Duke of Burgundy, dated the 1st of May, bade adieu to Sigismond.

The universal joy upon his arrival at Nanci, convinced this prince how much his presence was desired by the people of Lorraine, and how perfectly they comprehended his attachment to them. In their congratulations of one another they seemed to forget their past sufferings, and even sought to erase their remembrance from the minds of those individuals who had endured the most. Deeply affected by these sentiments, René in his turn sought to give proof of his own satisfaction, and ordered preparations to be made for a general fête, to be held at Pont-à-Mousson, on the 11th of the same month. All the lords of the neighbouring States were invited to join it, with a guarantee that they should return to their houses in

\* Moreri; Barante; Monfaucon; Villeneuve Bargemont; Baudier; Godard Faultrier; Mezerai: Biographie Universelle.

safety. This precaution was indispensable in those times, when even the highways were not free from peril.

At the tournaments, balls, and other amusements that succeeded, René and Isabella presided, which afforded general satisfaction. The greatest order and harmony prevailed, interrupted only by one event, which happened at the close of these diversions and might have led to serious results.\*

Robert de Sarrebruche, not having been invited to this fête, probably on account of his bad conduct at Bulgneville,† regarded this neglect as a deadly affront, and to revenge himself, concealed himself with some soldiers in a thick wood through which the knights of Metz would have to pass, and taking them by surprise, dispersed some and captured eighteen of them, whom he brought to Commercy.

This audacity was resented by René, who assembled several noblemen of Lorraine and a large body of troops, and marched upon Commercy, which the Damoisel resolved to defend to the utmost; but he was unable to repel the efforts of René, and was only preserved from the just punishment of his temerity by the mediation of the Constable of Richemont, to whom René was under some obligations.

These princes resolved to raise the siege of Commercy, and decided that Robert de Sarrebruche should go to Bar, whither they were themselves about to proceed. At this place the Damoisel, throwing himself at the feet of René and the Constable, acknowledged his repentance, and promised upon oath never again to take up arms against the Duke of Lorraine, on pain of forfeiture of a large sum of money. After this,

\* Villeneuve Bargemont.

† He was one of the knights whose imprudent counsel in favour of the attack caused the defeat of René.

Robert de Sarrebruche was set free, but soon afterwards an accidental circumstance rekindled his anger, and he threatened René haughtily. The Constable, enraged at this conduct, caused him to be arrested, and compelled him to subscribe to the conditions which had been exacted from him. At this time also, some other quarrels with the neighbouring lords engaged the attention of René.\*

It would appear that the Duke of Lorraine, although bound to return to his prison at the expiration of a year, viz., on the 1st of May, 1433, continued to enjoy his liberty for two entire years, without any desire being manifested on the part of the Duke of Burgundy to terminate it. Had he not, indeed, felt the fullest confidence in the honour of René, he had his two sons for hostages, who were answerable for him; in short, everything seemed to lead to the belief that this prince would continue still to exercise the same generosity towards his prisoner.

The solemn judgment, however, pronounced by the Emperor Sigismond, at Basle, had made the Count de Vaudemont more than ever the enemy of René, and it was with the utmost vexation that he beheld the strong attachment of the people of Lorraine to their Duke. He perceived that his own cause would be ruined, if his rival remained at liberty, and in the exercise of the sovereign power; he therefore renewed his entreaties with the Duke of Burgundy, that his rights should be recognised, and complained that they had taken away from him a prisoner who belonged to him only, as the chief of the victorious army at Bulgneville. He even retraced, in a long memoir, the circumstances of that eventful day; and in conclusion, supplicated the Duke of Burgundy to leave him master of the fate of René, or, at least, to oblige him to return to his

\* Monstrelet; Villeneuve Bargemont.

prison. These reiterated solicitations at last prevailed with Philip, who, finding some of the Count's reasons unanswerable, sent one of his heralds-at-arms to the gate of René's palace, to enjoin him "to return without delay to the Tour de Bar," agreeably to the act of the 6th of April, 1432.\*

The rejoicings of his family and subjects upon the decision of the Emperor Sigismond were scarcely over, when Philip's abrupt command was received by René to return to his prison.

The severe mandate struck with dismay the Council of Lorraine, who, in unison with the unhappy Isabella, vainly endeavoured to alter the mind of Philip, or to delay the accomplishment of the cruel sentence. Equally useless were their attempts to picture to this Duke the misfortunes which would inevitably be renewed in their country, which had but just been spared so many miseries—the will of Philip was irrevocable.

The people of Lorraine would have fought for the freedom of René, but it was to no purpose that they urged this noble-minded prince to allow them to do so; his word had been pledged, and he said, "he preferred to submit to the lot which awaited him, rather than endure the dishonour of breaking his word." His sense of honour prevailed over natural affection. Unappalled by a gloomy futurity, he tore himself from the tender embraces of his family, and while hastening to obey this cruel sentence and resume his chains, he seemed to have adopted the saying attributed to his great grandfather, John, King of France—"Que si la foi et la vérité étoient bannies de tout le reste du monde, néanmoins elles devroient se retrouver dans la bouche des rois." Thus did this prince gain the esteem even

\* Monfaucon; Moreri; Mezerai; Biographie Universelle; Baudier; Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.



of his enemies.\* This action of René was the more noble, because at this time he was supported by his relative, Charles VII., by a multitude of his former companions in arms, and especially by subjects who were devoted to him, and thus he was able, had he desired it, to oppose open force to the commands of Philip. This admirable trait of character has, however, been blamed by some authors, who, unable to appreciate his greatness of soul, have beheld in it only a deficiency of courage and weakness of mind.†

René was conveyed again to his prison at Dijon, but a formidable league having been formed to liberate him, it was no longer deemed prudent to let him remain in the Tour de Bar, and they hastened to conduct him to the château de Rochefort.

The lords of Burgundy, hearing that Charles VII. sought to get him removed from the town, came to him, and said, "Sir, you have dwelt here long enough; you must come with us." The Duke replied, "Alas! where do you want to take me to?" To which they answered, "Never mind, we will take you to a good place; we shall make good cheer, and we will live with you." They then conveyed him to Bracon.‡

Again we behold this prince in confinement at the finest period of his life, and separated from all he held most dear in the world, and this also when he had scarcely learnt his power of doing good; he had besides, at this time, lost every prospect of obtaining his freedom.

What sources of reflection must have been presented to him in the caprices of fortune to which he had already been subject; and who, more than this prince, had reason to dwell with sadness on the chain of events which often composes man's destiny, when,

\* Sismondi; *Biographie Universelle*.

† Villeneuve Bargemont.

‡ *Chronique de Lorraine*.

amidst the gloom of his prison, a kingdom was presented to him in perspective, yet in receiving its crown he was destined to lament the loss of a brother he tenderly loved!

It was during his imprisonment at Bracon that René was visited by the Baron of Montelar, a gentleman of Provence, who was charged to announce to him the death of his brother, Louis III., Duke of Anjou, whose rights and possessions now became the inheritance of the Duke of Lorraine. He was also informed by this baron of the favourable intentions of Queen Joanna towards him, and of the devotion of the people of Provence.

René truly mourned the loss of his brother, which, together with the sad tidings of another bereavement quickly succeeding, much augmented the gloom of his captivity.

Vidal de Cabanis, another gentleman of Provence, arrived at Bracon on the 15th of March, 1435; he came to inform his master of the death of Queen Joanna II. on the 2nd of February, and of her adoption of René, and confirmation of the disposition which his brother had made to him of all his rights to the kingdom of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem.\* After having beheld the last moments of the Queen of Naples, the only offspring of the House of Duraz-Anjou, Vidal had set off in haste in order to instruct René in all the details which might interest him, and above all to depict to him the affection of the Neapolitans for his family—a just and touching homage to the memory of his father, as well as to that of the unhappy Louis III. This testimony of devotion on the part of Vidal de Cabanis much affected René, who embraced his faithful messenger with kindness

1435.  
Villeneuve  
Bargemont.

\* Moreri; Bodin; Monfaucon; Gaufridi; Sismondi; Godard Faultrier; Monstrelet; *Biographie Universelle*; Villeneuve Bargemont.

and called him his loyal servant. He shed tears afresh for the loss of his brother, lamented the death of Queen Joanna, and endeavoured to understand thoroughly, by means of his faithful ambassador, the actual condition of the kingdom of Naples.

It was difficult for René to calculate on the part which the Court of Rome would take at this juncture between Charles VII., who favoured René, and Alphonso V., the competitor of René. The Pope himself had even been nourishing, in secret, pretensions to the kingdom of Naples. The support of this pontiff could not therefore be relied upon.

With much more certainty did René estimate the friendship of the Duke of Milan; he thought he could naturally rely upon his support, since he was doubly allied to him on account of Valentine, Duchess of Orleans, and Margaret of Savoy, whose eldest sister he had married. It was, nevertheless, highly important that he should not be forestalled in the good opinion of Philip Visconti, and also equally necessary that René should show himself in person in Italy, in order not to give time for the zeal of the Neapolitans to abate. René could now see clearly how much his loss of liberty would cost him, but he had no hope of softening the Duke of Burgundy, and the only means he could adopt for the preservation of Naples was to dismiss his consort Isabella very promptly to Provence, and even to Naples, with the unlimited powers of Lieutenant-General. The ambassador himself undertook to go to the Duchess and apprise her of it; he then quitted the fort Bracon, and René became from this time more than ever a prey to anxiety of mind.\*

The elevation to the throne of Naples, so unlooked for, yet so flattering to the heart of René, had no influence in procuring his liberation from prison. The

\* Villeneuve Bargemont.

Duke of Burgundy was even more urgent than ever, and watchful for the security of his captive. René, perceiving at length that his severity was unabated, dismissed Queen Isabella into Italy, as he had arranged with the faithful Vidal de Cabanis, hoping by this means to preserve in his interests the Pope and the Duke of Milan, to arouse the zeal of the Angevine party, and to overthrow the intrigues of Alphonso, King of Arragon, who still laid claim to the throne of Naples in right of his former election.\*

Queen Isabella at this time mourned the loss of her respected mother, Margaret of Bavaria, who had died on the 27th of August in the previous year, at Nanci. After the death of Duke Charles, the widowed Margaret had built an hospital at Einville-aux-jurs (which had been part of her dower), and there she had resided, in the constant exercise of charity, distributing alms liberally to the poor, and serving them with her own hands. Thus had she passed her time to the end of her pious life.†

The virtues of the noble Isabella appear to have been called forth by adversity, justly entitled "the school of heroes." We have now to follow the consort of René in a career in which she displayed a bold and enterprising spirit, and such superior talents as rendered her justly deserving to be ranked among the number of the most illustrious princesses of the fifteenth century. To great political abilities, Isabella, at the age of five and twenty, united a persuasive eloquence, and an exterior affable and imposing. These, added to her natural vivacity and ardour, rendered her capable of engaging in a great enterprise, of conquering its ob-

\* Dom Calmet. Monfaucon; Bodin; Villeneuve Bargemont; Mezerai, Biographie Universelle; Godard Faultrier.

† Margaret of Bavaria was interred in the church of St. George, Nanci, by the side of the Duke of Lorraine, her husband.

stacles, braving its perils, and bringing to her allegiance all such Neapolitans as were still undecided, or opposed to her interests.\*

This princess had one great incentive to exertion, one only object in view, in this vast enterprise; but this was dear to her heart, long and earnestly desired—the liberation of her husband from captivity—this it was which nerved her to more than feminine attempts. She despaired of softening the Duke of Burgundy, and her grief at her husband's misfortunes determined her on sustaining his rights, in the hope, however remote, that by fulfilling the wishes of the Provençaux and the Neapolitans, she might hasten the time, or obtain the means, to set her husband free. With these views, Isabella committed the care of her government of Lorraine and of Bar to the Bishops of Metz and Verdun, and prepared for her expedition, while a crowd of lords sued for the honour of accompanying her. Two of her children were at this time absent from her: John, Duke of Calabria,† the eldest, shared the captivity of his father at Bracon, but whether through the favour or severity of the Duke of Burgundy is not known; while Yolande, the eldest daughter of Isabella, had become the pledge of peace with the Count de Vaudemont, and had gone to reside with his Countess. Louis, Marquis of Pont-à-Mousson, the second son of Isabella, and Margaret of Anjou, her youngest daughter, only remained with her, to share the dangers or participate in the honours of their mother's enterprise.‡ With these beloved children, this courageous princess set out for Naples. In her way thither she first visited Provence, and was received with transports of joy by the people of

\* Villeneuve Bargemont.

† This title was inherited by the eldest son of the King of Naples.

‡ Biographie Universelle; Bodin.

Aix. She there convoked a General Assembly of the States, and took oath always to maintain the privileges of the capital and of all Provence. In return she received the homage and oaths of fidelity of that corporation, and of those of the principal cities of the country. The Provençaux had been recently visited by a pestilence, as well as by a long and disastrous war; but during the short visit of Isabella, her prudence, firmness, and the amenity of her manners so gained upon the hearts of the people, that in spite of their misfortunes they evinced the utmost eagerness to supply their new sovereign with men, money, and vessels.

With these supplies the Queen of Naples (for thus henceforth she must be styled) resolved to embark at Marseilles. Upon entering this town, another cordial welcome not a little affected the princess, to whom these public rejoicings manifested the interest they felt for her cause.\*

Isabella's first care had been to make herself acquainted with the parties which divided Naples. Her next precaution, before she set sail for the shores of Italy, was to ascertain the dispositions of her allies, and to this end she dismissed the Archbishop of Aix, Amino Nicolai, on an embassy to the Duke of Milan. The venerable prelate was accompanied by three deputies, who had been devoted to Louis III. These, viz., Vidal de Cabanis, Louis de Bouliers, Viscount de Reillanne, and Charles de Castillon, were to bring back the reply of Philip Visconti to Isabella, who, upon receiving it, was to be prepared to set sail for Naples.

It is interesting to behold how Queen Isabella, even at a time when her mind was occupied by these political measures of so much importance in the commencement of her new career,—it is interesting, we

\* Biographie Universelle.

say, to regard the tender wife, ever mindful of the smallest things which could divert the melancholy or alleviate the sufferings of her unfortunate husband. Thus having herself admired the picturesque aspect of the castle of Tarascon, (which had been finished by Louis II. of Anjou in the year 1400,) Isabella employed a skilful painter to take a view of it, and then sent the artist with his work to exhibit it to René, at Bracon.

Symptoms of a violent pestilence at Aix had driven the Queen to take refuge in the village of Tarascon, a place separated from Languedoc by the Rhone, and here the appearance of Isabella and her children excited the most lively joy; indeed, wherever they went, the same welcome was manifested. "The people of Tarascon admired the young Prince and Princess as if they had been two angels who had descended from heaven. In the streets, which were decorated with festoons, garlands, and flowers, there were bonfires blazing, songs and public rejoicings; chants of music in the churches, and everywhere continual benedictions."\*

Queen Isabella was too impatient to show herself at Naples to wait very long for the return of her ambassadors, and finding they did not appear, she no longer thought it prudent to delay her departure. She gave orders to William de Baux, Lord of Maillane and St. Vallier, to visit in her absence all the posts and fortifications on the coasts of Provence which might require to be defended against the incursions of the Catalonians. On quitting the Provençaux, Queen Isabella expressed in the most lively manner her grief at parting from them, and at leaving her husband and her son in captivity; indeed, so affecting was her farewell, that her new subjects voted by acclamation a sum of 25,000 florins for the ransom of the Duke of Calabria.†

\* *Chronique de Lorraine.*

† Villeneuve Bargemont.

The fleet of Queen Isabella consisted of five galleys, armed and equipped at Marseilles, which cast anchor in sight of Frejus about the beginning of October. The Queen took on board the Bishop of that city, Jean Bernaud, who was ambassador of Charles VII. at the Council of Basle, and had been distinguished for his virtues and extensive information. While in full sail for the coast of Frejus, the Queen's deputies from Milan, bringing the most satisfactory despatches, disembarked at Marseilles, and set out again immediately for Naples. After a fortunate passage, Isabella appeared at Gaëta, and was received with the respect due to her as sovereign.

Being informed that in this place many of the partisans of Alphonso had taken refuge, and guided by some treacherous or imprudent counsels, the Queen displaced Ottolini Zoppo, whom the Duke of Milan had made Governor of Gaëta. This act of authority, the consequence of which Isabella did not foresee, afterwards proved highly prejudicial to her interests. She quitted Gaëta, however, in full confidence, and proceeded to disembark at Naples.\*

\* Villeneuve Bargemont.

## CHAPTER II.

"Why, then I do but dream on sov'reignty,  
 "Like one that stands upon a promontory,  
 "And spies a far-off shore where he would tread,  
 "Wishing his foot were equal with his eye,  
 "And chides the sea that sunders him from thence,  
 "Saying, he'll lade it dry, to have his way."

SHAKESPEARE.—*Henry VI.*

Queen Isabella's reception at Naples—Her talents and influence—Rival claims—Alphonso set free—The Queen's successes—New efforts to release René—He is set at liberty—He goes to Tours—Into Anjou and Provence—Thence to Genoa and Naples—His reception—His poverty—His cause declines—Naples besieged—Death of Don Pedro—Alphonso retires—Caldora dies—René visits the provinces—Treason of Antoine Caldora—René's losses—Alphonso renews the siege of Naples—He enters the city—René's bravery—He is defeated—Alphonso triumphant—He is acknowledged by the Pope—René returns to France—A marriage contract—Death of René's mother—Louis of Anjou dies—René at Tours—A treaty of peace with England—Contract of marriage of Margaret of Anjou with Henry VI.

It was somewhat extraordinary that the two competitors for the crown of Naples, after the death of Queen Joanna, were both prisoners at the same time: René of Anjou being detained in the Tour de Bar by the Duke of Burgundy, and Alphonso of Arragon still a prisoner of Philip Galiezzo, Duke of Milan. When these princes recovered their liberty, the war was resumed with great vigour; meanwhile, it was only through the energy and courage of Isabella of Lorraine that the Angevine cause was sustained in Naples.

1435. The consort of René of Anjou arrived in the Neapolitan capital on the 18th of October, 1435, a few months after the death of Joanna II., and found the people strongly predisposed in her favour, not merely

from the choice of their late queen, but more especially from their attachment to Louis III., who, by his great condescension, had won all their hearts.

Queen Isabella was conducted, with her son Louis and her daughter Margaret, to the Capuan castle, the ancient residence of the Angevine princes. In their way thither, they traversed the city under a magnificent canopy of velvet, embroidered with gold; and they were met by a deputation, headed by the Count de Nola, of sixteen lords, nominated by the late queen, who all paid their compliments to their new sovereign, and gave her a most gracious reception.

These lords immediately took their oaths of fealty and obedience to the Angevine queen, and their example was followed by a crowd of barons, while deputations of the various classes of the people pressed forward to welcome her, and proclaim her the Queen; in short, the Neapolitans bestowed the crown on Isabella of Lorraine amidst transports of universal joy.

This excellent princess was far from exulting in the high position to which she had, so suddenly, been advanced; she was but too well aware that with the regal diadem come many responsibilities; and to her, the anticipation of trials and difficulties, which to struggle against and overcome would require the utmost resources of her genius.\*

The kingdom of Naples, once so flourishing, was at this time without troops, finances, or even an influential chief. The Neapolitan generals had too often changed sides from caprice or interest; and finally had arrogated to themselves independent authority. Therefore had not Queen Isabella possessed a strong mind,

\* Villeneuve Bargemont; Denina; Sismondi; l'Abbé Millot; Hallam; Godard Faultrier.



she would have been discouraged by the aspect of affairs; for she had but a small number of generals of approved fidelity, and she was, as yet, only acknowledged in the capital; but her firmness, moderation, goodness, and prudence, soon placed her at the head of a powerful army, and strengthened the devotedness of the nobles and old partisans of the House of Anjou, who already idolized their heroic queen. Certain it is, that had not fortune, in favouring Alphonso, created continually unforeseen misfortunes for René, the conduct of his courageous and enlightened consort would have confirmed for ever the crown of Naples to the Duke of Anjou and his posterity, and this testimony has been given by all impartial historians. The result, however, was unfortunate; and Queen Isabella sustained, with a noble and undaunted spirit, only an unequal contest with Alphonso during three years, at the expiration of which time she was rejoined by the King, her husband.\*

The claims of the House of Anjou, which Isabella was so nobly representing, were founded on the adoption of Queen Joanna I.; who, to punish the ingratitude of her cousin, Charles III., had disinherited the branch of Duraz. No descendant of Charles of Anjou now remained, but the line of Duraz was not extinct.

Alphonso, King of Arragon, on the contrary, based his rights upon the choice of Joanna II.; for although his adoption by this princess had been revoked, it was pretended that it was a reciprocal treaty, and that to be annulled the consent of both parties was required. The Spanish king had besides a claim to the Neapolitan throne, anterior to that of the Angevine princes, transmitted by Constance, the daughter of Manfred, to

\* Villeneuve Bargemont.

the line of Arragon; and in Sicily, Alphonso already reigned as the nearest heir of the Normans by whom this kingdom was founded.\*

With no less right than either of these competitors, Eugène IV. had claimed the crown of this kingdom, which had been enfeoffed to the three Houses of Hauteville, Hohenstauffen, and Anjou; conditionally, that it should return to the Church on the extinction of the legitimate line in these Houses. This happened at the time of Queen Joanna's death, when Eugène IV. immediately announced his rights, but he found it impossible to make this important conquest. Being driven, at length, from the Papal dominions, Eugène resided at Florence, and, while there, he interdicted the two rivals fighting, at the same time forbidding the people to obey them; and he nominated as Governor, in his own name, Giovanni Witteleschi, Patriarch of Alexandria, who, no less a soldier than an ecclesiastic, was able to maintain with the sword the rights of the Pope, his master.

It had been the design of Alphonso to anticipate the arrival of the French in Italy, and he speedily organized a large body of Spanish soldiers from Sicily, with which he entered the kingdom of Naples, and was there joined by Giovanni Marzano, Duke of Suessa, and other nobles, with their followers. With these he besieged Gaëta, one of the richest and finest ports on the Mediterranean. The inhabitants had, upon the death of Queen Joanna, invited the Genoese to keep a garrison there, until the legitimate heir to the Neapolitan throne should be acknowledged; and François Spinola had been appointed Commander by

\* The illegitimacy of Manfred, however, rendered these claims invalid, as they also became by the number of females who had passed from House to House, as well as by a prescription of an hundred and seventy-five years.—*Sismendi*; *Denina*.

the Genoese, with Ottolini Zoppo to support him, who was secretary to the Duke of Milan. Thus was the town ably defended, the garrison established, being composed of 300 Genoese soldiers, besides some Milanese troops, who repulsed Alphonso most effectually. This prince also found, that although he was acknowledged as sovereign by many of the Neapolitans, a strong party still remained in favour of King René, which induced the Spanish prince to seek the assistance of Pope Eugène. This pontiff constantly refused him, saying, "that if his claims were as incontestable as he represented, he could commence by laying down his arms, and ceasing to make war."

This answer irritated Alphonso, who immediately sought to show an ardent zeal for the Council of Basle, and wrote to the Pope to engage him to obey its decrees. He then advanced to Rome, and had nearly made himself master of the city, when Witelleschi appeared, and defeated his project.\*

The engagement which decided, for the time being, this struggle for power, and in which Alphonso was taken prisoner, occurred on the 5th of August, 1435. In the following October, Queen Isabella arrived at Naples, to the support of the Angevine cause. Most effectually could Pope Eugène have advanced the interests of this Queen, but all his endeavours were rendered useless by the peculiar dangers of his own position, being threatened by the thunders of the Council of Basle, and his own authority contested. Thus, finding his tiara insecure, his conduct became variable, and he finally consulted only his own personal interests.

The removal of the Governor of Gaëta by Queen Isabella, served as an excuse for the Arragonese

1435.  
Sismondi.

\* Eccles. Hist.; Sismondi; Villeneuve Bargemont.

faction to raise discontent, suspicion, and division; and after the departure of the Queen, the agents of Alphonso became audacious, and invited Don Pedro, the brother of Alphonso, to land with his troops and take possession of Gaëta, which they did without opposition, and made known their success to Alphonso.\*

This prince, meanwhile, had been seeking to prejudice the Duke of Milan, whose prisoner he was, against Isabella. Visconti was a weak, though an affable and generous prince, and when Alphonso had discovered his character, he set to work to aggravate the affront which had been offered by the Queen in the removal of the Governor of Gaëta. When possessed of this place, Alphonso became more bold in his arguments against the Angevines, and exerted himself to prove to the Duke of Milan, that his real interests forbade him to support René. "If he is once acknowledged sovereign of the kingdom, you will soon see," said he, "this prince leagued against you with the ambitious Charles VII. The Alps will be an insufficient barrier to protect you. All Italy will become the object of his efforts, and the Milanese will, doubtless, be the first invaded. You are not ignorant that the Court of France has already discussed whether, even during your lifetime, she should not assert the rights on this principality, transmitted by Valentine of Milan. Remember that the ties of blood are but a vain phantom, that vanishes before interest or ambition; and forget not, that the Duke Galeas, your father (whose sister had espoused the brother of Charles VI.), feared nothing so much as the French. Does Philip then believe he has less cause to dread them?" This representation, made by a prince so eloquent as Alphonso, made so great an

\* Sismondi; Villeneuve Bargemont.

impression on Philip Visconti, that, adopting without reserve the views of his captive, he gave him his liberty without ransom at the end of the month of October, and previous to their separation, a treaty of alliance was signed between them. The Duke of Milan did not even consult the Genoese on this step, so much was he fascinated by his royal prisoner.\*

Alphonso of Arragon, having thus obtained his freedom, hastily quitted Milan. After a short stay in Spain, he went to Gaëta, and arrived there on the 2nd of February, 1436. His presence revived the zeal of his partisans, and attracted to his cause many who had hitherto been undecided. Deputies came also from several neighbouring cities to him, and hoisted his standard; in short, from this time he had every reason to hope for success.

One error had, however, been committed by Alphonso in concluding his treaty with Philip Visconti, viz., in considering Eugène IV. as one of their enemies. This was impolitic,—and the Pontiff, already disposed to favour René, now decided on recognising him as King of Naples, and sent to Isabella, who needed troops, the same Witteleschi who had been employed previously to take possession of the kingdom in the name of the Church. In April of this year, the Patriarch of Alexandria arrived in the Neapolitan territories, with 4,000 foot soldiers and 5,000 horse, to render assistance to the Angevine queen. They succeeded in taking by assault several fortresses, and encountered Jean des Ursins, Prince of Tarentum, the Arragonese chief, whom they routed, and thus suddenly arrested the efforts of Alphonso.†

This salutary diversion enabled Isabella to drive

\* Villeneuve Bargemont; Sismondi.

† Sismondi; Villeneuve Bargemont.

1436.  
Sismondi.

away from their strongholds some seditious captains, who, until that time, had contrived to maintain themselves there. The Queen also dismissed the brave Michael Attendolo, with the young prince Louis, her son, to subdue Calabria. Thus, by her activity and wisdom, Queen Isabella speedily prevailed on the people to announce themselves in her favour, and she received the homage of the principal towns in the kingdom. These first successes, and the alliance with Eugène IV.—which Isabella sought to confirm—were celebrated at Naples by demonstrations of the most lively joy. Brilliant tournaments were, for several days, held in honour of the Queen, and jousts, balls, and all the varied amusements customary in that age.\* Isabella showed but little satisfaction at these multiplied fêtes, for her mind was pre-occupied by the condition of René, and of Lorraine.

While striving with all her means, as well as with all her heart, for the prompt deliverance of her husband, she supplicated Eugène IV., whose benevolence was never failing, to interest himself in procuring the freedom of René immediately, seeing how much needed as his presence as chief, in order to preserve the union and discipline of the army engaged in his cause. This tender solicitude prevailed with the sovereign pontiff, who attempted to move the generosity of the Duke of Burgundy by representing the extraordinary example of disinterestedness of the Duke of Milan, and by his earnest prayers that the Duke of Anjou might be promptly restored to his family and subjects. This wish had, indeed, become general throughout France as well as Italy, and its expression became more energetic.

In the preceding year, while Queen Isabella was traversing Provence, a meeting had taken place at

\* Villeneuve Bargemont; Bodin; Godard Faultrier.

Nanci, on the 19th of September, at which were present the Bishops of Metz and Verdun, and the ancient knights; and these engaged, at all sacrifices, to obtain the release of René, and to support him in the conquest of his kingdom. Again, in November of that year, the nobles of Barrois and Lorraine assembled, having taken the resolution to employ their persons and property for the deliverance of their duke.

These affecting details reached even the prison of the unfortunate René, who then thought of making an appeal to the devotedness and generosity of all his subjects. This excited a fresh burst of affection and loyalty, and in reply to his noble confidence, each one taxed himself to the utmost, being willing to contribute, according to his ability, for the ransom of his sovereign. The Regency received from all parts similar offerings and proposals; and one knight in particular, whose name ought to have been recorded in history, not content with expending a sum of 18,000 saluts d'or,\* engaged, without reserve, all the fiefs and domains he possessed.

These unquestionable testimonies of affection were made known to the Duke of Burgundy at the same time as the supplications of the Pope, but that prince had become still more inexorable towards René. He even wished to conceal from his captive the constant proofs of affection and loyalty so eagerly evinced for him by his friends and subjects. It appears that all communications, from his people or from Queen Isabella, to the unhappy prisoner were intercepted by the Duke of Burgundy; so that, the more earnest the desire manifested to break his fetters, the closer were they actually drawn, and the more remote appeared the day of his liberation.†

\* The salut valued 25 sols.—Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Villeneuve Bargemont.

From this time René was subjected to a discipline more rigid than before, kept in severe restraint, and no longer permitted the indulgence of communicating with any of his family. It was during this solitary confinement in the castle of Bracon, where René, yet in the flower of his age, was languishing in hopeless captivity, being secluded from intercourse with mankind, and receiving no intelligence of those he loved and no succours from his numerous allies, that "believing himself forgotten by everybody," says Duhaillan, and seeking to express a mute but eloquent grief, he painted, very appropriately, round the walls of the chamber where he was immured, and on the glasses, *des oublies d'or*, or wafers of gold, as emblematical of the isolation into which he was plunged. These "*oublies* \* or cornets (little horns) of gold," were painted by him with great taste, and disposed at unequal spaces, signifying, by this delicate invention, that his people had consigned him to oblivion. These paintings are still to be seen in the chateau, and are proofs of the skill of René, and of his exquisite taste in the art.† In addition to these, as we are told, René painted several other subjects on the thick walls of his prison, and scarcely knowing how to dissipate the *ennui* which consumed him, he traced there also a great number of sentences, or moral reflections suggested to him by his melancholy situation.‡

\* "On appelle *oublie* une espèce de pâtisserie légère d'une forme spéciale. Dans la phrase sur le roi René, cette expression forme un jeu de mots. Le bon roi donnait au mot *oublie* le sens du latin *oblivium*. L'étymologie véritable d'*oublie* ne se prête guères, il est vrai, à la pensée du bon roi : *oublie* (petit gâteau) vient de *oblitus*, offert; mais afin de donner un corps à l'expression de sa pensée, René d'Anjou a joué sur les deux sens si différens des mots *oublie*, gâteau; et *oubli*, *oblivium*. Ce jeu de mots est intraduisible en Anglais. Le calembourg était fort en honneur du temps de René, et les blasons en sont pleins."

† Chronique de Provence; Biographie Universelle; Dom Calmet; Nostradamus.

‡ Villeneuve Bargemont.

1436.  
Villeneuve  
Bargemont.

At length the period arrived when this prince was destined to receive the reward of his fortitude and resignation. The Duke of Burgundy, moved by so many petitions, appeared to be appeased, and on the 11th of April, 1436, sent his Chancellor, Rolin, and Jean de Fribourg, Governor of Burgundy, to acquaint his captive with the conditions of his release. These demands of Philip were so exorbitant, that, when submitted to the Council of Lorraine, they decreed it right to reject them. René, being informed of their resolve, wrote to the Regency that they had merited his esteem, in refusing to sanction a dishonourable treaty; that he would never have signed it himself; and that he would prefer to remain all his life a prisoner, rather than purchase his liberty on conditions so burdensome to his people. "If I die," he added, "in this cruel captivity, he who detains me gains by it only the shame of having thus reared a prince who would not otherwise be his prisoner. For the rest I place my confidence in heaven, and in my just rights."

After so many disappointments, René happily found that virtue never loses its empire over a generous heart. The noble spirit with which he had protested against an act which he thought injurious to his States, disarmed Philip, and perhaps made more impression on his mind than the persuasions of the Pope, of the Council of Basle, of Charles VII., and of all the princes of the blood, who had all now united to make a last attempt for the liberation of the Angevine prince. To effect their object, these combined powers, in concurrence with the Council of Lorraine, carried forward their negotiations with the Duke of Burgundy, and their efforts were ultimately crowned with success; the treaty being ratified and the royal prisoner set free.

There is much obscurity and contradiction in the writings of this period, some authors asserting that

René quitted Bracon for the Tour de Bar, and that he was afterwards conducted to Lille, where Philip held his court, and where he received the Chancellor, the Duke of Bourbon, and others, and finally concluded the treaty. Other historians have, with more truth, fixed these meetings at Dijon, where Philip was residing on the 4th of November, 1436, and from whence he repaired to Arras; leaving René, guarded by thirty *gens d'armes*, at the château de Talent.

While at Dijon the Duke of Burgundy had shown great favour towards his young cousin; he had evinced great joy at again beholding him, had often admitted him to his table with the Chancellor, Rolin, and in their discourses the principal points of his release were determined. At these interviews Rolin conceived so favourable an opinion of René, that upon his master's departure he offered him his support.

The treaty commenced at Dijon in November, 1436, was terminated at Brussels on the 28th of January, 1437. The ransom of René of Anjou was fixed at 200,000 golden florins (upwards of 83,000*l.*) and the cession of several places; amongst these were the manors of Cassell and of La Motte-aux-Bois, which had been formerly added to the Duchy of Bar as the dower of a princess of Flanders. René engaged to pay 100,000 crowns in the month of May, 1437, and the same sum at Dijon the following year; and the remaining 200,000 whenever he might be in complete possession of the kingdom of Sicily. For security René gave the seal of twenty lords of Lorraine and of Bar, ten of Anjou and Maine, and ten of Provence, and all these lords agreed to become prisoners in the forts of Besançon, Dijon, or Salins, should René forfeit his engagement.

There were other articles of the treaty, which they urged should be mollified, but it was in vain. Philip



further insisted—First, that René should observe a neutrality between the French, the Burgundians, and the English. Secondly, that in order to establish peace between these powers, René's second daughter, Margaret of Anjou, should espouse King Henry VI. of England, without prejudice to the marriage before agreed upon between her sister Yolande and Ferri of Vaudemont.\* Thirdly, the Duke of Burgundy required, that, should the sons of René die without male issue, the inheritance of Lorraine should devolve on Yolande, or her heirs, and that this princess should also receive, at her nuptials, a dower, consisting of a large sum of money.

Such were the terms upon which René could alone hope to obtain his freedom; but while the arbiters of the two parties were discussing the amendments in this treaty, at Brussels, the captive prince was transferred anew to the fort Bracon, his son, the Duke of Calabria, being a prisoner, on parole, in the Tour de Bar.

The modifications which René hoped to obtain were prevented by the artifice of the Count de Vaudemont, who contrived, by means of one of his friends, to counteract the generous efforts of the Chancellor, Rolin, and to neutralize his exertions in favour of the Angevine prince.† Thus René was compelled to subscribe to these hard conditions. He made concessions of every kind, and after promising a large sum of money, the cession of several cities, the mortgage of the Duchy of Bar, and even of his own person—after consenting to the marriage of his daughter Yolande, then nine years of age, to Ferri, the eldest son of his enemy the Count de Vaudemont, by which union Lorraine would be restored to the male heir of that family—

\* The Pope had granted a dispensation of kindred, for this marriage, on the 3rd of April, 1435.

† Villeneuve Bargemont.

after all these engagements, the unfortunate René was liberated.\*

The news which René had received from Italy is said to have hastened his termination of this treaty, and after having given his full consent to the conditions, the Duke of Burgundy at first only set him free on his parole, on the 11th of February, 1436; but, if he profited by this authority for some months, René must still have been in apprehension of captivity, since we find that the Duke of Bourbon, the Marshal de la Fayette, Christopher of Harcourt, the Constable of Richemont, and the Count de Vendôme, arrived at Rheims, on the 18th of October, to unite with Renaud of Chartres to obtain the release of René from the fort Bracon. They came to Salins early in November, and on the 7th of that month the Chancellor, Rolin, in their presence, drew up and caused to be signed the act for René's liberation. Finally, this prince departed from his prison of Bracon on the 25th of November, 1436. It being impossible that the enormous sum demanded by Philip could be raised immediately, a number of lords of Lorraine, each having four knights, again offered themselves as hostages, to be confined in one of the towers of Besançon, for one month beyond the expiration of the term granted him.

1436.  
Godard  
Faultrier.

The position of René was so sensibly felt, that, notwithstanding the embarrassed state of his finances, he received from King Charles VII., 20,000 florins; from the Bishop of Verdun, 8,000; from the Prince of Orange, 15,000; and a number of persons of less note also contributed to the first payment of his ransom.

After a rigorous captivity of five years' duration, the joy of René on quitting the mountains of Jura may

\* Biographie Universelle; Monstrelet; Bodin; Sismondi; Monfaucon; Barante; Villeneuve Bargemont; Baudier; Godard Faultrier; Mezerai.

well be imagined; yet even this was not altogether unalloyed, for he had left his son, the young Duke of Calabria, still detained as a hostage in the Tour de Bar. René was accompanied at his departure by the Chancellor, Rolin, as far as Pont-à-Mousson, the princes of France having returned to Charles VII. They afterwards all repaired to the Duke of Burgundy, at Lille, on the 25th of December, in order to ratify this important treaty. René also went to Lille, after a short stay at Pont-à-Mousson, and was present, as well as the Count of Vaudemont, at the Burgundian court upon this occasion. René happily profited by this meeting; for Philip, on the 1st of January, receiving the compliments of the season from René, generously cancelled part of his debt, as a gift, amounting to 200,000 saluts d'or.

Philip then conducted René and the French princes from Lille to the city of Arras, into which he made his entry with the utmost display of pomp and magnificence, surrounded by these princes, and the chief of the nobility of Burgundy, and several of the clergy, one of whom, the Bishop of Liege, had two hundred horses in his suite. Fêtes and rejoicings followed, commemorative of the peace just concluded; and while thus engaged, Philip sought, by various means, to make René forget the melancholy days of his imprisonment; and he gave him a new mark of his generosity, calculated to affect him much. He offered him for his son, the young Duke of Calabria, the hand of Mary of Bourbon, his niece, the daughter of Charles, Duke of Bourbon, a proposal joyfully accepted by René, after which Philip further remitted him 100,000 saluts d'or.\*

The first use which René made of his freedom was

\* Monfaucon; Villeneuve Bargemont.

to go and return thanks to the States of Bar and Lorraine, for their exertions to procure his release. The chief nobility of these duchies met him at Pont-à-Mousson, where he arrived on the 28th of February, 1437. He consulted with them on the necessities of his States, on the subject of his ransom, and other matters. During the course of these deliberations René went to Dijon, and brought back from thence his son, the Duke of Calabria. To those individuals whose devotedness and fidelity had been so eminently displayed towards him, René next proceeded to express, not only in words, but by various acts still in his power, the gratitude of his heart. Amongst these were Erard de Châtelet, Henri de Bar, the Sire de Rodemark, and others, to whom he made gifts of money or property; and to the people of Salins, who had shown so much interest for him, he granted the privilege of passing through his States without being subject to any of the tolls which were established there. The noble liberality of René extended even to his enemies. To the Damoisel de Commercy, (who, ever faithless to his engagements, had been taken with arms in his hands by the Regency, in August, 1436,) this prince gave liberty without ransom. In addition to these benefits, René made provision for the poor, and sought to render stable and uniform the administration of Lorraine. Nor was this prince wanting in his just tribute of gratitude to Charles VII. Leaving all the magnificent fêtes, prepared in Lorraine and at Metz, to celebrate his return, René quitted Nanci, attended by his chief knights, and repaired to Tours, where the King of France was then residing.\*

Soon afterwards René proceeded to Angers. Here

\* Villeneuve Bargemont; Biographie Universelle; Godard Faultrier.

1437.  
Villeneuve  
Bargemont.

he again received fresh testimonies of the affection and zeal of his people. It was during his stay in this province that René concluded the marriage of his son John, the Duke of Calabria, with Mary, the daughter of the Duke of Bourbon. This union was celebrated in April, 1437, at the city of Angers.\* The Duke of Calabria, at this time but twelve years of age, had already shown much aptitude for study, and it was easy to foresee that he would one day be distinguished for his talents and virtues. His education had been first superintended by Henri de Ville, but this prelate died while his pupil was detained in Burgundy. Those whom René selected to succeed him in this office were Jean Mauget, Nicholas of Haraucourt, Jean de Laland, and others, all of them distinguished for their talents and virtues, and especially Palamede de Forbin, who had been attached to the young Duke of Calabria even from his infancy. To the castle of Tucé, near Saumur, René next repaired, and there he passed a few days with his mother, Queen Yolande, now advanced in years. He then visited the other towns of Anjou, and received the oaths of fidelity of his people; after which he departed for Provence, being unable to yield to the wishes of the Angevins for his prolonged stay in their province, the state of his affairs at Naples requiring his presence.†

After the first successes of Witteleschi, Queen Isabella had flattered herself that she had found a loyal and courageous defender; but no sooner had this general become initiated in the secret of the state, than he abandoned her cause, and by this perfidy the Queen lost those advantages she had with such great difficulty obtained. It was only in Naples that Isabella could hope for support, and she therefore redoubled her in-

\* Some writers date this event in 1434.

† Monfaucon; Monstrelet; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

stances for the presence and assistance of the King, her husband.\*

René had resolved to go to Provence without again visiting Lorraine, where he had made provision for the care of his States. He had committed the government into the hands of the Bishops of Metz and Verdun, and Erard du Châtelet; but it would seem that this gave offence to Antoine de Vaudemont, who doubtless had expected to see his son, Ferri, appointed to the Regency during the absence of his new relative, and that he should himself have unlimited power over this country. His former resentment revived at the want of confidence, as he called it, on the part of René; and instead of promoting peace, he sought only to excite civil dissensions. Such was the condition of affairs when René of Anjou was preparing for his expedition to the kingdom of Naples.

In Provence, René experienced an enthusiastic reception. He entered Arles on the 7th of December, and reached the city of Aix on the 13th of the same month. He soon gained the affections of his new subjects, and they evinced their interest and zeal by supplies of men and money. When he had, with paternal care, provided for the necessities of this country by wise laws and regulations, he went to Marseilles. At this place he received the congratulations of the ambassadors of Pope Eugène, and of the Doge of Genoa, upon his release from captivity; and during his stay at this port, the Genoese sent him a fleet, with which he sailed to Genoa. His arrival was celebrated by a number of fêtes, and René, while thus detained, formed strong ties of friendship with Thomas di Fregosa, one of the most distinguished doges of that republic. At length, with the additional reinforcements given to him at this

1437.  
Villeneuve  
Bargemont;  
Godard  
Faultrier.

\* Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

place, René proceeded to Naples, where he arrived on the 9th of May, 1438.

1438.  
Papon ;  
Villeneuve  
Bargemont.

The Neapolitans received their king with enthusiasm. He entered the capital mounted on a white horse, richly caparisoned, dressed in royal robes and having the crown and sceptre; the sound of cannon, of church bells, and of the acclamations of the inhabitants (by whom he was acknowledged sovereign), testifying the universal welcome. The renown he had acquired, and the presence of his consort, had procured for him a great interest; but when they beheld the simplicity of his retinue, and discovered that he brought with him only military talents, and not gold, their zeal was sensibly diminished, and their shouts of joy and welcome were succeeded by a mournful silence.\* René had indeed purchased his liberty at an enormous ransom; his treasures were empty, and he had brought no army, and no subsidy, to this kingdom, which was already ruined, and whose revenues were divided amongst factions. Thus his partisans, although charmed by the goodness of his character and his courage, soon perceived that his success depended upon their own exertions, and they suffered their zeal to cool, and the Angevine cause to decline.

René resided alternately at the palace of Queen Joanna, and at the Château de l'Œuf,† where he was soon surrounded by many learned men and artists.‡ Michael Attendolo and Jacques de Caldora specially attached themselves to the service of René, and also Michelotto, who brought him 1,000 horses. These

\* Papon, Hist. de Provence; Biographie Universelle; Bodin; Sismondi; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

† An ancient fortress, with eight towers and a Gothic chapel, built on a rock of an oval shape from whence it took its name. It was here that René presented Isabella with the duchy of Melphe, as a token of his gratitude for her late enterprises.

‡ Sismondi; Godard Faultrier; Hist. Général de Provence.

experienced generals were constantly occupied in exercising in the profession of arms, a certain number of men, whom they employed for him who offered the highest terms. The Carraccioli family were also devoted to René.

On the 9th of August, 1438, René left Naples and opened the campaign by Abruzzi, where he obtained possession of Aquila. When informed of the movements of Alphonso, he returned, and beat his squadron near Nola, in the Terre de Labour, but no action took place. He then besieged Castello Nuovo,\* a strong fortress, erected by Charles I. of Anjou, for the defence of Naples, and which had long been in the possession of Alphonso.

1438.

After these successes, the city of Naples abandoned itself to pleasure. The tournament of Otho Carraccioli was held, one of the most splendid and remarkable amongst the *jeu d'armes* of the age, and so peculiar was it, that it has never been forgotten. It took place at the Castle of St. Elmo, on Lundi-gras, 1438, and a multitude of Angevins, Lorrains, and Provençaux were present.†

The details of this feat of arms are not given, but we are informed that René had awarded two prizes of great value, to excite the skill and valour of the combatants. The first of these, a rose and an *aigrette* of diamonds, was offered by the Queen herself to Otho Carraccioli, who was unanimously proclaimed the victor. The second, a ring set with precious stones, called the *prix d'amour*, was presented by Beatrix de St. Séverin (a young widow whose charms caused her to be styled "*le Soleil des beautés Napolitaines*") to the renowned Otho who gained with *éclat* all the honours of this fête.

\* The Castello Nuovo, or Chateau Neuf, still possesses towers, admirably carved, of the thirteenth century.

† Hist. Général de Provence; Godard Faultrier.

While at Naples, the youthful Margaret was pursuing her education under the care of her accomplished mother, and of Antoine de Salle, her brother's learned preceptor. She thus early acquired knowledge of various kinds, and also the surprising eloquence which distinguished her in her subsequent career. Yet this period of tranquillity did not last long.

René fully justified the high reputation he had acquired at his accession; his campaign in the Abruzzi had added new laurels to his fame, and affairs began to take a new turn. In the spring this prince pursued his conquest of the farther Abruzzi, and while thus engaged, Alphonso, (whose party was daily increasing, and who had returned to Italy with a numerous army,) advanced to the interior of the kingdom, and seized the opportunity to approach Naples, then only defended by the courageous Isabella.

The Spanish prince, in besieging Naples, expected it could not make a long resistance, and the invention of cannon facilitated the attack; but the siege continued a month, when the death of his brother, Don Pedro, and the continuance of heavy rains, obliged Alphonso to raise the siege and fall back on Capua. This unexpected retreat saved the city. The walls having been shaken by the artillery, and also undermined by the waters, fell down of themselves. The breach thus presented was sufficiently large to admit the besiegers, but they did not return to the attack before René arrived to the relief of the city.\*

René was now called upon to practise the lessons of wisdom which the Doge had given him. In November of 1439, the brave Jacques de Caldora died, at the age of sixty. His son, Antoine, succeeded him; he received the Constable's sword and the title of Viceroy, but

1439.  
Fapon;  
Godard  
Faultrier.

\* Hist. Général de Provence; Godard Faultrier.

he did not inherit the zeal or fidelity evinced by his father.\*

Upon receiving the order to appear with his forces at Naples to oppose the enemy, the purport of his answer was, that he could not make the army march without money; that to him it seemed necessary that René should show himself in all the provinces in subjection to him, to confirm their fidelity, and to raise amongst them the necessary sums to enable him to contend with his enemy.

To obviate every pretext for disobedience, and being at the same time assured of the loyalty and fidelity of the Neapolitans, René assembled before him the principal amongst them, and, mounted on horseback, in the court of the castle, with about forty French noblemen around him, he addressed them as follows: "Do not believe, my friends, that I have degenerated from the virtue of my ancestors; there is no peril which I would not brave to preserve so flourishing a kingdom, and so many valiant subjects. You know that Antoine de Caldora is master of all our forces. I commanded him to come to our assistance; he has replied, that without money the army cannot march; that it was my interest to go and join him myself; and that, with the funds drawn from the provinces which obey me, I should be able to overcome the difficulties which now arrest me. I am going; I hope soon to return; and shall act in such a manner that this city shall continue what it has ever been, the capital of the kingdom. I commend it to you during my absence; I commend to you also the Queen and my sons, whom I leave in your hands." Saying this he rode off, amidst the acclamations of the Neapolitans, who prayed for his success, and assured him, that "they would die sooner than

\* Godard Faultrier; Daniel; Hist. Général de Provence; Mariana.



suffer any banner than his to be established in Naples."

In this expedition René was followed by some young noblemen, who, in their haste, being unable to procure horses, went after him on foot, accompanied by eighty foot soldiers. These, headed by Raymond de Bartlotte, were exposed to many dangers; sometimes in peril of their lives, or of being taken by the bands of Alphonso, while they traversed the country; at other times compelled, in crossing mountains covered with snow, to make new paths for themselves. René also marched on foot, and from time to time, turning to his followers with a gay and cheerful countenance, he told them that "if they partook of his dangers and fatigues, they should also share the fruits of his victory." Thus did he show his condescension and generosity throughout this journey, and rendered himself beloved.

During this difficult march René, one day, while passing through a village, was attacked by some of the peasants, five of whom were secured and brought before him for punishment; but when they threw themselves at his feet to beseech his mercy, he treated them with kindness, and restored them to freedom, graciously adding that, "as a monarch he wished to fulfil all the duties of a monarch, the first of which was clemency; and that, far from destroying any of his subjects, he would be occupied only for their happiness."\*

This march of René and his followers was performed in the winter season, and the snow torrents and the ascent of steep mountains greatly impeded his progress, yet he triumphed over these accumulated difficulties, and in spite of a thousand dangers, he finally arrived at Santo Angelo di Scala, a barony belonging

\* Hist. Général de Provence.

to Carraccioli, where he obtained shelter and provisions. He afterwards went to Benevento, where the celebrated battle had taken place between Charles L. of Anjou and Mainfroy, in which the former triumphed.\* The vigour and energy of René would, we are told, have been crowned with success, in reducing the rebel provinces, but for the treason of Antoine de Caldora, who, having been upon some offence cast into prison by the Angevine monarch, now thirsted for revenge. He ultimately caused the unpopularity of René, for the other generals followed the example of Caldora, and being bribed by the agents of Alphonso, and discontented at the poverty of René's court, they changed sides. A great part of the army of René revolted, and the loss of a galley from France, bearing large sums of money, precipitated his ruin.

The siege of Naples was renewed, in the meantime, by Alphonso, who gained Pozzuoli. René returned in haste to the city, but while approaching it, disaffection appeared amongst his troops. The treason of Caldora was perceived; he had been distributing the gold of Alphonso. Upon this, the Italians, touched by the misfortunes of René and aroused by one of those changes of feeling so natural to that people, swore to bury themselves with their leader beneath the walls of Naples; yet such was their levity, that they subsequently abandoned him. The burst of loyalty, however, for the moment revived a gleam of hope, and Fregosa, the illustrious Doge of Genoa, engaged to support the Angevine monarch, who, shut up in Naples, (even while a frightful famine prevailed there,) was preparing to defend himself to the last extremity, sending back to Provence his consort Isabella, and his children.† This step was greatly

1441.  
Godard  
Faultrier.

\* Godard Faultrier.

† Hist. Général de Provence; Godard Faultrier; Daniel; Mariana.

prejudicial to René's cause, the people interpreting that he had but little hope of preserving the kingdom. The populace too often exhibit a natural disposition to regard things in the worst point of view, in short, to look to the dark side; wherefore reputation, in war-like matters, contributes infinitely to success.

René had so secured to himself the love of the people of Naples, that they were willing to undergo many privations and dangers for his sake, especially when they beheld him so willingly participate in their sufferings.

1442. The hopes of the besieged rested on Count Sforza, who had been earnestly solicited by René to come to his aid. This general was still at the head of a flourishing army, and he set out in January, 1442, to defend or reconquer the fiefs he had inherited in the kingdom of Naples. In this expedition, however, he was so unsuccessful that before the expiration of the year, he no longer possessed a single fief of all those which his father had acquired with so much labour and such numerous victories. In the details of this war it would appear that the conduct of the Pope, which was in contempt of a sworn peace, occasioned the defeat of Sforza, and thus deprived René of his last hope of the conquest of the kingdom of Naples.\* Alphonso had obtained possession of Capria, Gaëta, Aversa, and Acerre. A fresh treason soon gave him the command of the capital.

After he had provided for the safety of his family, the courage of René seemed to be aroused. He gave his orders with energy, and going with activity from place to place in the town, he divided with his people the small store of provisions which remained to them. These were, however, insufficient for their necessities, and hunger pressed hard upon them; at last, one

\* Daniel; Mariana.

poor widow was refused bread. In her despair, this woman ran to the conduit-maker, Annello, who was a partisan of Alphonso, and told him of a subterranean passage, by which the Spanish troops could enter the town. This news was conveyed by Annello to Alphonso, who despatched some of his generals with 250 soldiers, under the guidance of Annello. These Arragonese invested the capital by night. Their guide enabled them to introduce themselves with lighted torches, at midnight, through the same aqueduct which, nine centuries before, had enabled Belisarius to obtain possession of the city. When René was informed that his enemies had penetrated into the town, he ran in great haste to the combat, but the darkness increased the confusion. The walls were scaled, and a desperate fight ensued. René fought bravely, for he still had hopes; but the gates were forced in, and the Arragonese columns, one after another, rushed into the city. Thus was Naples taken by Alphonso, while the Angevine prince, in the midst of a thousand dangers, had only time to escape, sword in hand and with his horse covered with blood and foam, to the Château-Neuf. This was his only retreat on the fatal night of the 3rd of June, 1442.\*

After this catastrophe, the faithful Genoese offered their vessels to René, who, having no longer any resource, availed himself of this means to make a hasty retreat into France.

Two days after his defeat, René embarked. He sailed first to Porto Pisano, and from thence went to Florence to complain to Pope Eugène IV. of his want of faith. This pontiff, to console him, gave him the investiture of the kingdom which he had just been compelled to abandon. In the vain contest for this kingdom René had experienced the treacherous and

1442.  
Godard  
Faultrier;  
Mariana;  
Daniel.

\* Bodin; Godard Faultrier; Mariana; Daniel.

selfish desertion of his numerous allies. After the capture of Aversa all the very powerful and wealthy family of Caldora went over to Alphonso, and the army of Sforza, sent to his aid by the Duke of Milan, was beaten near Troya, in Apulia. Thus Alphonso gained the ascendancy, and René was compelled to yield the field to his adversary, who founded the line of Arragonese kings in Naples upon claims more splendid than just.\*

About the same period that the Spanish monarch was engaged in the capture of Naples, a league had been formed by Pope Eugène, the Venetians, Florentines, and Genoese, to drive out the Arragonese from all Italy; but this enterprise failed, owing to the want of unity amongst their forces; and after the departure of René, the conqueror became possessed of the whole of the kingdom. Alphonso made a triumphal entry into Naples; and being earnestly desirous of a reconciliation with Pope Eugène, he prevailed on him to acknowledge him the following year as king, and also his son Ferdinand as his successor.†

From Florence René repaired to Genoa, where he experienced a friendly reception from the Doge, Fregosa. He then proceeded to Marseilles, and after an absence of four years and a half, arrived there at the end of the year 1442.‡

The general testimony of historians is, that René of Anjou, although so unfortunate in the issue of his enterprise in Italy, "had perfectly fulfilled all the duties of a valiant soldier and a skilful general." At this period even he felt that he could not, and ought not, to renounce all hope; and he, therefore, sent into

\* Bodin; Mariana; Hallam; Godard Faultrier; Daniel; Sismondi; Eccles. Hist.

† Mariana; l'Abbé Millot.

‡ Daniel; Godard Faultrier; Eccles. Hist.

Italy, Vidal de Cabanis and Charles de Chatillon, in order that they should send him such intelligence as might be favourable to his future interests.

Many troubles had arisen in Lorraine during René's expedition into Italy; the prince did not, therefore, prolong his stay in Provence. Being, however, desirous of visiting the principal cities, he went to Tarascon at the commencement of February, 1443. At this place René received William Haraucourt, Bishop of Verdun, Pierre de Beaufremont, Seigneur Charny, and Antoine de Gaudei, the secretary of the Duke of Burgundy, who had been sent by this prince to negotiate the marriage of his nephew, Charles, Count of Nevers, with the second daughter of René, Margaret of Anjou.

This princess had nearly attained her fourteenth year, and already gave indications of those personal charms and mental qualifications for which she was afterwards so much distinguished; and these, doubtless, had great influence in fixing the choice of her new suitor. The Count of Nevers had been affianced to Jane of Bar, daughter of Robert of Bar, Count of Marche, and afterwards had been on the point of marrying the Duchess of Austria, but finally he decided in favour of Margaret of Anjou.

Both René and his consort, Queen Isabella (who had arrived at Tarascon), eagerly accepted these proposals, and the contract of marriage was signed on the 4th of February, 1443.

René agreed to give with his daughter the sum of 50,000 livres as her dowry, and the Duke of Burgundy guaranteed to settle upon her a jointure of 40,000 livres; but René, on his side, wished that in consideration of this alliance the Duke would forego the 80,600 ecus d'or, which he owed him, and for which he held, as security, the cities of Neufchâteau, Preny,

1443.  
Villeneuve  
Bargemont;  
Don  
Calmet.

and Longuy. The Duke, at length, consented to remit that sum, and the interests, in consideration of a reasonable indemnity, and upon this, René, as an equivalent, gave up Clermont, Varennes, and Vienne, in Argonne. There was one clause, however, inserted, which gave infinite displeasure to the Count de Vaudemont. It declared that the children of Margaret should be heirs of Sicily, Provence, and Bar, to the exclusion of the children of Yolande, her eldest sister, who was affianced to Ferri de Vaudemont, the son of Antoine; yet with a reservation, that, if Yolande should marry a second time, the male children of that alliance should exclude the descendants of Margaret from the paternal succession, in reservation of the duchy of Bar, to which they were legally entitled. King René could not possibly have marked in a more decisive manner the displeasure he felt against the House of Vaudemont. This arrangement was bitterly complained of by both father and son, and the former carried his complaints to King Charles, the arbiter and guarantee of the late treaty which had fixed the pretensions of the two houses. Charles VII. then demanded reparation of René, and even threatened to take up arms should he oppose the treaty of 1441. Antoine still claimed René as his prisoner, and King Charles referred the affair to the Parliament, the proper judge of the Duke of Burgundy; but he reserved to himself that which related to the said treaty. Thus was the marriage of the Count of Nevers deferred, and ultimately its accomplishment prevented, for while these questions were agitated, another, and a more irresistible offer was made for the hand of the Princess Margaret.\*

1443.  
Villeneuve  
Bargemont.

The rest of this year, 1443, was passed by René either at Aix or Marseilles, where he devoted himself to the administration, and especially to the most

\* Dom Calmet; Villeneuve Bargemont.

effectual means to prevent the landing of the Arragonese forces. While at Marseilles, René received intelligence of the death of his mother, Yolande of Arragon, Queen Dowager of Sicily. She died on the 14th of December, 1443, at the Castle of Saumur,\* and was interred in the Cathedral of St. Maurice, at Angers. The life of this princess had been distinguished by a multitude of acts of piety and benevolence, and the Provençaux, who had been acquainted with her virtues and estimable qualities, sincerely united in the just regrets of their sovereign.†

At the time of the departure of René for Naples, the Count de Vaudemont had felt offended, for two reasons: first, because he did not form one of the Regency Council, and next, at the reports circulated of the King's repugnance to grant his daughter Yolande to his son, Ferri. Being apprehensive lest this princess should be taken away from him, or, perhaps, embittered against René's ministers, he collected his troops, encouraged the incursions of the rebels, and even took great numbers of them into pay, and enticed to his party Robert de Sarrebruche, who was ever ready to break his oaths.‡ Thus hostilities commenced, and Antoine and the Regency were alternately conquerors at this period, which was signalized by pillage, conflagration, and murderous combats. Charles VII. at length resolved to put an end to these excesses, and summoned the parties to appear before him; at first, they apparently submitted to the conditions this monarch imposed, but the war again broke out with increased fury.

At this period Louis of Anjou, having been appointed Lieutenant-General, entered Lorraine. He found the

1443.

\* The castle of Saumur had been granted to Queen Yolande, as part of her dowry, in order that she might pass there the remainder of her days.

† Bodin; Godard Faultrier.

‡ Villeneuve Bargemont.



country devastated by bloodshed and civil contention, and he was compelled at once to take decisive measures. Although only twelve years of age, he defended with vigour the town of Bar, caused the siege to be raised, and compelled Robert de Sarrebruche to capitulate in the citadel of Commercy; but while the laurels of victory were thus gathering on his youthful brow, death suddenly deprived the country of this hero of noble promise.

1444. Louis, Marquis of Pont-à-Mousson, expired, after a short illness, in 1444,\* and had not the happiness of again beholding his father, who was preparing to come to Lorraine, to endeavour by his presence to terminate the troubles of his people. René, however, subsequently abandoned this intention, either through the grief he felt on his son's death, or from his anxiety to defend his province of Anjou from the attacks of the English, who had been making great progress in Maine.

Louis de Beauvau having been dismissed with unlimited powers into Lorraine, René set out for Poitiers, to rejoin the King of France, while Queen Isabella departed for Nanci.

King Charles VII. and René afterwards proceeded together to the city of Tours, where they arrived at the same time as Charles of Orleans, who had just reappeared at the French court, after many years of captivity in England. It was here that this prince, so renowned for his mental accomplishments and poetic talents, for the first time beheld René, and they contracted an intimate friendship, the constancy of which shed many charms on their subsequent lives. René also found himself in the presence of all his old companions in arms, and he again resigned himself to his taste for

\* Louis died, it is believed, in January, 1444, but the precise date is not recorded. He was interred in the church of St. Antoine, Pont-à-Mousson.

*fêtes*, which had only been interrupted, or laid aside, whilst he engaged in his warlike expeditions. The whole court rejoiced at his coming, for he was known to be a prince who loved pleasure, and brought in his train men of wit and amusement.\*

The presence of René at Tours was of great service to King Charles, who, upon the occasion of the treaty of peace with England, about to be concluded, specially charged this prince with the care of directing this important affair.

René first obtained a truce for eight months, and he then discussed with consummate skill their reciprocal interests, thus striking at the root of the negotiation, and by his firmness and clear perception, contrived to terminate the disagreements which might have occasioned a new war. Many were the conferences held with a view to establish a permanent peace, but so many difficulties arose that it was found to be impracticable, and only a truce was agreed upon, the terms of which were dated the 21st of May, 1444.

1444.  
Monstrelet.

During the course of this negotiation, in the month of April, a proposal was made on the part of England, which apparently altered the position of René, and ought to have consoled him for his late misfortunes. This was a treaty of marriage, proposed by the Duke of Suffolk, between his master, King Henry VI., and Margaret of Anjou, the second daughter of King René.†

The satisfaction of René may readily be imagined, for such a measure could not have been anticipated, since the King of England was, at this time, considered as all but betrothed to the daughter of the Count of Armagnac, and this new offer seemed also to remove every prospect of a fresh dissension between the two

\* Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier; Monstrelet.



kingdoms, and placed the daughter of René in a rank the most flattering to the ambition of a father.

The only dowry exacted by King Henry was the cession of the rights, transmitted to René by Yolande of Arragon, on the kingdom of Minorca. He renounced the rest of her succession, and he restored the town of Le Mans to Charles of Anjou, and to René all his possessions which had been taken from him by the English.\*

By this marriage, which was willingly agreed to by all parties, and soon after concluded, the House of Anjou-Plantagenet was, after the lapse of several centuries, united, on the throne of England, to the Second House of Anjou-Sicily.†

\* Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Godard Faultrier.

### CHAPTER III.

KING HENRY.—“ Was ever king that joy'd an earthly throne  
 “ And could command no more content than I ?  
 “ No sooner was I crept out of my cradle,  
 “ But I was made king, at nine months old ;  
 “ Was ever subject long'd to be a king,  
 “ As I do long and wish to be a subject ? ”

SHAKESPEARE.—*Henry VI.*

King Henry V.—His death and will—The characters of Bedford and Gloucester—Quarrels of Gloucester and Beaufort—Losses in France—Death of the Duke of Bedford—Contests in the Cabinet—The influence of Cardinal Beaufort—Education and character of Henry VI.

PREVIOUS to the attempt to delineate the character, and narrate the eventful career of Margaret of Anjou, it will be advisable to take a slight survey of the English court; that stage whereon she was destined to act so conspicuous a part, and where her conduct, it has been said, involved the happiness of almost all her adherents, leading to contentions, civil warfare, and to the misery of herself and family. That these unhappy results emanated from the misrule of the Lancastrian queen may, however, be disproved by patient inquiry into the facts of history, even amidst the confusion of the records of turbulent times, rendered almost contradictory through the party spirit of historians.

It will be found, that, far from being the cause of so much misery, Margaret was herself misguided and unhappy; the victim of the intrigues of designing men, already at variance in their country, to which she came as a stranger, yet where her high talents, and the noble qualities of her mind and heart, alone enabled

her, subsequently, to maintain her position as sovereign. Neither did she succumb to her adverse fortunes, until she had proved, to the utmost, her heroism and devotion to her husband and his country.

1422.  
Eccles.  
Hist.

Henry V., the conqueror of Agincourt and one of the greatest heroes of his age, held, for a brief period, the sceptre of England with an able and vigorous hand; for he had gained renown by other than military skill, and had evinced the greatest endowments and good qualities. In the prime of life, however, and in the midst of his victories in France, he was seized with sudden illness, which caused his death; and he left his crown to an infant son, nine months old.

It was the destiny of this little prince, Henry VI., to lose all the foreign conquests of his warlike sire, who, as if apprehending misfortunes, had taken many wise precautions for the futurity of his infant son.

On his death-bed Henry V. conjured his nobility assembled around him to remain united, in order to preserve the interests of his son, whose education he intrusted to the care of the Earl of Warwick, and appointed his brother, the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, and his youngest brother, the Duke of Gloucester, Regent of England, during his son's minority. He recommended them also to cultivate the friendship of the Duke of Burgundy, and to offer him the Regency of France. His advice also was, that they should retain their prisoners of war until his son should be able to judge of their disposal himself, and on no account should they make peace with the French, unless by the surrender of Normandy they could obtain an equivalent for their losses.\* Such were the commands of the dying monarch, who was so much beloved, respected, and admired. How prudent were these injunctions, but how soon disregarded

\* Holinshed; Baker; Sandford; Howel; Rymer's *Fœdera*.

by his relatives and subjects! Private passions and individual prejudices too often arise to overthrow the wisest plans of human foresight.

Shortly after the remains of Henry V. were con-<sup>1422.</sup>  
signed, with the utmost pomp, to their last earthly  
resting-place, a division took place in the English  
Cabinet. Objections were raised to the Regency of the  
Duke of Gloucester, whose uncle, Beaufort, Bishop of  
Winchester, directing a search into precedents, de-  
clared the claims of Gloucester were unconstitutional.  
The Council, however, wished to conciliate the Duke,  
who strongly urged his right from his relationship  
to the crown, and his brother's will appointing him to  
that office, more especially from the absence of the  
Duke of Bedford in France, but in vain; he was made  
"Protector" of England in the absence of Bedford,  
and thus advanced to a dignity which commanded  
respect but conferred no real authority.

Lingard;  
Hume.

All real power was vested in the Council of Regency, at the head of which was the Bishop of Winchester. This ambitious and grasping prelate appears to have commenced from this time an incessant rivalry, and a great contest for power, with his nephew, the Duke of Gloucester, who naturally felt depreciated and continued to struggle against his adversary. Thus, during the infancy of Henry VI., the influence of these two powerful individuals alternately swayed the Council of England, rendering her measures ineffective or abortive, and eventually, most disastrous.

The nation had appeared to acquiesce in the arrangement for the Protectorate. Gloucester, however, from this period ceased to regard his uncle as a friendly kinsman, but rather as one who consulted his own private interests at the expense of his relatives and his country.

In France, the Duke of Bedford, who was an ac-

complished and able prince, sustained the interests of his nephew, prosecuting the war with vigour, supported by many skilful generals. Numerous towns and castles were taken, and finally, a decisive victory gained at Verneuil.\*

These rapid successes of the English soon reduced King Charles VII., (who had just acceded to the throne,) to the most desperate condition. He could not maintain his troops, or the splendours of his court, and at last found himself unable to procure even the necessaries of life for himself and the few who remained attached to his person.

Suddenly a new phase was presented in the drama, and strange and unexpected events occurred to revive the spirits of Charles. These were the mission of Joan of Arc, and the recall of the Duke of Bedford to England.†

It was to interpose and accommodate in the dissensions of Gloucester with his uncle Beaufort, that the Regent was compelled to abandon the scene of action in France, where he had been so prosperous.

The Duke of Bedford was no less prudent in council than valiant in the field. Endowed with superior genius, and the perfect master of his own passions, he found little difficulty in adjusting the differences of his kinsmen. His brother, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was possessed of eminent virtues and talents, to which he added such extensive information in science and literature as would have placed him on an equality with the Duke of Bedford, had not his inordinate ambition and violent passions caused him to commit errors which gave his enemies the

\* Holinshed; Sandford; Baker; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Howel; Barante.

† Holinshed; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Barante; Mezerai; Anquetil; Milles's Catalogue.

advantage. He was also censured for his haughty demeanour, yet he was the universal favourite of the people, and when deprived of power in the Cabinet he took part with the ancient nobility, in whose neglect and discontent he, in some degree, shared. The members of the Council were ever watchful to prevent this duke's assumption of authority, and as they knew he could not displace them, they were not afraid of offending him. In time, a confederacy was formed against him, headed by the Bishop of Winchester.

The exertions of Gloucester to reform the Church, and thus to humble his opponents, involved him in many quarrels with them, in which they gained the advantage through the hasty temper of the Duke.

The Duke of Gloucester had also imprudently married the Countess of Hainault, and in the attempt to secure her inheritance he had employed some troops sent to the Regent for the war in France; he had, likewise, involved himself in a personal quarrel with the Duke of Burgundy, whose alliance and friendship were much required in the prosecution of the French war. In all these matters, in which the interests and welfare of the country were involved, the Duke of Bedford was compelled to mediate. At first his remonstrances, and those of the Council, were ineffectual, so incensed was Gloucester by his dispute with his uncle, the Bishop, which had indeed risen to a great and dangerous height.\*

1425.  
Holinshed.

Early in the contest for supremacy between Gloucester and Winchester, the people of London had taken part with the former, who was their favourite, but this interference had been resented by the latter, who caused many persons to be accused of treason

\* Rapin; Carte; Baker; Holinshed; Sharon Turner; Fabian; Barante; Life of Chicheley; Pol. Vergil; Eccles. Hist.

and thrown into prison. This gave rise to murmurs and complaints against the arbitrary measures of the Bishop, who, to suppress the spirit of rebellion, garrisoned the Tower, and ordered Sir Richard Wideville "to admit no one more powerful than himself."

This step, which exhibited the great power of the clergy at this time, excited the highest displeasure in the Duke of Gloucester, who, on returning from abroad to take up his residence in the Tower, was refused admittance. His first impulse was to resent this affront by closing the city gates against the Bishop of Winchester, and he next applied to the Lord Mayor for an escort of five hundred men, to conduct him in safety to the King at Eltham. The Bishop, finding the city gates closed, attempted to force his entrance, and then barricaded the road with his numerous retinue, to prevent the egress of the Duke. In this hostile position, the effusion of blood seemed inevitable; but a temporary pacification was, with great difficulty, effected, through the mediation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Coimbra, a prince of Portugal, who were obliged to ride eight times in one day between the offended parties. The complaints of the two parties were finally referred to the arbitration of the Duke of Bedford.

To such a height had the differences of these distinguished adversaries attained, that the general peace and welfare of the capital was in imminent danger; the shops were closed, all traffic obstructed, and the citizens were obliged to keep watch and ward to prevent the evil consequences which the hostile appearance of the partisans in this quarrel hourly threatened.

The Regent was thus compelled, by a hasty summons from the Bishop of Winchester, to abandon his important conquests in France, in order to adjust these

petty dissensions at home, at a time when, after the victory of Verneuil, the forces of King Charles might have been effectually crushed.\*

The Duke of Bedford could not approve of the hasty and passionate conduct of his brother; neither was he satisfied with the interference of the citizens of London, towards whom he evinced his displeasure. He gave orders for a meeting of peers at St. Alban's, and also for a Parliament at Leicester, whither the members were commanded to repair unarmed; but such was the animosity of the two parties that there was great difficulty in enforcing these orders.

The Duke of Gloucester came forward in Parliament with a personal accusation against his opponent, comprised in six articles, four of which related to personal grievances; and in one of these the Bishop was accused of attempting the life of the Duke on his way from London, by placing armed men on the road to assault him. Of the other two accusations, the first charged that prelate with having garrisoned the Tower, with intent to get the young King into his power; in the last it was intimated that the late King had accused the Bishop of an attempt on his life, and of having instigated him to dethrone the King, his father. Of these last charges the Duke of Bedford readily acquitted his uncle; for the favour with which Beaufort had always been distinguished by Henry V. was sufficient testimony of his innocence. Finally, the eight lords, who had been chosen as arbitrators on this occasion, succeeded in persuading the Bishop of Winchester to make an apology to the Duke, and thus effected a reconciliation.

The differences also of the lords who had taken part with these powerful adversaries were, in their turn, adjusted, and peace and unanimity restored. This

\* Sandford; Barante; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Baker; Anquetil.

was a cause of great rejoicing to all who loved tranquillity; and to commemorate the general pacification, King Henry caused a solemn feast to be made on Whit Sunday, at Leicester. The little monarch, then but four years of age, was knighted by his uncle, the Regent of France; after which the King knighted forty of his attendants. At the same time King Henry created Richard Plantagenet (son and heir of the Earl of Cambridge) Duke of York, restoring him to his family estates and honours; and also advanced John, Lord Mowbray, to the dukedom of Norfolk. These first acts of Henry VI., which doubtless emanated from the Duke of Bedford (the King being so young at this time), were acts of clemency and forgiveness much in accordance with the weak character evinced by Henry in his subsequent life. The father of the Duke of York, the Earl of Cambridge, had been beheaded for treason, and Thomas Mowbray, the father of the Duke of Norfolk, had suffered banishment for a similar offence; yet notwithstanding, their estates and titles were restored on this occasion.

These favours, however, proved to be ill-judged, since ultimately the conduct of these two noted individuals, who obtained great influence in the kingdom, turned to the ruin of King Henry and all the Lancastrian party.\*

The Bishop of Winchester had only been required by the arbitrators to make a slight apology to the Duke of Gloucester, yet his conduct appears to have called forth universal disapprobation. He was either required or permitted to resign his chancellorship, and it was a long time before he recovered the influence which this exposure occasioned him to lose. Upon his resignation, he requested permission to travel; but he neverthe-

\* Holinshed; Baker; Milles's Catalogue; Monstrelot; Cobbett's Trials; Thorsby's Leicester.

less remained in England until the next year, and then he accompanied the Duke of Bedford to the Continent, where he received the intelligence that Pope Martin had created him a cardinal. At Calais he was invested with the insignia of that dignity in the presence of the Duke of Bedford and his court.\*

1429.  
Holinshed;  
Lingard.

The ambitious designs and intriguing disposition of Beaufort had been exposed by his nephew Gloucester, who was no less suspected by the Cardinal of the intention of making himself independent of the Council. From this time his conduct was watched, and the members of the Council, influenced by Beaufort, were employed to disappoint and thwart the views of the Duke, who became irritated and impatient under this continued opposition and the failure of his projects. His union with the Countess of Hainault being declared invalid by the Court of Rome, Gloucester, as if regardless of the censure of the world, married Eleanor Cobham, daughter of Lord Cobham of Sterborough, who had long lived his mistress, and was no less remarkable for her dissolute life than for her great beauty.

The defection of the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, with other causes, operated against the English in their subsequent wars in France, where Bedford and the generals who supported him, struggled on to preserve their acquisitions rather than to achieve the complete conquest of that kingdom.†

In England, whither the Bishop, now Cardinal of Winchester, had returned, the former contests and rivalry were renewed between the Duke of Gloucester and that prelate. In the latter no favourable change had been effected by his new dignity of cardinalate.

\* Rapin; Baker; Sandford; London Chron.; Holinshed; Villaret.

† Holinshed; Sandford; Baker; Barante; Mezerai; Anquetil; Pol-  
Vergil; Rymer's Fœdera.



Henry V., it is said, had withheld this high office from his uncle, knowing his insatiable ambition, and the pride which such distinction might excite in him.\*

Beaufort was, indeed, naturally of an intriguing disposition, and had great abilities and experience united to love of power, and thirst of gain. The wealth which accrued to him from the cardinalate enabled him to obtain greater influence in the kingdom than ever, so that he even appeared to be the only wealthy individual, so much did his riches exceed those of others. He was called "the rich Cardinal," and his ambition instigated him to take the sole direction of public affairs.

As the power of Beaufort increased that of Gloucester decreased. This became apparent in the reduction of the Duke's salary as Protector from eight thousand marks to five thousand, and then to four thousand. Afterwards, the coronation of the young King, which took place on the 6th of November, 1429, entirely suppressed the Protectorate and established the authority of Beaufort.†

The education of Henry VI. had been first intrusted, by the Council of Regency, to the Duke of Exeter and the Bishop of Winchester, his great uncles, who were named his governors; but after the death of the former, in 1424, Beauchamp,‡ Earl of Warwick, had been appointed to fill this high office. The late monarch, at his death, had given the highest testimony of his respect for, and confidence in, the Earl of Warwick, by appointing him to be tutor to his son until he attained his sixteenth year. For some time this earl remained in France, and continued engaged in the war there; but afterwards Parliament confirmed the dispo-

\* Holinshed; Barante; Rapin.

† Sharon Turner.

‡ The name Beauchamp was derived from "Bello Campo." Hugh de Beauchamp, the first of this noble family, came over from Normandy at the time of the Conquest.

sitions of the King, and Warwick entered upon his new office in England.

The rigid discipline and coercive instructions enforced by this nobleman procured from the young and delicate prince only an unwilling obedience to his commands, while indeed they were ill calculated to strengthen and expand a mind naturally weak, and which, like the tender plant, too often displays by its growth the ignorance, or the unskilful hand of the cultivator. Indeed it has been said of King Henry VI., "that he was a monarch early taught to weep."\*

The policy of the Duke of Bedford induced him, under his late severe losses in France, to bring over the young king. He hoped, by procuring his coronation in Paris, to recover somewhat of his own influence in that kingdom, and to arouse the energies of those who still regarded the English monarch as their lawful sovereign.

At eight years of age Henry VI. was accordingly crowned king of both realms; and the genius of the age was employed to invent amusements for the royal child, in whom some traced a fancied resemblance to the hero of Agincourt, while others prognosticated that his reign would be no less splendid than happy. Alas! these were idle visions; and Henry's career far more resembled the day which dawns amidst sunshine and joy, and closes in clouds and tears.

There were present at this coronation, which was performed by the Cardinal of Winchester, in the church of Nôtre-Dame, on the 17th of December, 1430, the Archbishop of York, the Dukes of Bedford, York, and Norfolk, the Earls of Salisbury, Warwick, Suffolk, Oxford, and other noblemen.

In the midst of the feasting and rejoicing attendant

\* Baker; Sandford; Holinshed; Biograph. Britannica; Lingard; Howel; Barante; Monfaucon: Eccles. Hist.; Rapin.

on this event, the Cardinal of Winchester gave great offence to the Duke of Bedford by arrogating to himself the first place in the kingdom, and desiring him to lay aside the title of regent during the stay of the King in France. Such was the disgust conceived by Bedford at this, that he would not again favour the views of the Cardinal. By some it has even been asserted that it was this difference which gave rise to the subsequent divisions amongst the English nobility.

During the period of the King's absence for his coronation in France, Richard, Duke of York, was appointed constable of this realm, and it was thought that it might have been this which gave to the nobleman (who had just been restored to his family estates and titles) a foretaste of power, and made him afterwards so ambitious of regal authority.\*

The return of Henry VI. to England was welcomed with great joy by the nation. Splendid pageants were exhibited in London by the people, who sought by every means to show their attachment to the heir of King Henry V. and of the race of Plantagenets, who had been the first of their sovereigns to be crowned King of France. The great exultation and pride of the nation exhibited on this occasion was afterwards powerfully contrasted with the melancholy chain of events in this monarch's reign. Never, perhaps, did Dame Fortune prove herself so fickle as in her mock promises to the young King of England, in bestowing on him "riches, prosperity, and long life;" for not one of these did Henry of Windsor enjoy.

1435. This year, 1435, Isabella, Queen of France, died, and soon afterwards the Duke of Bedford. His death gave a mortal blow to the successes of the English in

\* Holinshed; Sandford; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Milles's Catalogue; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Howel; Lond. Chron.; John Rous; Barante; Eccles. Hist.; Monfaucon; Baudier; Godard Faultrier.

France. Bedford had been a prudent prince, of great experience in arms and government, and much feared by his enemies. The Earl of Warwick was judged the only person capable of repairing his loss. He was therefore discharged from the care of the person of the King, and being made Lieutenant-General of France and Normandy, the highest honour which could be conferred upon an English subject, he was dismissed to fulfil his office.\* Warwick took with him his wife and son, and was attended by a peculiar officer-at-arms, called "Warwick Herald," who received from the Earl an annuity of ten marks.

Some successes attended this earl at first, but he did not long enjoy his newly conferred dignity. He died at Rouen, in April, 1439.†

1439.  
Barante.

After the treaty of Arras, the Duke of Burgundy sent letters of remonstrance to induce King Henry VI. to make peace with France, and to explain his own motives for renouncing his former alliance.

When these letters were read aloud in the Council, they excited much surprise, and the young King was so much affected at their contents "that his eyes were filled with tears, which ran down his cheeks." He exclaimed, "that he plainly perceived, since the Duke of Burgundy had acted thus disloyally towards him, and was reconciled to his enemy, King Charles, that his dominions in France would fare the worse for it."

Upon this the Cardinal and the Duke of Gloucester abruptly left the Council, much confused and vexed; and their example being followed by others, no deter-

\* Holinshed; Baker; Anquetil; Barante; Hume.

† The Earl of Warwick had by his second countess, one son, named Henry, and one daughter, Anne. The Countess of Warwick retired, on the death of her husband, to the monastery of Southwick, in Hampshire; but survived the earl only a short time. She died on the 24th of June, 1439, and was interred in the abbey of Tewkesbury, which she had founded.—Pol. Vergil; Barante; *Biograph. Britannica*.

mination could be agreed upon. The parties collected again in small knots, and abused each other as well as the Duke of Burgundy. Nor were the populace less lavish of their opprobrious epithets upon that Duke and his country, and even collected in bodies, seeking for obnoxious foreigners, whom they ill-treated, and even murdered some of them before the tumult was appeased. When the Council again met, the messengers from the Duke of Burgundy only obtained a verbal reply from the Lord Treasurer.\*

In 1439 the regency of France was bestowed on Richard, Duke of York, the son of the Earl of Cambridge, and the Duke of Somerset was appointed to fill the place of Salisbury, lately slain. It has been supposed that Somerset was ambitious of the regency, and from envy and hatred of the Duke of York, sought to prevent his repairing to France to direct the operations of the war, and maintain the conquests of the English. However this might be, he so effectually applied himself to this purpose that the Duke of York was detained in England until Paris, and many other of the chief places in France, had been recovered by the enemy. This ill-will on the part of Somerset was perceived by the Duke of York, who was inspired with feelings of the strongest resentment against him, and although he dissembled his sentiments, he took frequent occasions to injure and offend him. Thus commenced a hatred between two powerful families, which terminated only in their annihilation.

The conduct of the Duke of York, upon his landing in France, has been highly extolled. He rendered great services to his country, wisely directing the affairs of the English; yet the utmost exertions on their part were insufficient to maintain their former conquests.

\* Monstrelet.

King Charles had recovered from the dismay into which his early losses had thrown him, and having attained the age of manhood, when his noble and generous character unfolded itself to the world, he found his adherents daily increasing, while Henry, still a child both in age and capacity, appeared an unequal rival, incompetent to dispute his crown.\*

Much praise has been bestowed on the Queen Consort, Mary of Anjou, for the fond energy with which she urged Charles VII. at this time to grapple with his misfortunes and his culpable indolence of character. Nor was this approbation undeserved. Such was the penury of King Charles when he fixed on the capital of Berry as the centre of his kingdom, that, we are told, he sometimes immured himself in his apartments with the Queen, in order that he might not blush in having a single witness to the rough fare with which he was obliged to content himself. Even for the moderate supplies of his table he was indebted to his steward, Jacques Cœur, and other friends. The good and generous disposition of Mary of Anjou was manifested in this hour of distress. Her firmness, combined with prudence, supported the King under his trials, while her tenderness made her think nothing too great a sacrifice. She was also ingenious in her resources; she sold her rings, jewels, plate, and even the silver from her chapel, to supply the means of remunerating those whom they desired to attach to their person or party. She was mainly instrumental in awakening in the King, her husband, the ardour with which he at last exclaimed, "God and reason must be on my side!" while unsheathing his sword, he filled with a new confidence the generals, who speedily surrounded his royal standard in that extremity. Charles had even medi-

\* Holinshed; Baker; Sandford; Anquetil; Barante; Howel; Speed; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Pol. Vergil.

tated his escape into Dauphiné, and thence to Spain or Scotland, seeing no probability of raising the siege of Orleans; but to his queen, Mary of Anjou, was due the credit of obstructing his weak resolve which was soon after entirely dissipated by an event unparalleled in the history of nations.\*

The great event, which so speedily changed the whole face of affairs, was effected by the exploits of a simple unlettered girl, born at Dom Remé on the frontiers of Lorraine, and so well known to all succeeding generations as Joan of Arc.† She had been already distinguished in her small sphere for her virtue, courage, and vigour of mind; but having formed ambitious aspirations for the honour and good of her country, her piety and enthusiasm gained her access to Charles of Lorraine, and through his assistance, to Charles VII. One of the French writers, speaking of the Maid of Orleans, says, "She was an extraordinary girl, raised up by God to punish the English, and to make them feel the injustice of their enterprises on France. Far from profiting by this singular event, through which He spoke to them so plainly, they thought only of revenging themselves on this girl, whom Providence had employed to humble them. They accused her of idolatry, magic, blasphemy, and heresy, and burnt her to death. God testified his anger against all those who took part in this injustice. He humbled the English more and more, and honoured the memory of this extraordinary girl, by whom He had worked so many miracles."‡

In the north of France, now become the seat of war, the Regent continued to struggle under accumulated

\* Chalons's France; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Moreri; Monfaucon; Mezerai; Rapin; Monstrelet; Sismondi; Godard Faultrier.

‡ Daniel; Eccles. Hist.

difficulties. In England, the continued contests between Beaufort and Gloucester caused the neglect of affairs in France, and no steps were taken to repair their repeated losses. The death of the Duke of Bedford, and King Henry's assumption of the regal power (which he used rather at the discretion of the Cardinal than his own), deprived the Duke of Gloucester of all influence in the kingdom; so that, although sincere in his attachment to the interests of his nephew, he could not serve him, or overcome the opposition of his adversary. Amidst these contests, and the affronts offered to the Duke, his affinity to the crown and his great popularity gave him an advantage, of which his hasty temper as often deprived him.

No accommodation could be effected between the two kingdoms; but at length a truce was entered into with the Duke of Burgundy, and the English engaged to release the Duke of Orleans, the last of the five noble princes whom Henry V. had captured and who had been a prisoner in England twenty-five years.\*

1440.  
Hume;  
Barante.

The release of Orleans furnished to the rival parties in the Cabinet a new subject for contention. Gloucester represented the injunctions of the late king, not to release the prisoners until his son should be of age to dispose of them himself. He added other powerful arguments, entered a formal protest against the determination of the Council, and strenuously endeavoured to prevent the liberation of this prisoner, but in vain. The Cardinal, who had been some time exerting himself to bring about a peace, had pledged himself to the Duchess of Burgundy, with whom he had had several interviews, to effect the release of the Duke of Orleans. Having more weight in the Council than his nephew,

\* Baker; Hume; Henry; Lingard; Sharon Turner; Monstrelet; Rapin; Barante; Mariana.

he ultimately gained his point, and the Duke of Burgundy paid part of the prisoner's ransom.

The Duke of Orleans, before he left England, not only paid 40,000 nobles, and gave security for 80,000 more, but engaged to return to his prison at the expiration of the year, unless he succeeded in getting King Charles to agree to a final peace. The English monarch promised, on his part, to repay the money on signature of the treaty, or on the Duke's return to the Tower of London, where he had passed his tedious captivity of twenty-five years. Surely no one could have been more deeply interested in effecting the object for which, apparently, he was set free, or have felt more strongly his responsibility in procuring a peace so desirable for the interests of both realms. His own happiness, liberty, and future welfare seemed to be at stake, for he had, moreover, engaged to marry the niece of the Duke of Burgundy who had agreed with him to forget former enmities. This seemed much for Orleans to attempt; for, let it be remembered, he was the son of the Duke of Orleans who had been assassinated by John "Sans Peur."

All these conditions were, notwithstanding, ultimately fulfilled.\*

When set at liberty, at the end of the year 1440, the Duke of Orleans had much difficulty in effecting the object to which he had pledged himself. He found King Charles surrounded by favourites, who, by their intrigues, so effectually excluded others from their monarch's notice, that some time elapsed before he obtained the influence to which he was entitled by his rank and abilities. When the King at length yielded to his suggestions in favour of a peace, no general basis of a pacification could be found. Thus, only an armistice for two years was agreed upon. Henry VI.,

\* Anquetil.

1440.  
Speed;  
Lytner's  
Fiedera.

meanwhile, was obliged to extend the period fixed upon for the return of Orleans to his captivity. It was the hope and expectation of the negotiators of this peace, the chief of whom were the Duke of Orleans and the Earl of Suffolk, that during the interval afforded by this truce some means would be discovered of reconciling the interests of the two nations.

The Duke of Gloucester at this time laid before the King a written statement of the transgressions of the Cardinal, contained in twenty-four articles, in which he sought to lessen his credit with Henry VI., but the King only referred the examination of these charges to the Council. The spiritual lords, who chiefly composed this body, were in the interest of Beaufort, and therefore passed by these charges in silence. Some of them were undoubtedly true, yet the Cardinal still contrived to enjoy favour at court. Many things had, indeed, been done without the consent of the King or of the Duke, both by the Cardinal and the Archbishop of York.\*

1441.  
Holinshed.

The time, however, approached when party rage, which repeated aggravations and insults had augmented to the most bitter hatred, was about to vent itself in a series of attacks on the reputation, family, and even on the life of its devoted victim.

We have seen how the high estimation with which the Cardinal of Winchester had been regarded by King Henry V. aided that prelate's escape from public censure under the charges laid before the Duke of Bedford. As his preceptor, the young monarch, Henry VI., habitually looked upon him with respect and esteem, and he ever after submitted to his authority. This rule over the sovereign it was the interest of the Cardinal to preserve; and the pride and avarice of this

\* Baker; Speed; Hall; Pol. Vergil; Holinshed; Fenn's Letters; Lingard; Henry; Hume; Barante; Sharon Turner; Villaret; Anquetil.



ecclesiastical statesman increased with his accumulated wealth and enlarged influence. His continual opposition to the Duke of Gloucester kept up a never-failing contest in the Cabinet; and about this period there began to be exhibited in every fresh quarrel, much personality and malice, which were only extinguished in the grave. History exhibits the circumstances of this quarrel in various lights; some authors advocating the measures of the Cardinal, and aggravating the faults of the Duke; but all concur in attributing to Gloucester many virtues, while the greatest crime laid to his charge appears to have been a rash and impetuous temper, which is ever more fatal to its possessor than to others. This it was which led him boldly, too boldly for his own safety, to advocate his country's welfare. For instance, at the close of his address to the King, he adds, "For truth, I dare speake of my truth, the poore dare not doo so. And if the Cardinal, and the Archbishop of Yorke, may afterward declare themselves, of that is, and shall be said of them; you, my right doubted lord, may then restore them again to your counsell, at your noble pleasure." \*

The Cardinal and his party were, however, in little danger of losing the confidence of a prince so accustomed to yield, and who showed too little spirit to resist the authority of Beaufort, even in favour of an injured kinsman.

Many attempts were made to destroy the character of the Duke of Gloucester in the opinion of his nephew, the King. His patriotic exertions were construed into ambitious attempts at the crown; and his hereditary family pride having instigated him to prefer the fatigues and hazards of a war in which it was possible to preserve the laurels which his brother had won,

\* Holinshed.

to an ignoble peace, his public conduct was regarded with suspicion, as betraying symptoms of a disaffected spirit, ready to revive, upon every opportunity, fresh troubles and contentions. The lofty spirit of Gloucester, which had already been tried by many disappointments, was now compelled to submit to a far greater insult than any he had before experienced. He, who, on account of his love of literature and taste, had been styled "the Mæcenæ" of his age, had to endure the degradation of beholding his wife tried and punished on an absurd and groundless charge of necromancy. The rank of the lady ought to have commanded respect, and would, doubtless, have preserved her from such indignities, had not her former dissolute character and the declining influence of her husband exposed her to the malice of his enemies.

We are told that the Cardinal laid this charge against her, finding no grounds of accusation against the Duke. Indeed it was highly improbable that a man who had been distinguished for exposing impostures, and who, in the encouragement of learning, had founded the divinity school at Oxford, should have ventured himself, or encouraged his wife, to tamper with witches or necromancers. It does not, however, seem surprising that Henry, already impressed with such unfavourable sentiments towards his uncle, should have listened to an accusation against the wife of one so often aspersed before him.

The Duke had been accused of aspiring to the crown. This charge went further, and supposed an attack on the King's life by means of the necromantic art. Upon this plea the Duchess of Gloucester was apprehended. She had been discovered, by the spies of the Cardinal, engaged in private meetings with Sir Robert Bolingbroke, a priest and mathematician (for which last he was suspected of necromancy), and three

others, one of whom was Marjary Gourdimain, called the "Witch of Eye." With these persons Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, was subjected to a severe examination before the chief prelates of the kingdom, viz., the Cardinal, the Archbishop of York, and Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury.

She was charged with a design to destroy the life of the King by enchantment. With the assistance of her accomplices, she was said to have formed an image of the King in wax, which, by sorcery, was consumed by slow degrees, and it was intended that the King should perish in like manner. No treasonable practices were proved against the Duchess, yet she was sentenced to do public penance in St. Paul's and two other churches for three days, and afterwards to be imprisoned for life. This sentence was executed with great severity. She was first incarcerated in the Isle of Man, and afterwards in Kenilworth Castle. Sir Robert Bolingbroke was hanged, and Marjary Gourdimain burnt at the stake as a reputed witch.\*

There can be little doubt that Gloucester deeply resented this attack on his wife; the cruel and unjust sentence served to widen the breach between this prince and his uncle, and every after-event only tended to aggravate their quarrel.† Nothing but the weakness and credulity of the King could have caused him to give credence to a plot, which only the most artful malice had devised, to effect the ruin of the Duchess of Gloucester.

When Henry VI. assumed the regal power, he betrayed no indications of that vigour and energy

\* This unjust condemnation of the Duchess of Gloucester caused a statute to be made for trying peeresses by their equals, a privilege they had never before enjoyed.—*Stow, Parl. Hist.; Life of Chicheley.*

† Holinshed; Speed; Sandford; Baker; Carte; Fabian; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Stow; Lond. Chron.; W. of Worcester; Life of Chicheley.

1441.  
Lingard;  
Stow.

which had so eminently distinguished his father. He had been restrained by the Cardinal in his early years from attention to public affairs; and his subsequent life was marked by a kind of natural imbecility and incapacity for business. At this time, he seemed to unite to a weak understanding a temper so easy, yet so kind and benevolent, that he became rather the subject than the sovereign of all who surrounded him. Thus a field was opened for the ambitious and designing; for that characteristic, which, in a private individual, would have been considered only as amiable, was, in a monarch, found to be highly censurable.

It was not difficult for men of understanding to perceive, that to gain the ear of the King was, in effect, to rule the kingdom; and for this several competitors appeared, amongst whom the Cardinal of Winchester took the lead.\* This prelate sought only his own private interests, and those of his party. Having been accustomed to rule the King's person during his minority, and to assume an undue authority in the realm, he contended sharply with the Duke of Gloucester for the continuance of that power. He endeavoured, by various means, to thwart the views of that nobleman, who, on his part, anxiously sought to banish all ecclesiastical statesmen from the council-chamber, "that men might be at their freedom to say what they thought the truth."

Thus the hatred and envy of these two parties alternately disturbed and agitated the English court; until that period arrived when King Henry, having attained his twenty-first year, was advised to choose a consort, to participate his enjoyments and to share his throne.

\* Biondi; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Rapin; Lingard; Hume; Sharon Turner; Henry.

## CHAPTER IV.

"Speak! hast thou seen her? will she be my Queen?  
 "Quick, tell me ev'ry circumstance, each word,  
 "Each look, each gesture; didst thou mark them, Suffolk?"  
 SHAKESPEARE.—*Henry VI.*

"Did not the Heavens her coming in withstand,  
 "As though affrighted when she came to land?  
 "The earth did quake her coming to abide,  
 "The goodly Thames did twice keep back his tide;  
 "Paul's shook with tempests, and that mounting spire,  
 "With light'ning sent from heaven was set on fire;  
 "Our stately buildings to the ground were blown.  
 "Her pride by these prodigious signs was shown  
 "More fearful visions on the English earth,  
 "Than ever were at any death, or birth."—DRAYTON.

Propositions of marriage for King Henry—He is affianced to the daughter of the Earl of Armagnac—This earl is taken prisoner—Negotiation for peace with France, and a proposal for the hand of Margaret of Anjou—The Earl of Suffolk, his family, and pretensions—His embassy to Tours—Policy of the English ministers—Margaret of Anjou and her accomplishments—A truce signed—The marriage proposed and determined upon—No dower required—Suffolk returns to England, and obtains the sanction of Parliament—Suffolk's eulogium of Margaret of Anjou—Nuptials by proxy—Margaret comes to England—Her illness—The marriage—Progress to London—The coronation—The King confides in the Queen, who unites in the party of Cardinal Beaufort.

It was easy to perceive that the lady, whosoever she might be, who should become Queen of England, would decide the balance of power between the contending parties in the Cabinet, and consequently each became desirous of selecting their king's consort from a family likely to be favourable to his own peculiar interests.

The first matrimonial alliance proposed, was by

the Duke of Gloucester. In the terms of the treaty for peace with France, in 1439, instructions were given to propose the marriage of King Henry VI. with one of the daughters of Charles VII. This conference, however, was broken up, and this lady became afterwards the wife of the son of the Duke of Burgundy.

The continuance of the wars between the two kingdoms at length excited the commiseration of all Christendom. The Pope had exhorted the two monarchs to put an end to the effusion of blood, and several conferences had taken place between the Cardinal of Winchester and the Duchess of Burgundy, the result of which was the appointment of a meeting to treat about a peace, the Dukes of Brittany and Orleans being the mediators.\*

The Duke of Gloucester next proposed the union of his young monarch with the daughter of the Earl of Armagnac, and finding that the rich provinces of Gascony and Auvergne would be this lady's portion, he thought the marriage would prove acceptable to the people. It was also expected that this alliance would serve as a protection to Guienne. The Count of Armagnac, who had taken possession of the inheritance of the Countess of Cominges for which the King of France was also a competitor, justly fearing the power of that monarch, had earnestly sought to ally himself with England, in order to maintain himself in his new acquisitions. He proffered the hand of his daughter to King Henry VI., with a handsome dower, adding to a large sum of money the full possession of all his towns and castles in the province of Aquitaine, which had formerly belonged to England.†

\* Rymer's *Fœdera*; Rapin; Sharon Turner.

† Baker; Sandford; Hall; Beckington; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Rapin; Monstrelet; Barante; Hume; Henry; Sharon Turner; Lingard.

The ambassadors from the Count of Armagnac were graciously received by King Henry, who, on their return, dismissed Sir Edward Hall, Sir Robert Roos and Thomas de Beckington,\* the King's secretary, to complete the contract.

This marriage had been warmly advocated by the Duke of Gloucester, but it was no less dreaded by the Cardinal and his party, who liked not to receive a princess so much in favour with their opponent; and it appears not improbable that they gave some hints respecting the intended match to King Charles, as the event, which so speedily followed, seemed to show. In the month of May, 1442, the ambassadors of Henry VI. set out with his instructions for the conclusion of this marriage. Early in the following month, the King of France, who was much displeased at the combination forming against him, despatched the Dauphin with a powerful army to invade Guienne, and this enterprise was so successful, that within eight days the whole country had rebelled against King Henry. Treachery as well as force seems to have been employed to undermine the influence of England, a report having been spread that no relief was to be expected from this country. The appearance of the ambassadors, and the perusal of King Henry's letter restored the confidence of the people, succours being promised them, which they earnestly desired, but the extraordinary negligence of the English in the fulfilment of these promises can with difficulty be explained. The ambassadors appealed strongly to the King; they wrote also to Lord Cromwell, the treasurer, and their messengers were accompanied by the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, who was deputed by the inhabitants to represent their situation. Despatches were again sent, on the 17th of

\* Thomas Beckington, of Beckington, Somersetshire, Bishop of Bath and Wells. A great benefactor to the Church of Wells.

October, to the King, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Cardinal of Winchester. The letter to His Majesty described the state of Guienne, the successes of King Charles, and the non-arrival of succours from England. The ambassadors assured the King that if only a few men had been sent, the French monarch would in all probability have been made prisoner, and the country might have been preserved.

It was the general opinion that this marriage was strenuously opposed by the Earl of Suffolk; and one of the subsequent charges against this nobleman was the breach of this contract. He was charged with having acquainted the King of France with the proposed marriage the moment it was agitated, and with having thus caused the invasion of Guienne, in the month of June.\* From this period, until the close of that year, the rapid successes of the French, and the surprising negligence of the English in not sending succours to that province, caused a change in the sentiments of the Count of Armagnac; and if the conduct of the Count, which had excited the suspicions of the English ambassadors, did not finally dispose King Henry to break off this alliance, the result was inevitable, from the seizure of the dominions and person of the Count, who, with his two daughters and youngest son, were taken prisoners by King Charles.

Thus was the marriage of the King of England deferred, or rather set aside; for this nation did not scruple to put an affront on a prince who was unfortunate and unable to revenge himself; and while the princes of Christendom united their endeavours to establish peace between the two kingdoms, another union, more agreeable to King Henry though not

\* Monstrelet, on Hall's authority, says that this was done by the Cardinal of Winchester, from hatred of Gloucester.

more fortunate for the English nation, was decided upon.\*

1444.  
Holinshed.

The Cardinal of Winchester, on his part, had also selected a bride for his sovereign. His choice had not been determined with less political foresight than that of his rival; and great secrecy appears to have been observed before this important decision was divulged to the public. It was two years after the negotiation with the Count of Armagnac, that the Cardinal, (ever anxious to procure peace, while in his eagerness to frustrate the measures of his opponents he seemed even to disregard the public good,) dismissed an embassy to negotiate with France, and to adjust the terms of a peace, to which the late severe losses had inclined the people to agree.†

After the death of the Duke of Bedford, the Cardinal had introduced into the Council William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, who had so far succeeded in ingratiating himself into the royal favour that the King became attached to him, and blindly followed his suggestions. From this time it would appear that the Cardinal made this earl instrumental in his own ambitious projects, employing him to gain the King's consent to the new alliance he proposed, and to receive all his instructions for the completion of this marriage.

The Earl of Suffolk did not inherit the great talents which had distinguished some of his ancestors. His grandfather, Michael de la Pole, was born of mean parents, but his eminent abilities enabled him speedily to obtain great wealth, and also the notice of Edward III., who took him into the number of his privy council. He became Chancellor of England, and

\* Baker; Hall; Holinshed; Lond. Chron.; Sandford; Carte; Fabian; Monstrelet; Beckington's Journal; Villaret; Mezerai; Rapin; Sharon Turner; Barante.

† Carte; Rapin; Lingard; Barante; Villaret.

in 1385, Richard II. created him Earl of Suffolk; but with the decline of the authority of this monarch, the influence of Michael de la Pole decreased also, and he died an exile from his native land. His son, Michael, lost his life at the siege of Harfleur, and the earldom was bestowed by Henry V. on the third son of this nobleman; but he was slain at the battle of Agincourt, in 1415. Thus, his brother William succeeded to the titles and estates, to which he added the ample dower of his wife, Alice, the granddaughter of Geoffrey Chaucer, the poet.\* The Earl, although not endowed with more than ordinary abilities, was courageous and ambitious. He expected to advance himself and his party to the highest estimation with his sovereign, but this attempt was not unaccompanied with danger; supported, however, by the favour of the Cardinal, he was well received at court, and successful in obtaining the young King's sanction for him to procure for his consort the lovely princess Margaret, the daughter of René of Anjou.†

The learning and surpassing charms of the poor but unrivalled daughter of King René had been reported to the young sovereign of England, "who was anxious to enter into the endearing restraints of the most holy Sacrament of marriage;" and he resolved, if possible, to obtain her hand. For this purpose a secret negotiation with her father was commenced; and the King obtained a portrait of the youthful Margaret, which made him more than ever desirous to conclude the contract.

King Henry, though feeble and destitute of those

\* Alice Chaucer had been already twice married; having first espoused Sir John Philips, Knt. Her second husband was Thos. Montecute, Earl of Salisbury, who, at his death, left her great riches.—*Stow*; *Milles's Catalogue*; *Lyson's Mag. Brit.*; *Allen's York*; *Monstrelet*; *Biograph. Britannica*.

† Rapin; Barante.



commanding talents which shone conspicuously in his father and his grandfather, was still peculiarly susceptible of the influence of learning and great talents. It was for these—possessed by Margaret of Anjou in so eminent a degree—that she was selected by Cardinal Beaufort for the consort of his sovereign. He had the discernment, doubtless, to perceive how singularly fitted was this princess to guide the well-meaning, but weak and irresolute Henry, who seemed formed by nature as well as by education, to be governed implicitly.

When on the point of engaging in this embassy, the Earl of Suffolk showed a little reluctance, whether feigned or real, and professed himself unequal to the undertaking. He was not ignorant of the risk he incurred; and however ambitious of advancing himself with his sovereign and the nation, he confessed his incapacity, and presenting a petition to the King, modestly begged to be released from this undertaking; or, if denied this favour, entreating to be secured from any after penalty, should he fail in the object of his embassy. He also showed great caution in receiving his instructions. It is probable that he might justly fear the resentment of the Duke of Gloucester, who would be sure to oppose this measure; or, it might be, that he was conscious that he should incur the penalty of an Act passed in the reign of Henry V. against any one who should conclude peace with the King of France without the consent of the three estates in both realms.

To remove these objections an instrument was signed by the King and his Parliament, which granted pardon beforehand to the Earl (who in this instrument is called "grand seneschal of his household, and ambassador") for any error of judgment which he might commit in his double capacity, provided he arranged the nego-

tiation for the peace and the marriage to the utmost of his abilities.\* Thus provided, the Earl of Suffolk set out, about the beginning of Lent, 1444, for the city of Tours, where this important negotiation was commenced. He was accompanied by Dr. Adam Moulins, Keeper of the King's privy seal and Dean of Salisbury, Sir Robert Roos† (the former colleague of Beckington), Richard Andrews‡ (Doctor of Laws), the King's secretary, Sir Thomas Hoo, Knight, and John Wenlock, Esqr.§

These distinguished individuals were met in the city of Tours, where King Charles held his court, by many foreign ambassadors and persons of illustrious birth, amongst whom the Angevine princes held a distinguished place. Thither repaired, on the part of King Charles, the Duke of Orleans, Louis of Bourbon, the Earl of Vendôme, Grand Master of the King's Household, Pierre de Brezé (steward of Poitou), and Bertram de Beauvau, Lord of Persigné, who had all been appointed by this monarch to adjust the terms of the peace with England. The ambassadors from Spain, Denmark, and Hungary appeared as mediators between the two kings.

It was a large assembly, and great sums were expended, and there was much display in apparel at these

\* See Appendix, p. 415.

† It is probable that it was for Sir Robert's services on this occasion the offices of Chamberlain and Customer of the town of Berwick were granted to him for life, by Henry VI., in 1445.

‡ Richard Andrews was a Fellow of New College, and Warden of All Souls' College. This last he resigned in 1442 for a more conspicuous station. Besides ecclesiastical preferments of great value, he filled the honourable office of Secretary to King Henry, and took, in that capacity, a part in the treaties of this reign. He was especially distinguished by his attendance on Margaret of Anjou in France, and on her progress to England for her coronation.—*Life of Chicheley*.

§ Stow; Carte; Speed; Holinshed; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Paston Letters; Allen's York; Eccles. Hist.; Beckington's Journal; Life of Chicheley; Daniel; Barante; Monstrelet; Baudier; Godfrey's Charles VII.; Rapin; Hume; Lingard; Sharon Turner; Davies's Chron.

1444.  
Holinshed;  
Rymer's  
*Fœdera*;  
Sismondi;  
Speed;  
Rapin;  
Mezerai;  
Anquetil.

meetings at Tours, which were frequently held, and various subjects discussed, in order to effect a permanent peace between the two kingdoms. But all these efforts were ineffectual. Fresh doubts arose on both sides, and it became quite impossible to arrive at unanimity. A truce only was at length concluded, for the period of eighteen months, which was signed on the 28th of May, 1444.

The Earl of Suffolk, finding that he had failed in this part of his embassy, still endeavoured to obtain for his country such influence with the foreign powers as should, at a more distant period, be productive of that reconciliation which the English nation universally appeared to desire. He next entered on the marriage, which, as one means of establishing the peace, was regarded by the ministers as the chief object of this embassy.

The union between King Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou had been agreed upon, arranged, nay, even secretly negotiated, during the preceding year, although nothing was publicly made known respecting it. This secrecy may be better understood if we reflect on the motives for the conduct of the King's counsellors. Being aware of the infirm state of the health of King Henry, they feared, should he die, that their rival, the Duke of Gloucester, who was presumptive heir to the crown, might have it in his power to gratify his resentment against them, and punish them as they deserved.

The Earl of Suffolk readily concluded the contract, and agreed to the cession of Maine and Anjou on the part of his master, after which the treaty was ratified in due form. The demands of René might have been thought even reasonable by Suffolk, acting as he did in perfect accordance with the instructions of Beaufort, who was esteemed the most clear-headed statesman of

his time. This step was, however wise and politic, very unpopular, and gave rise to the suspicions of the English nation concerning the Duke, which ultimately endangered his life.\*

Two years had elapsed since René's expedition to Naples, when this proposal was made for the hand of his second daughter, Margaret. He had been on the point of uniting her to the Count of Nevers, but the superior eligibility of this union with the English monarch at once ended the discussion on the former marriage, to which King Charles had raised some opposition. At this time René was not in possession of any territory, although styled King of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem; his natural inheritance of Maine and Anjou had been long in the power of the English; he had not a single castle to call his own, his duchy of Bar, and even his very person being mortgaged for the payment of his ransom to the Duke of Burgundy, which he had not yet been able to discharge. Such, indeed, was his extreme poverty that he not unfrequently became dependent on the liberality of his friends and relatives.

In this destitute condition he was altogether unable to bestow on his daughter any bridal portion, and even on this account he had experienced the grief of beholding her hand refused by several princes. It could not be expected, therefore, that René was able to defray the necessary expenses of the nuptials, or of Margaret's escort into England.

This princess, indeed, although entitled by her birth to an honourable marriage, could hardly aspire to so advantageous an union as this with the English monarch. Margaret's want of fortune was, however,

\* Holinshed; Biondi; Baker; Hall; Stow; Speed; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Carte; Sandford; Monfaucon; Godfrey; Baudier; Villaret; Monstrelet; Anquetil; Sismondi; Mezerai; Rapin; Olivier de la Marche.

the very occasion of her advancement to one of the first thrones in Europe, for it exactly met the views of the English ministers, who, in elevating to the rank of sovereignty a lady of their own selecting, wished to render her grateful for the favour they conferred, and to unite her, if possible, in their interests. They imagined also, that by giving to their weak monarch a wife who could rule him entirely, they should, through her means, be able to preserve their own influence. The beauty, youth, and talents of the Princess Margaret seemed also to favour the execution of their project.\* The honour and welfare of the nation were thus lost sight of by these narrow-minded politicians, who, in their anxiety to promote this marriage, altogether overlooked that which ought to have been a paramount objection, viz., that Margaret being a niece of the Queen of France, her father had not the right of disposing of her without the consent of the King, who could not be expected to signify his approbation without such concessions on the part of the English as would further his views, and put an end to a war so destructive to his kingdom.

The objections to the expediency of this marriage did not, however, extend to the person of Margaret herself, for it is impossible to find amongst our illustrious queens one of equal beauty and talents; yet was she destined, from the cradle to the tomb, to misery and vicissitude. This princess has been described at the period of her marriage as "the most accomplished of her age, both in body and mind." To an enterprising and lively disposition she joined great firmness and resolution, a solidity of judgment, and a

\* Holinshed; Hall; Stow; Carte; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Biondi; Baudier; Daniel; l'Abbé Millot; Speed; Monstrelet; Monfaucon; Barante; Villaret; Biographie Universelle; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Lingard; Sharon Turner.

penetration which admirably fitted her to command, and seemed to qualify her for that ascendancy over the King of England which his ministers so anxiously desired she should obtain, and by which they hoped to rule according to their own will and pleasure. Such was Margaret of Anjou in her fourteenth year; and even at this early period of life, the fame of her beauty and wit resounded throughout France; and it was said, that "there was not in Christendom a more accomplished princess than the daughter of René."\* This prince had bestowed upon his daughter an education proportionate to her birth; and as she advanced in age, she was acknowledged to be perfectly beautiful in person, and amiable in disposition. Having shared, in her early years, the dangers and misfortunes of her parents, the natural strength of her mind had not been weakened by indulgence. While in Italy she had participated in the pleasing studies of her brother, under the same masters, and her tastes must have been rapidly formed with the cultivation of her mind, amidst the beauty and grandeur of the Neapolitan scenery. Doubtless, every feminine sympathy was awakened by her father's perils, which she could not brave, and by her mother's sorrows, which she could not alleviate; yet her sentiments and feelings thus suddenly illicit (even as the beautiful flower by meridian sunshine), became perfected and condensed at an early age, to be manifested to the world, at a subsequent period of her life, in her conjugal affection, and her courage and strength of mind under every trial.

As the niece of the consort of King Charles VII., Margaret was, while very young, distinguished by the marked partiality of this monarch; and we are even told that she was indebted to her relationship to the

\* Rapin; Barante; Hume; Baudier; Villaret; Sharon Turner.

blood royal of France, for obtaining the notice of King Henry, and thus becoming the pledge of reunion between two hostile nations. It is more probable, however, that the English ministers, and even the King, were led to make this choice through the fame of the personal charms and splendid talents of Margaret, which could not be concealed even in the humble and obscure court of her father. They seemed indeed to be formed to wield a sceptre, and to direct the vacillating mind of her husband.\*

Such was the consort selected by the Cardinal, who considered this union would be favourable to the attainment of peace, (his chief object at this time,) and also the means by which he hoped to triumph over his rival in the Cabinet. In his desire to arrive at this end, he overlooked one objection, which, at another time, would have been a formidable one, viz., the poverty of René; but this, and every obstacle, yielded to the universal desire for peace.†

This peace had been resolved upon; and Suffolk, believing that, upon his success in obtaining it, depended the gratification of his ambition in procuring to himself the premiership, determined, whatever sacrifices of principle, or of prudence it might require, whatever risk or trouble it might occasion him, to incur all, rather than fail in his undertaking. No dower was demanded with the bride—no territory required. The Earl of Suffolk agreed to receive the lady without any portion; but then an objection was raised in the absurdity of King Henry's marrying the daughter of one from whom he withheld his patrimonial dominions; and the French ambassadors intimated their expectation of the surrender of Le Mans, and the provinces of Maine and Anjou, as the appanage of

\* Barante; Lingard; Hume; *Mémoires d'Angleterre*, publié en 1726.

† Villaret.

Charles of Anjou, the brother of René and Prime Minister of France. To these demands the Earl acceded; indeed it has been thought by some that the French Court availed themselves of their intelligence of what was passing in England, to make these stipulations.\*

The Earl of Suffolk was accused of proposing this alliance without sufficient authority, and of acting of his own accord without the consent of his associates, or the instructions of his sovereign; but the act already alluded to, signed by King Henry, (which provided against all after penalties, and in which both the marriage and the peace are mentioned,) sufficiently clears the Earl from this imputation.†

The suspicion appears to have arisen from the secrecy with which this marriage was kept from the public, and which undoubtedly gave rise to many reports injurious to the reputation of the Earl. One of these charged him with yielding to bribery in conceding to René the provinces of Maine and Anjou, as if he had some personal views to promote by this marriage; yet it must be acknowledged, that the object of his policy appeared to be, in subserviency to the views of the Cardinal, to arrive at some plausible means of procuring peace; and the near relationship of Margaret to the French King seemed to secure her influence with Charles VII., and to render probable a reconciliation between the two kingdoms. When we review the situation of René, it will also seem probable that this cession, so very advantageous to the interests of France, was extorted by that prince, who, perceiving the eagerness of Henry's

\* Holinshed; Hall; Stow; Rymer's *Fœdera*; John Rous; *Biographie Universelle*; Barante; Daniel; Rapin; Anquetil; Baudier; Lingard; Robinson; Hume; Henry; Sharon Turner.

† Baker; Biondi; Sandford; Carte.

ministers to obtain the hand of Margaret for their master, seized the opportunity of repairing his shattered fortunes and those of his family.

A meeting now took place between René and the King of France, between Chartres and Rouen; and the terms being agreed to, the Earl of Suffolk, with his associates, left France to obtain for these measures the sanction of Parliament, and the approbation and final instructions of King Henry.

This was found no difficult task; so many of the chief counsellors, as well as the King himself, having already signified privately their assent to these proceedings.\* The opinion of the nation had not, however, yet been consulted; for it was not until the preliminaries of this marriage were settled, that the important secret became known, and when promulgated the surprise of the English people was only equalled by their discontent. It became even necessary for the Earl of Suffolk to appease them on the subject of the surrender of Maine and Anjou, which appeared too much like an unnecessary sacrifice which he had voluntarily made.

It had been for ages past the custom to give a dower with the bride. When King Henry V. applied for the hand of the Princess Catherine, he required so enormous a dower, that it was hardly possible for the French king to bestow it. The portion he demanded was two millions of crowns, and the restoration of Normandy and all the southern provinces which were once the inheritance of Eleanor of Aquitaine.

It seemed to be now compulsory on the part of the son of Henry V. to purchase his consort by the resignation of the provinces of Maine and Anjou. This was a great

\* Rapin; Holinshed; Baker; Hall; Stow; Monstrelet; Lingard; Villaret; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Godfrey.

reverse of circumstances, and the people loudly complained.\* It was the custom, in the patriarchal ages, for the portion to be bestowed by the husband; and this even appeared, originally, as though intended as a gift or compensation to the parents for their separation from their offspring. In the early periods of the English history, we also find the husband bound by the articles of marriage, to bestow part of his property as a settlement on his wife, while, according to some authors, the bride went to her consort penniless. This custom still prevails in the East amongst the Turks and Persians.†

The marriage of King Henry VI., and the coronation of his queen, occurred, unfortunately, at a time when this monarch was very necessitous, and great expenses were unavoidable, not only for the feasting and magnificence of these ceremonies, but also for the worthy reception of the bride.

The Duke of Gloucester had actively opposed the marriage of Henry with Margaret of Anjou. No one else had dared to do so; but he perceived its tendency, and the designs of those who had promoted it, which was to establish their own authority by advancing one who would become attached to their interests. The inveterate hatred evinced against this nobleman by his political antagonists, if it had deprived him of some portion of his weight in the Council, had not robbed him of the courage and spirit to advocate the interests of his country, and he came forward alone, and unsupported, to speak the truth before his enemies, and even to oppose the wishes of the King himself.

He urged two powerful reasons against this marriage: they were unanswerable, for they were founded in truth and good faith. The first was the King's engagement to the daughter of the Count of Armagnac,

\* Fabian; Anquetil.

† Malcolm's *Manners and Customs*; Thevenot's *Travels*.



which it would be highly dishonourable in him to set aside, and especially as he had no excuse to offer. The Count had been released from captivity; he had obtained the pardon of the King of France; he had been restored to his estates; and was now prepared to fulfil the conditions of his contract with England. It was, indeed, believed by the people of this country that this match was all but concluded. The second reason urged by the Duke was no less forcible, viz., that the Earl of Suffolk having engaged for the restitution of Maine and Anjou, the former, being the bulwark of Normandy, could not be resigned without evident danger to that province. These arguments were, however, totally disregarded, and in spite of the anxiety of Gloucester to promote this marriage, he was not able to procure its approval.

The Earl of Suffolk, after laying the contract of marriage with the Angevine princess before the Council, rose, and in a long speech extolled the high birth, extraordinary beauty, and admirable qualities of Margaret of Anjou, "which," he said, "were more valuable than all the gold and silver in the world." He further stated that this union would be the means of terminating the war, as this lady, being nearly related to the King, Queen, and Prime Minister of France, would doubtless exert her influence to procure a speedy and honourable peace. He added, "that she ought to be considered as the certain pledge of that peace; and as a compensation for all the advantages he had laid before them, were the provinces of Maine and Anjou too great a sacrifice?" In reply to this eloquent harangue, the ministers, who were already in the secret, loudly applauded the Earl. The young King was much flattered and delighted by the eulogium of his intended bride; and the people, some out of complacency to the Earl, and all willing to gratify their monarch, appeared to approve, however in their hearts they might

dissent from the eligibility of this marriage.\* Parliament immediately granted two fifteenths,† one and a half of which the Earl of Suffolk had demanded for the expenses of bringing over the Princess Margaret, and the other half being required, probably, to defray the costs at the coronation.

All opposing factions and opinions seemed at length to give way to the general desire of the nation to obtain peace, and the wish became universal, to behold a princess, who had been portrayed by the Earl of Suffolk in such lively colours.

Meanwhile, the Earl of Vendôme, with the Archbishop of Rheims and others, came over as ambassadors on the part of King Charles. They were honourably received by the English monarch, and the marriage contract being signed and all preliminaries adjusted, they returned home, laden with presents and every mark of distinction.‡

To testify his satisfaction at these nuptials, King Henry created the Earl of Suffolk a Marquis; John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, Duke of Exeter; Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, Duke of Buckingham; the Earl of Somerset, Duke of Somerset; Lord Talbot he created Earl of Shrewsbury; the Earl of Dorset, Marquis of Dorset; and the Earl of Warwick, Duke of Warwick.§ This last duke was much beloved by Henry VI. He was the son of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who had been the King's tutor, and who, after the death of the Duke of Bedford,

1444.  
Baker;  
Monstrelet.

\* Holinshed; Biondi; Baker; Fabian; Hall; Carte; Sandford; Stow; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Allen's *York*; Henry; Lingard; Hume; Speed; Barante; Rapin; Villaret; Sharon Turner.

† A *fifteenth* of the value of all goods, (whether of the clergy or laity,) to which the king had no right unless given him by Parliament, or by the clergy in convocation. These grants were made by the ministers, upon the application of the king, solely to meet some extraordinary exigence.

‡ Hall; Biondi; Holinshed; Stow.

§ Milles's *Catalogue*; Pol. Virgil; Paston Letters; Biograph. Brit.; Davies's *Chron.*

was dismissed to France to supply his place, and while serving as Lieutenant-general, died in that country. His son Henry evinced great enterprise and courage, and when scarcely nineteen years of age, offered his services for the defence of Normandy, which so pleased the King that he created him Premier Earl of England, and as a mark of distinction, permitted him, and his heirs afterwards, to wear a gold coronet upon his head in his own presence, as well as elsewhere. He also gave him a seat in Parliament. He granted him also the reversion, after the death of the Duke of Gloucester, of the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Sark, Herm, and Alderney, for the yearly rent of a rose, to be paid at the feast of St. John the Baptist. Besides these, he conferred upon his favourite the government of Calais, the castle of Bristol, and many other grants. At last, as the utmost extent of his prerogative, he made him King of the Isle of Wight. This Duke, who, from his extreme youth was called in the public documents of that period, "the Child Warwick," received so many favours from King Henry, that it excited the envy of the Duke of Buckingham, and as much was to be apprehended at this time from the feuds of the nobility, in order to prevent any ill consequences from the differences of these two noblemen, it was declared by Act of Parliament, "for the appeasing of the strife betwixt them for pre-eminence, that from the 2nd of December next ensuing, they should take precedence of each other alternately, one that year and the other the next, as long as they should live together." Further, it was enacted that the survivor should, during his lifetime, have the precedence of the other's heir. By the death of Warwick in the following year, the main point was determined, and the Duke of Buckingham then obtained a grant immediately to himself and his heirs, "above all dukes whatsoever, whether of England or

of France, excepting those of the blood royal." This unpardonable pride in Buckingham was united to a baser avarice, and from an old record we learn of his imprisonment of two gentlemen, whom he thus obliged to sign away their right to an inheritance, which the Duke divided with a younger brother of the family.\*

Henry VI., whose attachment to the Duke of Warwick, his great favourite, had induced him to create him "King of the Isle of Wight,"† in the year 1445, crowned him with his own hands. This was the highest honour he could bestow to express his affection for this young nobleman, and to show his respect for his father's memory, and remembrance of his services. It proved the last favour the Duke could receive, since he was taken off in the flower of youth, on the 11th of June, 1445, at twenty-two years of age; and was buried at Tewkesbury.‡

How much contrasted were the characters of the Dukes of Warwick and Buckingham, and how deeply the former must have been regretted by the youthful monarch.

King Henry, after having conferred the distinctions on his chief nobility, dismissed the Marquis of Suffolk to the Continent to espouse, and bring over, the Princess Margaret. In this embassy the Marquis was

\* Dugdale; *Biograph. Britannica*.

† This island was possessed by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who held it until his death, when it fell into the King's hands.

‡ The Duke left an only daughter, but two years old, who became Countess of Warwick. This young lady was afterwards committed to the care of Queen Margaret, consort of Henry VI., and then intrusted to William de la Pole, Marquis of Suffolk, at whose manor of Newelme, in Oxfordshire, she died on the 3rd of January, 1449, having not quite attained her sixth year. She was buried in the Abbey of Reading, near the remains of her great grandmother, Constance Lady Despenser, daughter of Edmund Langley, Duke of York. After her death, Ann, the sister of the late Duke, became his sole heir, and her husband, Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, took, in her right, the title of Earl of Warwick.—*Biograph. Brit.*; *Stow*; *Dugdale's Antiq.*; *Milles's Catalogue*; *Barante*; *Baker*; *Masters's Corp. Chr., Cam.*; *Selden*; *Monstrelet*; *Paston Letters*.

not only accompanied by his lady, the Marchioness of Suffolk, but his escort consisted of many lords and ladies of title and distinction, richly attired, and adorned with jewels.\* They took with them many handsome chariots and gorgeous horse litters, and carried letters to King René.† Amongst the ladies who attended on this occasion, it may not be uninteresting to remark that one of them was the Lady Elizabeth Grey, afterwards the consort of King Edward IV.

With this splendid escort, the Marquis of Suffolk left England and proceeded towards the city of Tours. With his associates in this embassy he landed at Harfleur, and thence proceeded to Rouen and Le Mans. When they reached Vendôme, the conference was commenced, and continued satisfactorily on both sides; so much so, that it was expected this auspicious and amicable beginning would finally lead to the most favourable results. At the end of a week, these English commissioners sailed down the river Loire, from the city of Blois, where the Marquis of Suffolk had visited his friend and former prisoner, the Duke of

\* The following list of names of those who composed this escort, is given in an authentic document of the times :—<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Lord Clifford.	Lady Elizabeth Hall.
Ralph Lord Graystock.	Master Walter Lyzard, the Queen's
James de Bomonord.	Chaplain and Confessor.
Beatrice Lady Talbot, Baroness.	William Breust, Clerk.
Emma Lady Scales, Baroness.	Rose Merston, damsel.
Sir Thomas Stanley.	Margaret Stanlewe.
Sir Edward Hall.	Henry Quarranto, Clerk and Secre-
Sir William Bonville.	tary to the Lady, the Queen.
Sir Richard Roos.	Michael Trigory, the Queen's Chap-
Sir Robert Harcourt.	lain.
Sir John Holland.	Henry Trevilean, Chaplain and Alms-
Sir Hugh Cokesey.	giver.
Sir Robert Wynchelsey.	John Bridd, servant.
Sir Robert Hungerford.	George Pavier, Master of the Navy,
Lady Elizabeth Grey.	called Christopher of Newcastle.

† Sandford; Biondi; Fabian; Stow; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Hall; Holinshed; Baker; Carte; Speed; Baudier; Monstrelet.

<sup>1</sup> Egerton MSS., and Addit. MSS., in the British Museum.

Orleans; and they joined the royal family, then residing at Tours. At the gates of this city, the envoys of King Henry were welcomed by the King of Sicily, his son, the Duke of Calabria, the Dukes of Bretagne and Alençon, and a splendid retinue of nobles. The next day, at the castle of Montils near Tours, they were presented to King Charles, who exhibited an earnest desire to confirm all the preliminaries, to which his ministers had already agreed.

The Duke of Burgundy joined the royal party; and the day following the Queen of Sicily arrived at Tours, bringing with her the Lady Margaret of Anjou, her daughter.

At the beginning of November, 1444,\* in the church of St. Martin's, at Tours, the Princess Margaret of Anjou was affianced to King Henry VI., the Marquis of Suffolk acting as proxy for his sovereign.

1444.  
Sandford;  
Milles's  
Catalogue;  
Speed;  
Rymer's  
*Fœdera*;  
Rapin.

These espousals were honoured by the presence of the Pope's legate, Petrus de Monte, who was staying at Tours, and of King Charles and his Queen, Mary of Anjou (who were uncle and aunt to the bride), and of all the chief personages of the court of France. René, the father of this Princess, and Isabella of Lorraine, her mother, were there; and also there were present her brother, the Duke of Calabria, the Dukes of Orleans, Alençon, and Brittany, seven earls, twelve barons, and twenty bishops, besides others, knights and gentlemen.†

After the solemnization of this marriage the two courts removed to Nanci, the usual residence of the King of Sicily. The bridal festivities were of no ordinary kind, and however great the troubles which this ill-fated marriage entailed upon the innocent

\* No author gives the precise day of this marriage.

† Holinshed; Biondi; Hall; Stow; Beckington's *Journ.*; Davies's *Chron.*; Moreri; Carte; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Rapin; Daniel; Villaret; Anquetil; Monstrelet; Godard Faultrier; Biographie Universelle.

Margaret, no union ever took place under more auspicious aspects.

Eight days were passed in fêtes and tournaments to commemorate these nuptials, and the apparent reconciliation of the Houses of Anjou and Burgundy. The King of France had shown his satisfaction at this alliance with the English monarch, by honouring with his presence the marriage ceremony; and while he stayed to share in the splendid entertainments which followed, he, no doubt, rejoiced (harassed and half ruined as he was) at the prospect, to which this event seemed to lead, of the restoration of peace to his distracted kingdom. All the beauty of England, France, Lorraine, and Burgundy were congregated together at Nanci.\* Here were assembled all the princes of the age, who were most expert in these fêtes and amusements. Of these, René of Anjou was reputed the best jouter of his time; there came also Charles of Anjou, Count of Maine, the brother of René, the Marshal of Loheac, the Count of St. Pol, the Sire de Lalaing, the Sire de Charme, and other knights of Burgundy, who were all distinguished; Ferri of Lorraine was also present, and the Count of Foix, who, as well as the Count of Maine, was young, and jealous of appearing with *éclat*; in short, the court of France was seen completely united to that of Lorraine. Another individual was also present at these diversions, whose name must not be forgotten; it was the Sire de Brézé, Lord of Varenne and Seneschal of Normandy, who had been one of those who had negotiated this marriage. Brézé was specially esteemed by King Charles, and he had also gained the confidence of all the princes of France, not only as a wise and clever counsellor, but as a bold

\* It was perhaps the removal to Nanci which led to the error of Bodin, and other writers, who say that the marriage was solemnized at Nanci.

knight, than whom there was no one more graceful, nor who better knew how to please.

The attire and equipages of the company were magnificent; and there were delicate banquets and costly feasting. At the entertainment which followed the betrothal, the company were amused by the appearance of two giants, carrying each a large tree in his hands. Then came in two camels bearing towers on their backs, in each of which an armed man appeared, who fought the one with the other.

Amongst the amusements was a trial of skill in archery, the proposition of Suffolk and Pierre de Brézé. The contest was between the archers of France and England. The prize (1,000 crowns,) was won by the French, contrary to the general expectation; but some choice marksmen had been selected by them, from the Scottish guard, and put forward on this occasion, who were regarded as denizens of France. Again, we are told, that, at this season of gaiety, the Queen and the Dauphiness, (Margaret of Scotland,) rode out into the country one afternoon, attended by three hundred noblemen and other knightly attendants.

The two Kings, Charles and René, equally full of courtesy, were happy in the opportunity of indulging their natural gallantry amidst so many beautiful and amiable women. The Queens of France and Sicily were both witnesses of these noble pastimes, and also the Dauphiness (the Princess of Scotland), the Countess de Vaudemont, the Duchess of Calabria, and Queen Margaret, with all their attendants.

The young Queen, upon the occasion of these fêtes, made choice of the Daisy for her badge, the emblem of "fidelity in love," and as such worn in the days of chivalry at tournaments. Thus was the "Marguerite" or daisy assumed by all the admirers and

\* The common daisy in France is called "Marguerite."

devoted attendants of the fair Queen, and shone conspicuous when worn in the scarfs of the nobility and chivalrous knights of her native land; as the poet expresses it,—

“When in his scarf the knight the daisy bound,  
“And dames at tournaments shone with daisies crowned.”

How appropriate was this choice of Margaret of this modest flower “whose white investments figure innocence,” to her own character and career as King Henry’s consort, destined as she was, throughout her life, to such trials and vicissitudes which probably no other queen ever endured! Indeed no flower was ever more the poets’ favourite than the daisy; they all write in praise of the “modest, crimson, we-tipped flower;” \* and one of them, most eloquent, exclaims,—

“There is a flower, a little flower,  
“With silver crest and golden eye,  
“That welcomes every changing hour,  
“And weathers every sky.

“On waste and woodland, rock and plain,  
“Its humble buds unheeded rise;  
“The rose has but a summer reign,  
“The Daisy never dies.” †

Another noted person in this assembly, whose surpassing brilliancy astonished, but whose presence did not gladden the hearts of the virtuous matrons who beheld her, was the celebrated Agnes Sorel, called the “Lady of Beauty.” She appeared in the dress of an Amazon,—a fanciful suit of armour glittering with jewels,—and mounted on a fine charger richly caparisoned. Such was the morality of that age, that the presence of “la belle Agnes” was thought to add to the splendour of these festivities. While Maid-of-Honour to Isabella of Lorraine, in whose court the

\* Burns.

† Montgomery.

fair Agnes had been educated, twelve years previous, she had first attracted the notice of King Charles VII., and smitten with her beauty, he had loaded her with favours. At this period it was said of her, that in personal charms, and in magnificence of attire, she surpassed her sex, and equalled in splendour any princess of her times.

More than once King Charles engaged in the lists, and bore on his shield the serpent of the fairy Melusina. He tilted with René, but was vanquished by him. Those who were most distinguished in this tournament in honour of the beautiful bride, Margaret of Anjou, were her uncle Charles of Anjou, Pierre de Brézé, and more particularly, the Count of St. Pol, who received the prize from the hands of the Queens of France and Sicily. The Marquis of Suffolk took no part in these jousts, which were ill-suited to his graver years.\* The spot whereon the tournament was held was thence denominated, “la Place de Carrière.”

It was during this season of gaiety and of rejoicing that the marriage of Yolande of Anjou, the elder sister of Margaret, took place, under somewhat romantic circumstances. Ferri de Vaudemont, to whom she had been affianced nine years before, had become desperately enamoured of the beautiful Yolande, and, grown impatient of the repeated delays of her father, (who never intended she should be united to him,) he formed a project which he accomplished. With the aid of a few young and bold chevaliers, he succeeded in carrying off the Princess Yolande during the tournament in honour of her sister’s nuptials. This affair gave great displeasure to King René; but, upon the mediation of King Charles and his queen, as well as some others of

\* Suffolk is reported to have attained the age of fifty.



this noble company, he forgave the gallant son of his great adversary, the Count de Vaudemont.

After this followed a general reconciliation, and all former enmities being overlooked and forgotten, the company returned with renewed zest to their fêtes and amusements.\*

Great expense was incurred for these pageants and games, and it has been remarked, that the magnificence attendant on these espousals, was very unsuitable to the situation of the two Kings and the poverty of Queen Margaret.† Such, indeed, were the mean circumstances of the King of Sicily at this time, that the expenses of the splendid progress of Queen Margaret through France, were necessarily defrayed by King Henry.

Margaret of Anjou was much beloved by her family, and she had now to endure a mournful separation from all her affectionate relatives and attached friends. The fêtes being ended, the young queen was delivered, with some solemnity, to the care of the Marquis of Suffolk, who, accompanied by the Marchioness, and their noble escort of lords and ladies (now also graced by the Queens of France and Sicily), set out on their progress towards England. They proceeded thither less rapidly than might have been expected, since it was not until the month of April in the following year that Queen Margaret beheld her royal consort.

The departure of Margaret of Anjou for England occasioned so deep a sorrow to the court of Charles VII. and that of René, that if the possibility of presentiments be admitted, a remarkable one might be found, in the report of historians, of the separation of

\* Barante; Chastellaine; Hall; Holinshed; Buchon; Monfaucon; Baudier; Stow; Monstrelet; Godfrey; Daniel; Villaret; Dorn; Calmet; Godard Faultrier.

† Biondi; Rapin; Baudier.

the King of France from his niece. Having accompanied this princess more than two leagues from Nanci, King Charles embraced her several times, gazed on her long without speaking, and at last pronounced these words with tears in his eyes:—"I am doing little for you, my daughter, in placing you on one of the greatest thrones of Europe, since there are none worthy of possessing you." His grief would not allow him to add more, sobs choked his utterance, and the young queen only answered by a torrent of tears; they then separated, never on earth to meet again.\*

The following lines, translated from the French of that time, depict the general bereavement felt at the departure of the Lady, Queen Margaret:—

"Then came the Earl of Suffolk there  
 "T'escort his Queen from scenes of mirth;  
 "And tears fell fast in sad despair,  
 "And some did sink upon the earth.  
 \* \* \* \* \*

"Then noble dames and damsels fair  
 "Took, one by one, their last embrace;  
 "And none could soothe the pangs, or dare  
 "To bid adieu to that loved face.  
 "And pity 'twas, and terrible to see,  
 "A world of feeling waked so cruelly.  
 \* \* \* \* \*

"The Queen takes leave, the Queen departs,  
 "The revelry that had been made,  
 "Then changes into aching hearts;  
 "What bliss unsafe, what joy decayed!  
 "Alas! of cheer, and pomp, and mirth,  
 "What is there here that lasteth long?  
 "Now feasting, now laid in cold earth,  
 "Now grief, erewhile the dance and song."

After parting from Queen Margaret, the King of France repaired to Chalons, in Champagne, where the fêtes and diversions were renewed upon the arrival of Isabella of Portugal, Duchess of Burgundy. This

Villeneuve Bargemont; Barante; Monstrelet.

princess had exhibited so much skill and prudence in the peace of Arras, that she was ever after intrusted with the affairs of Burgundy, and engaged in all matters of treaty. She appeared brilliantly attended by the chief nobles and ladies of Burgundy; and, as the representative of her house, she submitted to the King the grievances of the Duke, her husband.

Her success was not, however, proportionate to her exertions, and on this occasion she was compelled to make some concessions. A definitive treaty was concluded between René of Anjou and this princess, the King of France being arbiter of the differences of the Dukes of Anjou and Burgundy; and thus were terminated the discussions, that had been so incessantly revived, on the subject of the entire payment of the ransom of that prince. The Duke of Burgundy was obliged to restore to René the two cities of Neuchâteau in Lorraine, and Clermont in Argonne, of which he had obtained possession, and to acquit him of the sum he had engaged to pay for his ransom, conditionally, that he should settle on the Duke and his heirs the town and castletwick of Cassel in Flanders.\* René had received these by gift from his late uncle, the Cardinal of Bar.

The news of the truce and of the alliance with England was received universally with the utmost joy. The oppressed inhabitants of certain portions of France and Normandy were even so sanguine as to imagine that their misfortunes were at an end; while those who had been confined for so long a time within the fortified towns rejoiced in again returning to the country to cultivate their neglected lands, and the tradesmen to resume their long forsaken business. The intercourse between the two nations was again conducted on more advantageous terms to both par-

\* Barante; Biog. Universelle; Monstrelet; Daniel; Godfrey; Monfaucou.

ties, and their commodities were exchanged to their mutual satisfaction.

The festivities attendant on the departure of the young queen to her husband further strengthened and confirmed the kindly feeling which had been revived between the two countries; and when Queen Margaret herself appeared with her splendid cavalcade of English nobility on their way to England, led on by the Marquis of Suffolk, they were welcomed with heartfelt rejoicings and demonstrations of universal joy.

King René and Queen Isabella accompanied their daughter as far as Bar-le-Duc, where they bade her farewell, with "floods of tears" and many prayers to God for her welfare. Her brother, the Duke of Calabria, and the Duke of Alençon, then attended her as far as St. Denis. How tenderly must Margaret have been beloved, and how worthy was she of such love, that so much grief and regret was evinced on her leaving an impoverished father to share in all the honours of a throne!

The young queen proceeded to the land of her husband, conducted by the Marquis of Suffolk, with suitable magnificence, first to Paris, in which city she was well received, and thence she was afterwards conveyed through the province of Normandy.\*

Many and curious are the details of the expenses of the Lady Queen Margaret's tedious progress. These interesting and amusing accounts, by John Breknoke and John Everdon, of the outlay for the Queen's escort and attendants—"the chief nobles, barons, ladies, damsels, knights, scuttifs, and other officers, besides servants, sailors, running footmen, horses, &c."—are well and minutely described; and besides, we gather from these statements some facts of this journey which unavoidably fall in with these honest

\* Godfrey's Hist. of France.

accounts, simply called—"names, diet, offerings, and almsgivings, necessities, salaries, and wages."\*

"The salary of each baron was 4*s.* 6*d.* per day. This sum was paid to Thomas Lord Clifford, and the same to Ralph Lord Greystocke, also to James de Ormond, and two others. Each baron had with him three scutifers (or esquires) and two valets. The former received 1*s.* 6*d.* per day, and the latter 6*d.* This was considered at the rate of *war* pay, for the space of half a year, and this was for proceeding from the county of Suffolk to parts of France to bring over the Lady, Queen Margaret, into the presence of King Henry in England, in the 23rd year of the said king; and for thither crossing and remaining and returning during half a year—viz., for 182 days being in the King's service, within the time of the present accmpt, 91*l.* to each baron."

"To the Baroness Beatrice Lady Talbot, for her wages at 4*s.* 6*d.* per day; and to the Baroness Emma Lady de Scales, the same salary, 4*s.* 6*d.* per day: each of these ladies having one scutifer, two damsels, one chamberer, and one valet, to whom was paid 1*s.* 6*d.* to the three former, and 6*d.* per day to the two latter. Each of these ladies coming from the county of Suffolk received for half a year, or 182 days, spent in the lord, the King's service, 91*l.*"

"In the same manner, Thomas Stanley, Knt., comptroller of the lord the King's household, had for his salary 2*s.* 6*d.*, having one esquire at 1*s.* 6*d.*, and seven valets at 6*d.* each per day,—for the half year, 45*l.* 10*s.*"

\* From one document we learn that these expenses extended from the 17th of July, 1444, to the 16th of October, 1445; the sum received by the above named clerks of the King's household from the Lord Treasurer being 4,233*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.*, beyond which, they drew from other sources 995*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* The outlay, arranged under several heads, included offerings made at mass in France, Normandy, and England (only the moderate sum of 4*l.* 10*s.*), almsgivings, &c.

"Edward Hull, Knt., attendant of our lady, the Queen, had 2*s.* 6*d.* per day, one esquire at 1*s.* 6*d.*, and two valets at 6*d.* each; these amounted to 45*l.* 10*s.* for their service to the King of 182 days."\*

A brief but interesting diary follows:—

"On the 13th of November, 1444, the Lady, Queen Margaret, was at Cambec, and was conveyed the same day from this place to Rouen, by one John Oliver, who for one summerset for his conduct by boat, various harness, carriage and stabling, received 6*s.* 8*d.*"

"On the 28th of November, the Queen was at Honnflete, and thence returned to Rouen by boat, being accompanied by Beatrice Lady Talbot, and other ladies and damsels appointed to attend her."†

"We find the Queen again passed on from Rouen to Honnflete, and from thence to Caen, under the care and assistance of Laurence Werkham and Merlin, pursuivants, who were sent from Honnflete to Caen, and divers other places, to provide for and wait upon the lady the queen and her suite, for their expenses, and those of their men and horses, as well as for various boats for the conduct, and to await and provide for the same. These were paid for their services 38*s.*"

"On the 12th of December, Queen Margaret was at Vernon." Previous to this day the Queen had been passing and repassing at three different times to and from Rouen and Honnflete; no doubt awaiting, with interest and some anxiety, the arrival of despatches and commands from her lord the King.

However gratifying to the young Queen had been her

\* Addit. and Egerton MSS.

† "Richard Ap Evan, and Richard Enny, in two summersets, conducted them; and for the managing the lading of them for the passage, and for three boats and trappings, they received in consideration thereof, 38*s.* Also John Disse, a sailor, for boating and freighting various harness for the offices, and victualling the household of our Lady, the Queen, from Honnflete to Rouen, and reconveying the same harness from Rouen to Honnflete, &c., &c., in consideration thereof, received 48*s.* 4*d.*"

journey through France, her uncle King Charles's dominions, it must have been no little disappointment to her to find that her progress was arrested when so near the point of her destination. The delay of three or four months, which ensued at this spot, must have tested the small amount of philosophy to which, at her early age, she might have attained. We know not how far this period proved tedious or distressing to the youthful bride, when she found herself detained, with her noble escort, who, like herself, might impatiently desire the termination of this embassy, to rejoin their relatives at home. Various conjectures might be formed as to the manner in which this protracted stay was rendered agreeable to Queen Margaret, or, it might have been that this time was a great transition from joy to sorrow, or even to tranquil meditation. The news of the sudden death of her dear and charming friend, the Princess of Scotland, which followed on her steps, might possibly have cast sadness on the heart already rendered anxious by delays and hope deferred.

The vicissitudes of life are nowhere more remarkable than in the courts of kings, and amidst the splendours of the nobility; it was even whilst the rejoicings at Chalons were continued, that this event, the most melancholy and unlooked-for, occurred, and for awhile checked the universal *gaieté du cœur*. Margaret Steward, Princess of Scotland, the wife of the Dauphin, (afterwards Louis XI.) had been present at the marriage, by proxy, of Margaret of Anjou, and had shared in the late festivities; but, alas! she was soon after removed in the bloom of youth! This lovely and amiable princess had been generally esteemed and admired; she was generous and compassionate, the patroness of literature, and enthusiastically fond of the sciences, to which she devoted, not only her days,

but a great portion of her nights; and she was, besides all this, rigidly virtuous. No wonder that she was greatly lamented by the king and his court, and regretted by all who knew her.\*

What a loss such a friend must have been to the youthful Margaret of Anjou! Surely, amidst the rejoicings which welcomed her on her progress, as England's queen, her regret for the loss of her friend must, for a time, have interrupted her dream of enjoyment. This sad event might have been called the first prognostic of the future misfortunes of this queen, whose bridal morn was thus clouded by sorrow.

It was also during the period of Margaret's detention on the Continent, that she formed a lasting friendship with the Marquis and Marchioness of Suffolk, and also with the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury. There can be little doubt, however, that these friendships, which, under such circumstances, must have arisen so naturally, and as one might be led to think, so auspiciously, for the welfare of the young bride, were the chief cause of her misfortunes, and, so to speak, the rock on which her bark was subsequently wrecked.

Already has it been seen how deeply interested was the Marquis of Suffolk in obtaining the good opinion of his royal mistress, to suit the purpose of his own ambition. That he succeeded in doing so, is sufficiently attested by the calumnies afterwards cast upon the reputation of this princess, who so innocently fell into the snare laid for her by the ministers. The Marchioness of Suffolk, granddaughter of the poet Chaucer, was also a first cousin of Cardinal Beaufort, by whom she would, without doubt, be considered the most eligible person to chaperon the fair bride of his sovereign, and to predispose her youthful mind to unite with his

\* Barante; Villaret; Anquetil; Baudier; Monstrelet; Daniel.

party, and thus prepare the way for the execution of their ungenerous purposes.

That Margaret had, at this time, many amiable and estimable qualities has been sufficiently shown by the deep sympathy and regrets of her family circle and friends when she left France. In the home of her childhood, that home where care and misfortune still hovered, she had been able to form friendships with sincerity, and without caution; and experience had not yet taught her the peril which might possibly be incurred where the judgment is not exercised. During the previous summer,—a season when nature seems to reflect back in a thousand objects around the joy of the youthful heart,—no doubt the beautiful bride had indulged in many buoyant hopes and pleasing anticipations of a destiny which appeared so much beyond her expectations, and to which her ambition could hardly have aspired. Possibly she might have even been ignorant of the discord which prevailed in the court whither she was proceeding, and of that train of evils in which she was too speedily to be involved, but could she, indeed, have foreseen the trials and difficulties which lay in her path, and the embarrassments she had to encounter, it is not improbable that, at her early age, she might have regretted, with feminine sorrow, her departure from the paternal roof.

At Harfleur, Queen Margaret was welcomed with joy, and her entry into that city was like a triumph. Here a number of the English nobility had awaited her arrival, and they afterwards joined her at Rouen. When the Queen reached Mantes, she found certain boats awaiting her, in which she embarked, and proceeded down the Seine to Rouen,\* where the inhabi-

\* Queen Margaret, while in the city of Rouen, purchased certain pieces of plate which had been the property of the Cardinal Henry of Luxembourg, Chancellor of France, lately deceased. His arms were removed from these silver vessels, and those of the Queen were substituted. This was done by

tants also received her, and her noble escort, with the most rapturous rejoicing; indeed we are told that their route to the coast was one continued triumphal procession.

The Queen was most liberal in her private gifts and almsgivings. In her progress between Harfleur and Mantes she bestowed 22s. 4d. to various poor persons, besides which she distributed to fourteen women as many dresses and hoods of grey cloth, and a pair of shoes, and to each one of them besides a gift of fourteen pence. These were bestowed on Maundy Thursday, when pious Catholics in good old times observed the custom of bestowing gifts at the "feet washing," and of almsgiving to the poor. The age of the donor decided the number of the gowns and hoods given to the women; and in this case shows the age of Queen Margaret, whose benefaction cost the sum of 8*l*.

When Queen Margaret reached Pontoise, on the 18th of March, where the territories of her husband, King Henry, commenced, she was met by the Duke of York, who was anxious to evince his respect to the consort of his royal master. This he earnestly showed, since his attention to the Queen caused him to neglect to reply to King Charles, who had directed to him letters on the important subject of a marriage between one of his daughters and the eldest son of the Duke.<sup>1445</sup>

a goldsmith of Rouen, named John Tobaude, who also polished them for the Queen; and, on the 12th of March following, he received of William Elmseley, (the valet who took charge of the Queen's jewels,) the sum of 53*s*. 4*d*.

\* Afterwards Edward IV.

The letters from the King of France (dated Nanci, the 19th of February, 1445), were at length replied to, but not until a verbal communication had been made through the Duke of Suffolk expressing King Charles's willingness for the marriage. The Duke of York, in his letter of explanation to the King, first alluding to the message through Suffolk, and concerning this union for his son, goes on to say:—

"Concerning the which thing, most high, most excellent, and most powerful prince, and most redoubted lord, I am much comforted and joyful, in



From the arrival of the Queen at Pontoise, each day is especially recorded, by which we trace her progress to the English shores.

1445.

"On Thursday, the 18th of March, at Pontoise, the lady, Queen Margaret, came to supper with her friends, at the lord the King's expense."

"On the 19th of March the Queen supped with the Duke of York at Maunte, and the following day she dined with the Duke at Vernon, where she passed three days."

"On the 21st of March, being Palm Sunday, she attended High Mass."

"On the 23rd of the month she went from Vernon to the 'Loge Nupti' and Rouen, and again, on the following day, to both these places."

"From the 24th of March Queen Margaret remained at Rouen for seven days, and on the last day of the month went to Bocamshard." \*

"consequence of the singular and true desire which I have to acquire your friendship and society, and with all my affection I thank you for it most humbly."

"Your said letters by me received, I was immediately inclined to send my ambassadors to your highness for the business, a thing which I could not do and accomplish so speedily as I could well have wished, in consequence of the arrival on this side of my lady the Queen, whom after that she was brought to and had arrived at the town of Pontoise I have accompanied, as reason was, until she had embarked on the sea to go into England to the King, your nephew and my sovereign lord."

"So I entreat you most humbly that of the delay of the mission of my said embassy to you, you would be pleased to have and hold me excused."

"Written at Rouen the 18th day of April."

"Your most humble kinsman,"

"THE DUKE OF YORK."

"R. YORK."

\* In the course of her progress through France, this queen made various offerings at different places, on the occasion of the celebration of high mass in her presence :—viz., "at Maunte, in the church of the Blessed Mary on the 19th of March, when she gave 13s. 4d. Another time, at Vernon, on Sunday, in cloth 'Palmar,' on the 21st of March, at grand mass in the castle, 6s. 8d. During her stay at Rouen, on the 23rd of March, in the monastery of the Blessed Mary of Rhotomarensis, she bestowed 13s. 4d. Also, on Ash-Wednesday, at grand mass, celebrated in her presence, in the castle of Rouen, she gave 6s. 8d. Another time, when the Lord's Supper was

"On the 1st of April she was at the same place and went that day to Pont Audemar."

"On the 2nd of April she went from Pont Audemar to Honnfflete, and there she stayed until the 3rd of this month."

"On the 3rd of April Queen Margaret was conveyed by a boatman, called Collin Freon, and three of his friends, sailors, with supplies and provisions required, from Honnfflete to a boat called the 'Cok John,' of Cherbourg, which had been especially appointed to convey 'the lady the queen' and some of her attendants. The rest of her household being conveyed in other boats by these sailors, to a boat called the 'Mary of Hampton,' also well furnished and supplied with provisions."

After such frequent sailing up and down the river Seine, to find herself upon the open sea and making fair progress towards England, must have been a delightful change to the young bride.

"On the 10th of April, while coasting between Portsmouth and Southampton, the royal squadron were serenaded from two Genoese galleys, having seven trumpeters on board, who were rewarded by the Queen with 23s. 4d."

Let us turn now from this pleasing scene to the youthful monarch. Long, very long, had the royal bridegroom been waiting with patient anxiety for the arrival of his consort. He had been very desirous of receiving his bride with great splendour; but that poverty which had attended Margaret in her father's court seemed to await her also on the throne of her husband. It was some time before King Henry could raise the needful supplies to give his future consort a

administered, in presents, for its celebration, at high mass in the castle of Rouen, on Easter-day, 6s. 8d. Again, on 31st March, at the Abbey of Bocamshard, 6s. 8d. And at Honnfflete in the church of the Blessed Mary, on the 3rd of April, 3s. 4d."

due and fitting reception. Thus was she detained on the continent for several months, after her espousals, before she could be transported into England.\*

The poor King was endeavouring to recruit his exhausted exchequer, and to restore some of the royal palaces† to a condition fit for a queen's residence; but, such was the destitution of the royal privy purse at this time, that King Henry was compelled to pawn his jewels and household plate to provide for the equipages and other requisites for his marriage, and for the coronation of his Queen.‡

It became necessary for King Henry to call a new Parliament, to obtain the supplies which he required; and, at this Parliament, which met at Westminster on the 23rd of February, 1445, the King being present, Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, explained, in a kind of political sermon, why they had been summoned. His text was, "Justice and peace have kissed each other." He then made known the suspension of warfare in France, and the union of their monarch with Margaret, the daughter of René of Anjou; and he added, "by these two happy events, he nothing doubted, but, through God's grace, justice and peace should be firmly established throughout the realm." Upon this a half-fifteenth was accorded by Parliament to defray the expenses of

\* Holinshed; Hall; Stow; Carte; Villeneuve Bargemont; Monstrelet; Barante; Henry; Lingard.

† These were at Eltham, Sheen, Westminster, and the Tower.

‡ As early as the year 1443 we find King Henry had been occupied in preparing for the arrival of his beloved consort. To the abbot of St. Edmundsbury he addressed some curious original letters for the loan of 100 marks, and for horses, chariots, &c., upon the occasion of his marriage.

We also learn that on the 11th of September, 1444, the King sent over, for the use of the Queen and her attendants, some horses, described under the head "necessaries;" as 51 horses, 4 palfrey horses, 24 swift horses, 6 carriage horses, 8 summer horses, and 7 horses for summer office, and 2 pack horses; these, with various other costs and expenses for 182 days required—(the first day being reckoned, and not the last)—came to 128*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.*

the marriage, and of the late commission for the truce with France.

From a letter of King Henry's we learn that he waited until his commissioners had raised supplies by loan before he was able, as he said, "to procure 2,000 marks for his most best beloved wife the Queen, for her coming now unto our presence, and 2,000 more for a jewel of St. George, lately bought."\*

As early as the month of November King Henry had been in expectation of his bride's arrival; and in writing at this time to the Goldsmiths' Company he says, "He trusts to have oure entirely well-beloved wife the quene wythin right brief time;" and enjoins them that they "wol prepare to meet her in most goodly wise." This they afterwards did, and arrayed themselves most bravely with "baudericks of golde about their necks and short hoods of scarlette jagged."

When the funds so absolutely necessary for the reception of Queen Margaret had been procured, the embassy, with their fair sovereign, had proceeded to the shores of England. After a favourable passage in the "Cok John," the Queen arrived with all her noble escort on the 10th of April at Porchester, where King Henry had long awaited her. The voyage had caused the Queen to be so much indisposed that, when they landed, the Marquis of Suffolk was obliged to convey her from the vessel to the shore in his arms; and in a letter from King Henry we learn that his beloved consort immediately fell "syke of ye labor and indisposition of ye see," and that the marriage was necessarily deferred.

Scarcely had Queen Margaret set her foot on shore than a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning commenced, truly an inauspicious circumstance, which, added to her bodily indisposition, might have appalled

\* See Appendix, p. 418.

1445.  
Holinshed;  
Stow;  
Rymer's  
Foedera.

a less energetic mind than that of Margaret of Anjou. The people of Porchester, notwithstanding the tempest, came in crowds to gaze upon their fair sovereign, and welcomed her loyally, strewing their streets with rushes for her to pass over.\*

In Porchester Castle† the first interview took place between Queen Margaret and King Henry the Sixth; the monarch receiving his bride in a manner proportionate to her birth and merit.

At this meeting, when Margaret first appeared in the full charm of youth and beauty, so radiant was she that "the King could scarce look her steadfastly in the face," yet these pleasing attractions hardly equalled her remarkable mental endowments; while, by her amiability alone, she had won many hearts on her progress to the shores of England.

The King bestowed great rewards on all who had accompanied her, from the Countess of Shrewsbury even to the master of the vessel‡ which brought her over from France, as we learn from Rymer's "Foedera," in which are many minute and curious documents, signed by the King, one of which related to a safe conduct to certain Scotchmen, who, with their servants, desired to be present at the Queen's coronation. Another enumerates some New Year's gifts, bestowed by King Henry in the preceding year; also the following description of the wedding ring: viz., "A ring of gold garnished with a fair rubie sometime given unto us, by our Bel Oncle, the Cardinal of Englande, with the which we were sacred, on the day of our coronation at Parys, delivered unto Mat-

\* Porchester was a seaport in Hampshire of great note; near it Portsmouth now stands.—*Drayton*.

† Holinshed; Stow; Carte; Rapin; Baudier; Lingard; English Chron. Camd. Soc.

‡ This was Thomas Adam, who received from the King an annual pension of 20 marks for life.—*See Appendix*, p. 420.



PORCHESTER CASTLE, HANTS.

(To face page 266, vol. i.)

thew Philip, to breke, and thereof to meke another ryng, for the Queen's wedding ryng."\*

From Porchester, Queen Margaret proceeded on the same day of her landing, the 10th of April, with King Henry to Southampton, by water; and here she rested five days in a convent, called "God's House," before she could be conveyed to Southwyke, to be united to the King. This building has been described as a famous hospital, founded in the time of King John by Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist and St. Nicholas.† Here the young Queen seems to have stayed even beyond the 15th of the month, being visited by a severe and dangerous disorder immediately on her landing. Doubtless great care and attention were bestowed on the royal invalid in this noted hospital, and especially by "Master Francisco, the Queen's physician, who received on the 10th of April, by command of the Marquis of Suffolk, at Southampton, 69s. 2d. for divers aromatic confections, particularly and specially purchased by him, and privately made into medicine for the preservation of the health of the said lady, the Queen, as well by sea as by land."‡

We are further informed that King Henry was obliged to furnish considerable additions to the wardrobe of his bride, which had been so scantily furnished, (owing to the indigence of the Angevine prince, her father,) that her array was not suitable to her rank as Queen of England. This was required to be done

\* See Appendix, p. 417; Issue Rolls; Stow; Baudier; Kennet.

† Speed; Davies's Chron.; Stevenson's Monasteries; Addit. to Dugdale's Monasticon.

‡ Another payment had been also made to Perrin Arogeart, hired to assist and work in the office of cookery expressly, paid out of regard to him, and as a gift of our lady, the Queen, by order of the Earl of Suffolk, at Southampton, on the 15th of April, the sum of 13s. 4d.

previously to her appearance in public before her new subjects. Accordingly "John Pole, a valet, was sent from Southampton to London with three horses, by command of the Marquis of Suffolk, to fetch Margaret Chamberlayne, tyre maker, to be conducted into the presence of our lady, the Queen, touching various business of the said lady, the Queen, and for going and returning, the said Margaret Chamberlayne was paid there by gift of the Queen, on the 15th of April, 20s."

From the mention made by the royal bridegroom in a letter written in his usual quaint style to his Chancellor, we discover that the malady which had so very unexpectedly detained his beloved consort was no other than the small-pox. This alarming disease caused great anxiety to the King, who, after having so long waited for his expected bride, was not a little heartstricken at this sudden affliction on the beloved object of his affections. Leaving the Queen to the care of her attendants and others in the hospital, "God's House," for a time, "the King stayed at Southwyke, passing his careful moments, as well as he could, amidst the charming pastures and forests of Southbere and Porchester." We are told that King Henry could not keep the feast of St. George at Windsor Castle, on account of "this sickness of his most dear and best beloved wife, the Queen." How long this anxious period lasted we are not exactly informed; but when the Queen recovered, happily without any detriment to her uncommon beauty, she rejoined the King at Southwyke, where he had waited, still watching with deep interest until she became convalescent. Finding then that she was still unable to bear the fatigues of travelling, he caused his marriage to be performed, with all the necessary ceremony.\*

\* In the year 1133 King Henry I. had founded in the church of St.

On Thursday, the 22nd of April, 1445, Kemp, Archbishop of York, united the royal pair in the Priory Church of Southwyke, near Porchester, in Hampshire.\* The venerable Bishop of Salisbury, Master Aiscough, gave them the blessing, saying, "This marriage, the people believe, will be pleasing to God and to the realm, because that peace and abundant crops came to us with it. And I pray the Heavenly King that he will so protect them with his own right hand that their love may never be dissolved, and that they may receive such blessing as the Psalmist speaks of; 'Thy wife shall be as a fruitful vine by the sides of thy house: thy children like olive plants round about thy table. Behold, that thus shall the man be blessed that feareth the Lord.'" (*Psal. cxxviii.*)

The learned prelate made a discourse at some length on the dignity of marriage, and in praise of that sacrament. In conclusion, he said, "I desire that my lord may abide in that sacred alliance on which he has now entered, and may in faith possess these good things of marriage which have been assigned to it by St. Augustine—'*faith*, that he may not break his conjugal vow—'*offspring*, which may both be lovingly brought up and religiously educated—and a *sacramental vow*, that the wedlock may never be dissolved: for these are the great things of marriage.' Oh! may this wedding be, as was in old time the wedding of Tobias and Sarah, of which it is said, that 'they celebrated their marriage feast in the fear of the

1445.  
Holinshed;  
Biondi;  
Sandford;  
Carte;  
Stow;  
Henry;  
Villaret.

Mary's at Porchester a priory of canons of the order of St. Austin, which seems to have been not long after removed to Southwyke, where it continued until the dissolution.—*Dugdale; Speed; Tanner's Notitie Monastica.*

\* Holinshed; Hall; Fabian; Carte; Howell; Eng. Chron., Camd. Soc.; Baker; Speed; Sandford; Toplis; Pol. Vergil; Stow; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Beckington; Kennet; Sharon Turner; Henry; Warner's Hampshire.



"Lord.' (*Tobias* ix.) 'Oh! may it be the cause of "peace among the people, even as peace was given "unto the Jews on the marriage of Esther.' (*Esther* "ix. 18.) 'Oh! may it be so high and holy an "ordering, that, at the last, those words may be "worthily verified in the case of the married pair, "Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage "supper of the Lamb.'" (*Rev.* xix.)<sup>\*</sup>

When the marriage ceremony was concluded, Queen Margaret received as a bridal gift, from one of her attendants, a lion,—a very unsuitable present for a lady's pet; but it was graciously received, and conveyed, at the King's expense, to the Tower of London,† Where this noble *compagnon de voyage* came from we are not informed; but his keep, and travelling expenses, with a separate carriage, were included in the outlay of the King's servants, the sum of 3*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* being paid to John Fouke of Peryn, galleyman, who took charge of the lion.

This strange gift would seem to have been made from one acquainted with the courage and fortitude of the Queen, and given in compliment to those high personal qualities which became afterwards so prominent in the eventful and stormy circumstances of her reign. Had the King himself been able to wield the sceptre, how different would have been Queen Margaret's course; but the whole career of Henry VI. showed him to be a good and pious man, but totally unequal to rule a divided realm like that of England. He loved the Queen with an ardour to which his heart and pure mind required him to set no bounds; and they might have been happy in their marriage had not the personal friends of the Queen been unfortu-

\* Capgrave's *Illust. Henries*; *English Chron.* *Camd. Soc.*; *Davies's Chron.*

† Robert Mansfield was the keeper of the menagerie in this reign, and had a good salary for his office.

nately regarded as the enemies of the people. The King, and also the Queen, saw the evils of war and the desirableness of peace, and they laboured incessantly to this end; but the people were not cured of their *penchant* for war, and preferred the uncertain spoils of victory to the more certain gains of trade and industry.

As soon as the Queen could travel, (about the beginning of May,) she commenced her progress to the capital, which she entered on the 18th of May, 1445. In her journey to the metropolis she received every possible demonstration of respect and admiration, and even of enthusiasm.

1445.  
Holinshed;  
Rapin.

All ranks of her new subjects eagerly came forward to welcome the arrival of a princess, of whose personal and mental accomplishments they had heard so much; and her youth, beauty, and elegance converted even her enemies into admirers, making them forget their prejudices against her, on account of her relationship to the royal family of France, and the poverty of her father which had obliged King Henry to receive his bride without a dower. All those who had most opposed this marriage now became eager to evince their respect to their charming sovereign. The Duke of Gloucester, especially, hastened at this time to prove to his new mistress that principle alone had actuated him in his late opposition, and he sought, by his marked attentions to the Queen, to show her that he also shared in the general admiration of her personal charms. At the head of five hundred of his retainers, handsomely arrayed in his livery and badge, he met her at Blackheath, and conducted her to his palace, named "Placentia," at Greenwich, where she was invited to refresh herself; the Duke taking this opportunity to ingratiate himself into her favour.<sup>\*</sup>

\* Holinshed; Hall; Fabian; Carte; Stow; *London Chron.*; Kennet; Speed; Henry; Lingard; Baudier; Sharon Turner.

The chief nobility rivalled each other in the splendour of their equipages and their tokens of respect, bringing their retainers and servants in liveries, and exhibiting all the pomp and splendour possible. They wore in their caps and bonnets, in compliment to the Queen, the humble Marguerite, or daisy, which seemed even more surprisingly to have started into notice and esteem than the beautiful queen herself; and, as the poet writes,—

"Of either sex, who doth not now delight  
"To wear the daisy for Queen Marguerite?"†

This little flower, chosen by the Queen, was, indeed, a true emblem of her conjugal fidelity; for amidst the misfortunes and rude tempests of her after life, her constancy to her husband, and his fortunes, remained unshaken.‡

The authorities and livery companies of the city also came out to meet Queen Margaret, as well as many of inferior rank. These were dressed in blue gowns and red hoods, with sleeves embroidered, each of them with some device, expressive of their art or trade, by which they might be known. By this equestrian procession the new Queen and her escort were conducted through Southwark to the city, and lodged in the bishop's palace, near St. Paul's.§

Upon her entrance into the capital, the Queen was greeted by many splendid shows and goodly pageants, agreeable to the taste of the age. Southwark and the city of London were "beautified," as Stow relates, "with pageants of divers histories, and other shows of welcome; marvellous, costly, and sumptuous." There were represented gods and goddesses,

\* This little flower also shone conspicuous upon the royal plate.

† Drayton.

‡ Holinshed; Stow.

§ Holinshed; Stow; Fabian; Carte; London Chron.; Baudier; Kennet; Chron. of London Bridge.

angels, and ancient worthies. The cardinal virtues, personified, were seen issuing forth from artificial woods and temples, constructed of pasteboard and other flimsy materials, and were made to recite the praises of Queen Margaret, while they scattered flowers and garlands at her feet. On her approach to London Bridge she was greeted by the most splendid of the famous pageants prepared for her by her admiring subjects. The first pageant, erected at the foot of London Bridge, was an allegorical representation of Peace and Plenty. The motto was,—

"Ingredimini et replete terram."

"Enter ye, and replenish the earth."

Then were the following lines addressed to the Queen:—

"Most Christian Princesse, by influence of grace,  
"Daughter of Jerusalem, our plesance  
"And joie, welcome as ever Princess was,  
"With hert entire, and hool affiaunce;  
"Cawser of welthe, joye, and abundaunce,  
"Yours citee, your people, your subjects all,  
"With hert, with worde, with dede, your highness to avaunce,  
"Welcome! welcome! welcome! unto you call."

These verses were from the pen of Lydgate; he was the universal muse of his age, and so easy of access, that he was consulted on all occasions. He was the poet of the world, as well as of the monastery to which he belonged. His talents were resorted to, with equal success, whether a mask for the King was intended, or a May-game for the aldermen and sheriffs. Lydgate was also the champion of the fair sex, and wrote a panegyric, not on their personal charms or accomplishments, but giving a recital of their inflexible chastity and religious fortitude, by which he ennobled their character, and gave a better demonstration of his own respect and esteem.

Upon the bridge another pageant was placed. It represented Noah's ark, bearing the words,

"Jam non ultra irascar super terram;"

"Henceforth there shall no more be a curse upon the earth."\*

The verses recited before it were:—

"So trusteth your people, with assurance,  
"Throwge your grace, and high benigntie,  
"Twixt the realmes two, England and France,  
"Pees shall approche, rest and unity;  
"Mars set asyde with all his cruelty,  
"Which too longe hathe trowbled the realmes twayne,  
"Bydyng your comforte, in this adversité,  
"Most Christian Princesse, our Lady Soverayne.

"Right as whilom, by God's myght and grace,  
"Noe this arke dyd forge and ordayne,  
"Wherin he and his might escape, and passe  
"The flood of vengeaunce caused by trespasse;  
"Conveyed about as God list him to gyne, [gye]  
"By meane of mercy found a resting place  
"After the flud upon this Armonie.

"Unto the Dove that browght the braunche of peas,  
"Resemblinge your simpleness, columbyne,  
"Token and sygne that the flood shuld cesse,  
"Conduct by grace and power devyne;  
"Source of comfort 'gyneth faire to shine  
"By your presence, whereto we synge and seyne  
"Welcome of joye right extendet lyne,  
"Moste Christian Princesse, our Lady Soverayne."

At Leadenhall was "Madam Grace, Chancellor de Dieu," and again verses were recited. At St. Margaret's Inn, Cornhill, other verses were given. At the Great Conduit, in Cheapside, another recitation was made, and "the five wise and five foolish virgins" were represented. Lastly, at the Cross in the Cheape, "the heavenly Jerusalem;" and at Paul's Gate, "the funeral, resurrection, and judgment;" both these last having, like the preceding pageants, appropriate verses from the pen of Lydgate.†

\* Gen. viii. 21.

† Stow; Fabian; Londiniana; Harl. MS.; Chron. Lond. Bridge; Speed; Sharon Turner; Warton's Eng. Poetry.

Amidst these demonstrations of joy, and of welcome, was the admiring Queen conducted in royal state into the metropolis, previous to her coronation; everything calculated to afford her pleasure having been provided at considerable expense.

Margaret, who was at that time little more than fifteen years of age, must have been highly gratified with her reception in England. After her splendid progress through the city, she was conducted to the Tower, where she reposed during one day. Then followed the ceremony of coronation, which took place on Sunday (being the first Sunday after Trinity), the 30th of May, 1445. The Queen rode to Westminster Abbey, where the solemn rites of her coronation were performed by John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, and were attended with even more than the accustomed magnificence, for Parliament was then sitting, having met on the 25th day of February, previous to the arrival of the Queen.

The coronation feasts were splendid.\* No expense was spared, and various royal gifts were bestowed, and many valuable crown jewels redeemed, in order to be presented to the beautiful queen at "the tyme of ye solempnytie of her coronation." Amongst these were the "Ilkyngton coler," a costly gift; also a "pectoral," adorned with gems, for which King Henry had just paid a sum equal to £15,000.†

A tournament was held for three days, in proof of the universal joy of the nation. The feasting being held within the sanctuary, and the jousts in the courtyard before the Abbey, and in the royal presence. The people departed, as the contemporary chroniclers have declared, "well satisfied."‡

\* To the chief butler alone was given 1,000*l*.

† See Appendix, p. 419.

‡ Holinshed; Biondi; Fabian; Carte; Eng. Chron. Camd. Soc.; Hall; Sandford; W. of Worcester; Baker; Chron. of Brute; bib. Harl.; Stow;

1445.  
Holinshed;  
Biondi;  
Rapin;  
Speed;  
Carte;  
Lingard;  
Sismondi;  
Henry.

Such was the commencement of the career of Queen Margaret,—such the favourable reception of the fair sovereign from whom so much was expected! The disappointment of the people, however, began early to be manifested, and sad and bitter must have been the reflections of Margaret, at a subsequent period, upon those events which, after such a gracious reception, had deprived her of the love of her people.

This marriage has been universally esteemed most unfortunate for King Henry, for his Queen, and for the English nation.\* Those historians, however, who call Queen Margaret “proud and vindictive,”† and who attribute all the evils of this disastrous reign to her wilful passions, must surely be blinded by prejudice, and forgetful of that impartiality which ought ever to be the distinguishing characteristic of an historian.

We are also more especially guided to liberality in our judgment of this queen, when we reflect on the general high esteem with which she was regarded by her own nation, and by the French king; and when we consider the united praises, by all historians, of her early character and conduct. One author informs us —“her talents and noble qualities had been so much celebrated, that it was reasonable to expect, that when she should mount the throne, they would break out, and shine with still superior lustre.” Another says, “she was a princess who, to the beauties of her body, added all the perfections of the mind.” A third says, “she was endowed with an excellent understanding, sagacity, and prudence, very reasonable and considerate, and diligent in all her designs, &c.”‡ Again, we are told that “in personal beauty she was superior to most women, in mental capacity equal to most men;”

Toplis; Baudier; Rapin; Sismondi; Lond. Chron.; Lingard; Sharon Turner; Beckington; Cont. Hist. Croyland.

\* Holinshed; Hall; Speed; Rapin; Stow.

† Biondi; Villaret. ‡ Hume; Baudier; Female Worthies.

and another writer says of this queen, that “she was a beautiful woman, and of a genius and capacity superior to most women; and also of a bold and masculine spirit.”\*

It should also be remembered that at the age of fifteen, when, notwithstanding her aspiring temper, she could not have acquired much experience, she was at once introduced to a court where two violent and turbulent factions prevailed; to a nation prepared, by the example of their governors, for mutiny and complaints; and to a weak king, who, far from being able to govern others, had scarcely a will of his own.

Of the duties of Margaret's newly-acquired dignity, perhaps this last, the guidance of her husband, was not the least difficult to accomplish. As her husband and sovereign she owed to him respect and obedience; but even these the easy temper and feeble frame of King Henry disposed him to yield up, while the natural goodness of his heart claimed only the love and good-will of his consort, his servants, and his subjects. Meanwhile his consort was called upon to rule, almost without a helm or guide; yet we are not informed of any open violation of duty on the part of the youthful queen, but on the contrary, she even preserved the affections of her husband entire, and remained faithful to his fortunes throughout life.

King Henry, who had been easily gained by the praises bestowed on the Princess Margaret before he beheld her, was even more readily captivated by her charms when united to her. Won by her address, he resigned the reins of government to her more able hands; and Margaret, quickly perceiving the incapacity of her husband, seized the opportunity of appropriating to herself an authority, which, probably, she had been desirous of obtaining.† Her lively and ambitious

\* Lingard; Toplis.

† Baker; Henry.

temper might have made her eager to reach that open arena, where the natural vigour and activity of her character would have room to unfold itself.

It was for her vigorous and aspiring disposition that Margaret had been chosen by the English ministers to be their queen; and they believed that they should, by her means, render their own authority permanent. Nor were they mistaken in their calculations; as they had foreseen, Margaret, ere long, obtained a complete ascendancy over the King, and it was then that, not being unmindful of the individuals to whom she owed her exaltation, she eagerly adopted the sentiments and projects of the party whose selfish purposes she had been selected to advance. Admirably, yet perhaps unconsciously, did she further their ignoble views; for she not only confirmed them in the good-will and favour of their sovereign, but she even entered into their passions and interests, and especially in their aversion to the Duke of Gloucester. She attached herself to their party, seconded all their measures, and, in short, as the ministers' sole object was to keep on good terms with their royal mistress, they very soon became strictly united.\*

The party, which ruled in the Cabinet, and also the land, had projected this foreign alliance for their sovereign to further their own ends; and they not only rewarded all who accompanied the Queen to England, but handsomely paid her foreign suite. This lavish expenditure, however, was a cause, subsequently, of complaint on the part of the Queen's enemies.†

\* Rymer's *Fœdera*; W. of Worcester; Baudier; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Villaret; Smollett; Allen's York.

† Issue Rolls.

## CHAPTER V.

"Thou know'st how I (thy beauty to advance)  
 "For thee refused the infanta of France,  
 "Brake the contract Duke Humphry first did make  
 "Twixt Henry and the Princess Arminac;  
 "Only that here thy presence I might gain,  
 "I gave Duke Ragner Anjou, Mons, and Maine,  
 "Thy peerless beauty for a dower to bring,  
 "As of itself sufficient for a king."—DRAYTON.

(*The Duke of Gloucester to King Henry.*)

"Ah, gracious lord, these days are dangerous!  
 "Virtue is chok'd with foul ambition,  
 "And charity chas'd hence by rancour's hand;  
 "Foul subornation is predominant,  
 "And equity exil'd your highness' land.  
 "I know their complot is to have my life;  
 "And if my death might make this island happy,  
 "And prove the period of their tyranny,  
 "I would expend it with all willingness;  
 "But mine is made the prologue to their play;  
 "For thousands more, that yet suspect no peril,  
 "Will not conclude their plotted tragedy."

SHAKESPEARE.—*Henry VI.*

The Queen obtains great influence—Gloucester's accusation—His popularity, arrest, and death—His character, literature, and care of the State—King Henry's pusillanimity—The mock execution of the Duke's servants—Death of Winchester—His character—Colleges founded—The Queen's arbitrary rule—Reproaches of Suffolk—His defence—Loyalty of the people—The Queen's mistrust of York—His insinuations—He is deprived of the Regency of France—York and Somerset's opposition—Honours conferred on Suffolk.

THE new queen soon obtained great influence in the kingdom, and the English people appeared to be disposed to keep the peace with France, of which their fair sovereign had been the pledge. As had been expected, Queen Margaret of Anjou was found to be clever, proud, courageous, and enterprising. Her



beauty and wisdom surpassed that of all others of her times, while her courage exceeded that of her own sex. She also added much foresight; indeed, her great wit, skill, diligence, grace, and many admirable talents, qualified her to obtain that renown and distinction of which she had already become ambitious. At times she was irritated by obstacles, and disposed to take sudden resolves which she would no less suddenly alter, and her desire for absolute power caused her subsequently to be charged with bringing trouble on the kingdom.\* There might appear, indeed, to be some foundation for this charge, considering her first acts and conduct towards the King's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester. His decided opposition to her marriage had already prepossessed her against him, and she soon discovered that in spite of his influence and popularity with the people, (with whom he was deservedly a favourite,) his frequent contentions with the ministers increased their animosity against him, and this caused some trouble, and served to irritate the mind of Queen Margaret.

The great talents and beauty of the Queen enabled her in a short time to obtain a complete ascendancy over the mind of the King. She observed that he was quite unable to act for himself, and that he was entirely under the direction of the Duke of Gloucester; therefore rightly judging that Henry, being of age to govern, ought not to be kept under such control, she became anxious to effect a change, and determined gradually to release the King from this thralldom, and to deprive the Duke of his great power.

It cannot be surprising, nay, it might even appear natural, that Queen Margaret, on finding this position of affairs, should have felt ambitious of holding the reins of government herself, especially as she was "desirous

\* Barante; Monfaucon; Holinshed; Pol. Vergil; Milles's Catalogue; Lingard; Mezerai; Toplis.

of honour." Her early character showed her worthy of obtaining this honour, as historians all testify; for, say they, "in proportion as King Henry was feeble in mind and body, his queen was found to be courageous, skilful, and intelligent."\*

The Duke of Gloucester had endeavoured, as we have seen, to efface from the mind of his royal mistress the unfavourable impression which he had made by his opposition to her marriage to King Henry, by appearing with his retainers to welcome her upon her arrival; but this prudent step failed in its object, and the Queen still entertained feelings of resentment against him.† Young and inexperienced, as she was at this time, Queen Margaret could not appreciate the worth of this able minister, and while her gratitude towards her favourites for promoting her elevation to the throne of England served to unite their interests to hers, it had no less influence in alienating her friendship from the Duke. Unfortunately, the rage of the party she had chosen was bent against the object who had incurred her resentment, and she probably did not stay to balance the hypocritical motives of those who had ingratiated themselves into her favour: thus, the first step of this Queen in her public career, far from conciliating the hearts of her subjects, was the cause of their estrangement from her for ever.

It was, besides, the advice of King René to his daughter that she should, with her husband, assume the regal power, and not permit the control of ministers, as though they were not themselves of age to govern.‡

The Parliament, which was sitting at the time of Queen Margaret's arrival, had been adjourned twice; (the second time, on account of a pestilence in London,)

\* Pol. Vergil; Holinshed; Milles's Catalogue; Daniel.

† Pol. Vergil; Villaret; Henry.

‡ Holinshed; Hall; Barante; Sharon Turner.

but, previous to this last prorogation, the Duke of Suffolk had made a speech to each of the Houses, filling them with hopes of peace, and praising his own services and conduct in the war, and also extolling his discretion and prudence in treating for the truce and contract of marriage so entirely to the satisfaction of the nation. His conduct, thus set forth in the fairest light, was readily approved, and he was secured from molestation for his advice to his master by the repeal of the stipulation at the treaty of Troyes, which obliged the parties contracting to make no peace or truce with the enemy without the consent of the three estates of this realm.\*

1445. At this meeting, the Speaker recommended to the King's favour the Marquis of Suffolk, and in a long speech eulogized his valour and noble conduct, both at home and abroad, as deserving of some token of approbation, and particularly for his duty and promptitude in the charge intrusted to him concerning the marriage of the King with the Princess Margaret of Anjou. Upon this, the Duke of Gloucester fell on his knees, and humbly petitioned, with divers lords, that his Majesty would grant some especial favour to the Marquis of Suffolk, and King Henry willingly gave his gracious assent to an Act which declared the conduct of Suffolk true and loyal.

The part which the Duke of Gloucester took at this time seems unaccountable, since he had ever shown a steady opposition to this marriage; yet here he stood, foremost in soliciting the royal favour for Suffolk. The cession of Maine and Anjou were included in these acts of Suffolk, (although he carefully avoided alluding to this subject in his speech), and Gloucester must have approved of them, if he was sincere. As a member of the Council, he could not have been unacquainted

\* Issue Rolls; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Stow.

with this, if even the Commons were ignorant of it. The Duke of Gloucester was subsequently charged with conspiring against the government; a charge which, had it been substantiated, would have accounted for his pretended friendship for Suffolk by which on this occasion he sought to disguise his real purpose.\*

In the same Parliament an Act was passed to provide for the Queen's dower, but it only amounted to half the sum which had been assigned to the queens, her predecessors.

King Henry had already (in his Parliament, held on the 25th of February), by the advice of his lords spiritual and temporal, granted for the use of his beloved consort, Queen Margaret, the sum of £1,000; besides a handsome dower, by way of gift, "to have and to hold" to the end of her life, from the Feast of St. Michael of the ensuing year. The details of this dower are very curious,† giving a minute account of the various sources whence the smaller sums were derived. The aggregate amount, annually, was 5,000 marks, or £3,666 13s. 4d., which had been finally settled as the dower of Queen Margaret. The tributary sums were drawn from many of the possessions of King Henry in various counties, in England, viz., in Leicester, Northampton, and Warwick; in Stafford, Derby, Hereford, Oxford, and Bucks; also 40 marks per annum were gathered from the fruitful farm of Gunthorp, in the county of Nottingham; the castle and estate of Plecy, the manors of Walden and Dunmowe, with others in the counties of Essex, Hertford, Surrey, and Middlesex; an hotel in the city of London, called Blanch Appleton, with a house named Steward's Inn, in the parish of St. Olaves in that city; the castle and town of Hertford;‡

\* Parl. Roll; Rymer; Speed; Stow; Lingard.

† See Appendix, p. 421.

‡ The manorial courts were held in the Queen's name at Hertford; and

Kenilworth, and other castles and manors. Besides these, certain castles and domains pertaining to Duke Henry of Lancaster, together with the lands and estates of the military and ecclesiastics, to the end of her life. Also, to the said consort of Henry, annually, a sum drawn from divers annuities pertaining to Henry, Duke of Cornwall, with other emoluments in England and Wales. It was further conceded, that "the said most beloved consort of Henry should by no means be burdened or compelled to return any computation of profits, or returns of the said castles and other things promised, so that she might be quiet, and unannoyed in any manner."

All these things were, "by the said authority conceded, given, conceded, and assigned on the 19th day of March, in the twenty-fourth year of Henry's reign, by the said Parliament of Henry, then sitting."\*

Of the two years succeeding this auspicious marriage scarcely a record can be discovered; but it appears to have been a tranquil period, since we learn that the King and the Queen occasionally shared in the enjoyment of the chase, their favourite diversion. King Henry, however, took no part in the tournaments, in which Lord Rivers alone appeared to support the honour of England; and the calamitous civil warfare, within a short space, entirely superseded all these mimic sports.

1445. In the month of July, 1445, a special embassy was sent into England by Charles VII., for the purpose of establishing a permanent peace between the two realms.

The Archbishop of Rheims, the Counts of Laval

a horse-fair, by her permission and charter to the bailiffs, was also held wheresoever they found it expedient.—*Rot. Parl.*; *Turner's Hertford*; *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

\* *Rot. Parl.*

and Vendôme, the Lord of Precigny, and other nobles, with ambassadors of the King of Spain, René King of Sicily, and the Duke of Alençon, with a hundred knights and esquires, (also three hundred horses), all richly dressed in silk and cloth of gold, left Calais, on the 3rd of July, for Dover, whence they proceeded to Canterbury and Rochester, where they tarried several days. They entered London on the 14th of July, escorted by King Henry's ambassadors, and were met by the Lord Mayor, and sixty citizens clothed in scarlet and fur, and all the "companies" of the city, richly attired, the streets being thronged with thousands of spectators.

After this joyful reception the embassy proceeded by water to Westminster, where they were received by the King with much ceremony. His Majesty wore a robe of red cloth of gold; he was seated on a high stool of blue tapestry, and surrounded by golden tapestry bearing the arms of France. With the King were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Cardinal of York, the Dukes of Gloucester, Buckingham, and Warwick, and many others.

King Henry took by the hand each member of the deputation, after which the Archbishop of Rheims addressed him in French, and presented letters from King Charles. These were gladly received by the King, who replied through his Chancellor in Latin, rejoicing much at the good disposition of his uncle towards himself, and at his desire for peace. Another interview with the Ambassadors took place on the following day, when the King more fully expressed his own wishes in respect to the peace. The Embassy were entertained by the nobility for several days, and on the 30th of the month the King received them again, at Fulham. After a long private conference the final reply given was, that King Henry must deliberate,

and might possibly confer himself with King Charles in France, or send deputies for this purpose.

How remarkable that an embassy so heartily welcomed should have so signally failed in accomplishing its object!

1445. The following letter addressed to the King of France by Queen Margaret, before the close of the same year, bears evidence of her regard for her uncle, and is expressive of her own desire for peace.

"To the very high and powerful prince, our very dear  
"uncle of France, Marguerite, by the grace of  
"God, Queen of France and of England, greet-  
"ing, with all affection and cordial love.

"Most high and powerful prince, our very dear  
"uncle, we have received by master Guillaume Cousinet,  
"the master of requests of your household, and Jehan  
"Havart, esquire, your valet carver, your gracious  
"letters, of the contents of which, because we know  
"that you have a lively memory of them, we do not at  
"present make long record."

"But inasmuch as we perceive the good love and  
"the entire will that you have towards my lord and  
"myself, the great desire which you have to see us,  
"and also the fruitful disposition and liberal inclination  
"which we know to be in you in regard to peace  
"and good concord between both of you, we herein  
"praise our Creator, and thank you thereof with a  
"good heart, and as kindly as ever we may; for no  
"greater pleasure can we have in this world, than to  
"see an arrangement for a final peace between him  
"and you, as well for the nearness of lineage in which  
"you stand the one to the other, as also for the relief  
"and repose of the Christian people, which has been  
"so long disturbed by war. And herein to the pleasure  
"of our lord, we will, upon our part, stretch forth the

"hand, and will employ ourselves herein effectually to  
"our power in such wise that reason would that you,  
"and all others, ought herein to be gratified.

"And as to the deliverance which you desire to  
"have of the Comté of Maine, and other matters con-  
"tained in your said letters, we understand that my  
"said lord has written to you at considerable length  
"about this: and yet herein we will do for your plea-  
"sure the best that we can do, as we have always  
"done, as you may be certified of this by the above-  
"said Cousinet and Havart, whom may it graciously  
"please you to hear, and give credence to what shall  
"be related to you by them upon our part at this time,  
"making us frequently acquainted with your news, and  
"of your good prosperity and health; and therein we  
"will take very great pleasure, and will have singular  
"consolation."

"Most high and powerful prince, our very dear  
"uncle, we pray the sweet Jesus Christ that He will  
"keep you in His blessed protection."

"Given at Shene the xvii day of December,"

"MARGUERITE." \*

In the year 1446 King Henry visited Bristol, and took up his residence near Radcliffe church. The house he occupied "being that over which lately stood a crucifix, and near to Radcliffe," was doubtless the Hospital of St. John the Baptist; but that King Henry bestowed it on the Knights Hospitallers is an error. The King lodged there, since the castle at this time was probably much dilapidated; yet why he abode in a religious house inferior to many others in Bristol, does not appear, especially as the Queen was always with him, and they must have had a considerable escort.†

1446.

\* Stevenson's Letters.

† Seyer's Memoirs of Bristol.

1446. On St. Andrew's Day, of this year, in St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster, Lodovicus Cordona, D.D., presented the King with a Golden Rose from Pope Eugène IV., at the same time expressing its property and application, with the usual ceremony respecting the said rose. On this occasion were present John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of England, Cardinal Kemp, Archbishop of York, and the Dukes of York and Exeter.\*

This remarkable custom (viz., the presentation of a Golden Rose to crowned heads, or foreign potentates, distinguished for piety) commenced in the fifteenth century; and it was intended that such favours should keep them in more willing obedience to the papal authority. The gift to the King of England was therefore, at this period, peculiarly significant.

Queen Margaret had early attached herself to the Duchess-dowager of Bedford, who had been one of the noble escort who brought her from her native land; nor did she forget the early kindness of this lady, who for some years retained her influence over her royal mistress. Having married a simple esquire, and thus leaving her high estate as Duchess-dowager of Bedford, she resided in her castle of Grafton, part of her dower. There she educated her numerous family; and feeling by degrees the necessity of providing for them, she sought to advance their interests by the assistance of Queen Margaret of Anjou, with whom her eldest daughter, the beautiful Elizabeth Woodville, was placed as maid of honour, her sisters also receiving promises of promotion and favour.†

The Queen did not bring over any of her own relations, however needy, to share her fortunes in this

\* Peck's Stamford.

† Elizabeth at a later period married Sir John Gray of Grosby, and shared her husband's dangers in the campaign in which he lost his life.—Hall.

country, neither did she engage foreign domestics as her attendants, with a few exceptions. Her suite consisted of English ladies; she early became acquainted with the language of this country, and readily adopted its customs. It was not until, in later years, when she was reduced to the greatest extremities, that she applied for aid from her native land.

While the advice of King René had possibly some influence with his daughter, there is no proof that Queen Margaret did any injury to the Duke of Gloucester, by predisposing his nephew the King against him, for the Cardinal had already undermined his credit with Henry before the arrival of the Queen. Besides the Cardinal of Winchester, the Archbishop of York and the Marquis of Suffolk looked upon the Duke of Gloucester as their common enemy, and they were at this time supported by the power and favour of their Queen.

The Duke of Gloucester had indeed much to fear from these his enemies, when, as we are told, they "persuaded, incensed, and exhorted the Queen to look well upon the expenses and revenues of the realm, and thereof to call account, whereby she should evidently perceive that Gloucester had not so much advanced and preferred the commonwealth and public utility, as his own private ends and peculiar objects."\* Thus led on by these ministers, (who considered their authority insecure while Gloucester retained any power whatever,) Queen Margaret, although so talented and virtuous, was apparently involved in some measures injurious to her reputation, and fatal in their results to the nation. By uniting herself so closely in the interests of the avowed enemies of the Duke, the Queen ultimately drew on herself the odium of that guilt

\* Hall's Chron.; Pol. Vergil; Carte; Lingard.



which should have only attached to her ministers.\* Some writers affirm that these ministers had preconcerted the ruin of the Duke whatever it might cost them, and that to further these views they had selected Margaret of Anjou for their Queen.† Added to the number of the Duke's adversaries, there were other powerful individuals, who, prepared for mischief and violence, were envious of Gloucester. Of these especially was conspicuous the Duke of Buckingham, who entertained a private pique against him for having promoted the advancement of Henry, Earl of Warwick, to the precedence of every duke, thus wounding the pride of many of the nobility of England. Buckingham's pompous array of titles, and his lineal descent from the same race as the rival kings of York and Lancaster, made him unwilling to forgive any infringement of his aristocratic dignity; thus he stood foremost in the confederacy to humble the power of Gloucester, for having once presumed to be greater than himself. The Marquis of Suffolk, who owed his elevation to the Cardinal, lost no opportunity to insinuate to his master, that the Cardinal was, of all his subjects, the most to be confided in; thus daily sinking the credit of Gloucester, whose counsels were always opposed to those of Beaufort. Another who was devoted to the Cardinal, the Archbishop of York, was also instrumental in confirming the suspicions of the King. In short, they so contrived by their united efforts, that Henry daily gave his uncle some new mortification, which the haughty and impetuous spirit of Gloucester could not brook without complaints or threats against the authors of these affronts. His resentment, however, only hastened his ruin.‡ The

\* Holinshed; Pol. Vergil; Hall; Barante; Rapin; Speed; Henry; Hume.

† Villaret; Henry; Hume.

‡ Pol. Vergil; Speed; Rymer's Foedera; Rapin.

frequent attacks of his enemies, added to the disgrace and captivity of his wife, were motives quite sufficient for his retiring from court; some assert, however, that the Duke's great power had excited the jealousy of the Queen, who was ambitious to reign alone. Certain it is, that Queen Margaret's first step was to sanction the endeavours of the Duke's enemies to exclude him from the Council-chamber, and from all share in the government. In this attempt the Cardinal of Winchester and the Archbishop of York were the most active. Some persons were suborned to bring false accusations against the Duke concerning his conduct during the Protectorate; the chief of which were, that he had put to death several individuals upon his own authority, and that he had aggravated the sentence passed on others.

Such, however, was the rigorous administration of justice by this virtuous prince, that it had solely called forth the enmity of those who feared the just punishment of their crimes, and who hated him for his plainness in declaring their offences.\*

The Duke of Gloucester had ever spoken in the Council-chamber with the freedom to which his birth, rank, and services entitled him; but this only excited the rage of his enemies, who oppressed him and counteracted his influence. He had no longer any weight in the Cabinet. The Duke's power was, however, considerable in the kingdom, owing to his popularity with the people, who believed he was zealous for the interests and honour of his country; and from his high rank and extensive domains, and also being the presumptive heir to the throne.†

When the Duke of Gloucester appeared before the Council to reply to the charges preferred against him, 1446.  
Rapin;  
Holinshed.

\* Holinshed; Hall; Baker; Pol. Vergil.

† Barante; Villaret.

so ably did he prove his innocence, and so clear and convincing was the evidence he gave, that even his enemies, who were his judges, were compelled to acquit him, and to desist from their projects. The citizens of London raised great commotions in consequence of this attack upon the character of the "Good Duke," and the praises of the public favourite were re-echoed throughout the streets of the metropolis, and curses denounced upon his enemies.\* From this time Gloucester was rising in the public estimation, and the increase of his popularity still augmented the wrath and jealousy of his political antagonists, who, it is said, became convinced that nothing short of the ruin of the Duke would enable them to establish their own power. They feared, and with reason, that in the event of Gloucester one day mounting the throne, he would inflict a just punishment on them for the crimes he had so often endeavoured to expose. The death of Gloucester was consequently resolved upon, and the ministers were not slow in effecting their wicked purpose. They did not resort to the common course of justice in their iniquitous proceedings, for they had already found it impracticable, and open assassination was too hazardous an attempt.

These crafty ministers devised a new and certain means to get rid of their rival, and by which they were at the same time enabled to conceal the authors of the crime.† It has been asserted that this means for effecting the destruction of the Duke was invented by Queen Margaret, or at least received her sanction, and that the ministers would scarcely have ventured of themselves to attempt the life of the presumptive heir to the throne. It is added that the Queen's accustomed activity and energy led the people to believe

\* Rapin ; Henry ; Holinshed ; Biondi.

† Holinshed ; Hall ; Pol. Vergil ; Rapin.

that, without her consent, the enemies of the Duke could not have dared to take his life.\* That it should be said the Queen was implicated in such a crime, merely on account of her natural temperament, seems unjust. Still more surprising it appears, on reflection, that one of our historians, who in relating other facts has been remarkably circumstantial, should on this subject have contented himself with bare insinuations as the foundation for this opinion.

But historians differ much with regard to the part Queen Margaret took in this transaction. Some of them, by asserting that the Duke died a natural death, clear the Queen of this imputation altogether, and also all her ministers;† another boldly declares that the Queen first plotted the death of the Duke, and devised the means for its accomplishment.‡ The truth would seem to lie between these two extremes.

The opinion became general that the Queen gave her sanction to the measures of her ministers, who, without it, feared, or pretended to fear, to engage in this plot. Those historians may perhaps be most relied upon who represent this affair as transacted by the Cardinal and his party, *apparently* under the authority of the Queen.§ All writers of the events of this period, however, with one exception, concur in saying that the *share Queen Margaret took* in this guilty transaction is *uncertain*; yet, without any proof of her criminality,—any evidence beyond the suspicions of a discontented and offended nation,—the character of the estimable and high-minded Margaret of Anjou has been aspersed, and, thus sullied and defamed, has been transmitted to succeeding generations.

The surprising courage and bold genius of this

\* Hume ; Rapin ; Henry.

† Wethamstead ; Lingard.

‡ Rapin.

§ Hall ; Rapin ; Henry ; Hume ; Sharon Turner.

Queen in her subsequent adversities has doubtless led many to conclude that she did not, at this period, hesitate in the adoption of any means her penetration suggested as expedient; but let it be remembered, that "adversity is the school of heroes; it is there that man learns to walk alone, to command himself, and to govern others."

Margaret, with all her talents and political dexterity, was still a young woman at this period; and although she was not marked by the peculiar foibles of her sex, she had led, as history portrays her, too pure and innocent a life to admit without reluctance the open contemplation of crime. Had it been otherwise, she had, long ere the death of Gloucester, suffered the slander passed upon her by the enemies of the House of Lancaster, or had it been in their power to prove her conduct in early life exceptionable. Nor is it probable that, having passed her youth without censure, she should have so suddenly changed—so corrupted by the vile atmosphere of a wicked court—as to have proposed of her own accord the execution of this wilful and horrid crime; human nature shrinks from the suspicion. Again, when we consider the youth and inexperience of the Queen and her prejudice against the Duke of Gloucester, it seems probable that she might have been deceived by the artifices of the Cardinal, and ensnared into concessions, or persuaded to give her sanction to some project of her ministers, without understanding the full extent of their purpose.

Queen Margaret and her counsellors are said to have treated the Duke with marked affability previous to the meeting of Parliament, which had been convened for the month of February, 1447, at Bury St. Edmunds, where it was supposed the Duke of Gloucester had fewer friends than in London, and there-

1447.  
Holinshed;  
Henry;  
Rapin.

fore this place was judged to be more suitable to the sinister views of the ministers.

The precautions taken on this occasion caused much surprise, and gave rise to many conjectures. The knights of the shires were summoned to come there in arms, the men of Suffolk were arrayed, and the King's residence well guarded, while patrols watched the roads leading to this town during the night as well as the day, "so that many died of cold and waking."<sup>\*</sup>

The favour shewn to Gloucester by the Queen and her ministers was not intended to win his confidence, but rather to inspire him with mistrust of their designs, in order to betray him into some step which might afford a handle against him. It was even hinted to him, by secret emissaries, that a plot was laid against him to impeach him of various crimes in the Parliament of Bury St. Edmunds, which place had been chosen as most favourable to the designs of his enemies. Upon this it was expected that the Duke would withdraw himself, and that thus an appearance of truth would be thrown on the charges which the ministers intended to bring forward.<sup>†</sup>

It was in vain, however, that this noble-minded prince was advertised of the machinations of his enemies. Conscious of his own innocence, and too proud to seek security in flight, which would have afforded a plausible ground for these accusations, his generous mind resolved upon boldly confronting his accusers, and proving the falsehood of their charges.<sup>‡</sup> He came from his castle of Devizes to Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk, with only a small retinue, and as it was customary for noblemen to appear in the high court of Parliament with a numerous suite out of respect to the King, and Gloucester, not having in his retirement suf-

<sup>\*</sup> Stow; Lingard.

<sup>†</sup> Hall; Rapin; Barante.

<sup>‡</sup> Hall; Rapin; Villaret.

ficient attendants, sent orders to some of his retainers and servants at Deptford to meet him at Bury; when however, a number of these prepared to obey the Duke's orders, they were arrested and charged with a conspiracy.

King Henry having kept his Christmas at Bury St. Edmunds, remained there until Easter, 1447.

1447.  
Stow;  
Baker;  
Speed;  
Hume;  
Fox.

Upon the first day of the meeting of Parliament as appointed (the 10th of February), the King presided in person, sitting in a chair of state in the refectory of the monastery. On this day the Duke of Gloucester arrived at Bury and was lodged in the hospital, where soon after he was arrested by Lord Beaumont, the High Constable of England, the Dukes of Buckingham, Somerset, and others, who appointed certain of the King's household to attend upon him, none of his own domestics being permitted to wait upon him.

Thus was the Duke of Gloucester cast into prison upon a charge of high treason, and it was reported, in excuse for his committal, that he had formed a design to kill his sovereign, usurp the throne, and rescue his Duchess, who had been a long time confined in Kenilworth Castle. The people gave no credit to the first of these charges, and great disturbances were made throughout the town on account of the Duke's imprisonment; but the clamours were soon appeased, because it was generally believed that Gloucester was innocent, therefore no one doubted that he would as easily clear himself upon this as he had done on the former occasion.\* The Duke was not, however, permitted the opportunity for his defence, being found dead in his bed on the morning after his arrest.†

\* Hall; Biondi; Stow; Carte; W. of Worcester; Howel's Med. Hist. Anglicanæ; Rapin; Milles's Catalogue; Sandford; Baker; Dugdale's Baron.; Holinshed; Paston Letters; Fox's Monasteries; Peck's Stamford; Allen's York; Henry; Barante; Villaret; Hume.

† Stow writes that "on the 14th day he died, for sorrow, that he might

The cause publicly assigned for the Duke's death was apoplexy; but his unpopularity at court and with the Queen's party, and the violence which characterized this period, seems to give a degree of probability to that which rests on *tradition only*, viz., that the Duke was murdered in an apartment of St. Saviour's Hospital, then an appendage to the monastery. Nor did the exposure of the Duke's body, on which no marks of violence were perceptible, serve to remove from the public mind the impression, which was general, that the Duke of Gloucester had met with his death by unlawful means. Various conjectures were formed as to the manner in which this horrid deed had been perpetrated, and universal was the detestation with which those persons were regarded who were judged to have been its authors.‡

Such was the unfortunate end of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, one of the first princes of the blood, and a great favourite with the people, who, for his love of literature and the rank he held as patron of the genius and talent of his age, was justly styled the "Mæcenæ of his times." He was a magnificent patron and benefactor of the University of Oxford (where he had been educated), and founded the Bodleian Library, to which he presented one hundred and twenty-nine fair volumes on the sciences, in the year 1440.

Gloucester was a skilful and upright governor; ever disposed to favour the poor, and, therefore, much beloved by them. He was also "learned and courteous," and if we cannot agree with the old chronicler, who

not come to his answer;" while other authors state that he died on the 14th or 17th day after his arrest, or assert that he was found dead on the 23rd or 28th of February.

\* Hall; Baker; Biondi; Holinshed; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Sandford; Milles's Catalogue; Carte; W. of Worcester; Fabian; Paston Letters; Hist. of Bury St. Edmunds; Fox's Monasteries; Howel's Med. Hist. Ang.; Speed; Allen's York.

adds that "he was also devoid of pride and ambition," we must at least allow him many excellent qualities, and confess it might be truly said of him, that he was

"Virtute duce non sanguine nitor."

"Great by deeds of virtue, not of blood."\*

On account of his many virtues and the care he took of the commonwealth, Gloucester obtained from the people the title of the "Good Duke," and for his love of justice he was also styled the "Father of his country." He had governed the kingdom during twenty-five years, as we are told, "with great commendations, so that neither good men had cause to complain of, nor bad men to find fault with, his regency." He had been idolized by the nation, and not without reason, for he had long shown a lively interest in the welfare of his country, and had, in support of those points which he deemed essential to its honour, sustained repeated indignities and affronts. He had shown that he inherited the spirit of his family, a spirit which, in his brother Henry V. and the Duke of Bedford, had been generally esteemed and admired; yet he differed from these relatives in the irritability of his temper and his impetuosity, which doubtless caused his frequent quarrels with Beaufort, and gave that prelate a political ascendancy over him. It is probable that the Duke of Gloucester owed his fate to his active exertions to reform the Church, and to banish ecclesiastical statesmen from their inordinate share in the government. In these attempts he could not fail to humble his rival and to excite his enmity; add to which, we are told, that he had attempted to deprive Beaufort of the see of Winchester, which must

\* Biondi; Paston Letters; Rapin; Hume; (Sharon Turner; Leigh's Collections; Holinshed; Baker; Hall; Sandford.

have increased his rage against him. Upon this occasion, as on many others, fresh fuel was added to the flame of discord which burned between these two powerful individuals; and their petty feuds, (otherwise unworthy of the notice of the historian,) become important, as being the fruitful source whence sprang many of the contests and desolating wars of King Henry's reign.

That the young King should have been early prejudiced against his uncle is not surprising, being of so easy a temper that it required little address to win his favour; this Beaufort secured for himself, and employed it against his adversary. The Duke of Gloucester, however, had deserved better at his nephew's hands; for he it was who, with more spirit than prudence, had resented King Henry's exclusion from the Cabinet, when, at the age of seventeen, he had requested admittance there; and Henry's subsequent incapacity is mainly attributable to his arbitrary governors, and his exclusion from, and ignorance of, public affairs.\*

The body of the Duke of Gloucester was interred in the Abbey of St. Albans, to which he had been a great benefactor. The Abbot Wethamstead, whom he much esteemed, says repeatedly that the Duke fell ill immediately after his arrest, and died of his illness. Wethamstead commends him in these two lines,—

"Fidior in regno Regi, Duce non fuit isto

"Plus ne fide stabilis, aut major, amator honoris."

"Than Humphrey none of faithfulness had greater store,

"Stood firmer by the King, or loved his honour more."

It was in the Abbey of St. Albans that the Duke detected a man, who pretended to work a miracle in restoring sight to the blind. Gloucester had a strong

\* Holinshed; Pol. Vergil; Speed; Sandford; W. of Worcester; Rapin; Lingard.



predilection for the shrine of St. Albans. He had bestowed upon it rich vestments to the value of three thousand marks, and the manor of Pembroke, that the monks should pray for his soul; and he had directed that his remains should be deposited within those holy walls. The tomb of the Duke was adorned by his friend, Wethamstead, and part of the expenses borne by the convent. A monument of stone, of elaborate workmanship, was erected to his memory behind the altar, on the south side of the church, where was the shrine of the patron saint. In a vault beneath, the remains of this prince were deposited, and great care and expense were originally taken for their preservation: they were enclosed in a leaden coffin, in a kind of strong pickle, with an outer coffin of wood. A crucifix was painted on the wall at the east end of the vault, with a cup on each side of the head, another at the side, and a fourth at the feet. These four chalices were receiving the blood, and a hand pointing towards it, with a label inscribed "Lord, have mercy upon me."<sup>a</sup>

Several knights and esquires in the Duke's service on the day of his arrest assembled at Greenwich, and resolved to proceed to Bury to join him. They were taken prisoners, and accused of conspiring to kill the King, to raise the Duke of Gloucester to the throne, and to release Eleanor, his wife, from her prison. They were tried, and five of them—Sir Roger Chamberlaine, Richard Middleton, Thomas Herbert, Arthur Tursey, Esqrs., and Richard Nedham,—were condemned of

\* Thus were the remains of the "Good Duke Humphrey" discovered in 1701 (except that the outer case of wood had perished); and since that period they have been frequently exhibited to gratify the public curiosity. The dry bones and soft, fair, silken tresses of hair were of deep interest to all acquainted with his character, and tragic end. The inscription and the title on the cross have been long obliterated.—*Stow*; *Pol. Vergil*; *Sandford*; *Rymer*; *Rapin*; *Pennant*; *Willis's Abbeyes*; *Paston Letters*; *Weaver's Funereal Monuments*; *Blorc's Monumental Remains*; *Lingard*.

high treason, and sentence of death passed upon them. Their judges were appointed by virtue of the King's commission, and of these the Marquis of Suffolk was the chief.\* The King granted a pardon to these unfortunate men. His humanity would not allow them to suffer. This clemency on the part of King Henry, we are told, was caused by his attention to a sermon, which had much affected him, delivered by Dr. Worthington, a celebrated preacher, on the forgiveness of injuries; and his Majesty declared "that he could not better show his gratitude for the protection of the Almighty than by granting a pardon to those who, he believed, had intended his destruction." These persons were thirty-two in number when apprehended; the five on whom sentence of death had been passed were drawn to Tyburn for execution. There the hangman had actually performed his office—the vital spark was almost extinguished—when the Marquis of Suffolk produced the tardy pardon upon which these miserable beings had relied, for it was suspected that they had been bribed to an acknowledgment of guilt upon a promise of certain pardon.

This pardon was by some persons conjectured to be only an artifice by which Suffolk sought to lessen the odium which might attach to himself after the death of Gloucester.

No investigation took place as to the cause of the sudden death of this Duke. It was asserted that he died a natural death, brought on by apoplexy, or the effect of anxiety of mind.† This opinion was held by three contemporary writers, who were all his friends and eulogists—Hardyng, the Yorkist; William of Worcester, who in recording the meeting of Parlia-

\* Hall; Holinshed; Baker; Sandford; Howel; Stow; Rapin; Henry; Hist. of Bury St. Edmonds; Lingard; Smollet.

† Pol. Vergil; Speed; Carte; Villaret; Hume.

ment at Bury says only, "there died Humphrey, the Good Duke of Gloucester, the lover of virtue and the State;" lastly, Wethamstead, his intimate friend, tells us that, "after being placed in strict confinement, he sank from sorrow."

The seeds of discontent had been long sown in this country, and the division of the chief rulers into two parties had much increased this growing evil, while the Queen preserved a select favoured party around her court. Many, very many, had rallied round this idolized and deservedly esteemed prince; and the sudden bereavement of their favourite called forth their utmost indignation. They could not penetrate the apparent mystery, the cause of his death, and regarded it as a crime, a murder, and sought to attach it to his different enemies; and, casting off their respect for the rank of their Queen, they even dared openly to charge her with this outrage.\*

The death of Gloucester, from whatever cause, did not remove from him the imputation of treason; it was still pretended that he was guilty of the charges laid against him, and for which some of his servants had been led to execution. These persons had never been confronted with him, neither were they of the chief of the Duke's household; nor were they such persons as he would probably have chosen to intrust with a secret so important, had he really entertained any treasonable projects.

Those individuals who were universally considered as the authors of Gloucester's death, were of too high a rank in the kingdom for anyone to have courage enough to accuse them, much more to inflict the punishment which, it was believed, they had so justly deserved.† When, however, hatred and malice had

\* Holinshed; Rapin

† Biondi; Hume; Rapin; Henry.

effected their direful purpose, when no human authority could call the culprits to the bar of justice, the unerring will of the Almighty, whose omnipresent eye had regarded this secret deed, so disposed the chain of succeeding events, that this cruel murder became the source of continued trials and misfortunes throughout the lives of its authors.

In whatever manner effected, Gloucester's death certainly was, as an old historian expresses it, "like the stroke of an evil angel sent to punish England, and to make way for the practices of Richard, Duke of York, who, immediately after the death of Duke Humphrey, (that grand prop of the red rose-tree,) began to set on foot his royal title."\*

The Duke of Gloucester most probably came by his death through the inveterate malice of his enemies, who had preconcerted the destruction of his power. These were the chief ministers of the Queen, the Cardinal of Winchester, the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Marquis of Suffolk. These four individuals consequently became the particular objects of popular hatred, and the impression made by this affair was never afterwards removed from the public mind.†

The attempts of these ministers to deceive the nation were fruitless and unworthy artifices. The arrest of the Duke's servants was a base subterfuge, which did not answer their purpose, (viz., to screen themselves from popular resentment); but it produced a contrary effect, in convincing the people by the favour shown to these unhappy men, that they were, as well as the Duke, altogether innocent of the charges laid against them.‡

\* Sandford; Holinshed; Hall; Smollet; Peck's Stamford.

† Speed; Allen's York.

‡ Villaret.

How far Queen Margaret of Anjou was really implicated in this affair is left to conjecture.\* No existing proof remains of her guilt, while, on the contrary, many things may be adduced which must lead the unprejudiced mind to the conviction of her innocence. Some, seeking to prove her guilty, allege the indecent haste with which the large estates of Gloucester were seized upon by the Queen and Suffolk, and conferred upon some of their favourites, which, they say, rendered them very unpopular, and served to confirm the suspicions against them; while contributing not a little to render them odious to the nation.†

Eleanor, the wife of Duke Humphrey, on account of the sentence passed upon her for her misconduct, had been by Parliament rendered incapable of claiming as his widow, and a great part of the Duke's estates were bestowed on the Marquis of Suffolk, his relatives and followers.

Gloucester had been created Earl of Pembroke by King Henry V. in 1414. The reversion of this earldom, should the Duke die without heirs, had been granted by Henry VI. to William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and Alice his wife, and their heirs; which, at the death of the Duke, they enjoyed accordingly.‡ The manor of Greenwich had been granted to Gloucester by King Henry VI. in 1443, with the royal license to fortify and embattle his manor-house, and to make a park of two hundred acres. Gloucester rebuilt the palace, and called it "Placentia," or "the manor of pleasaunce."§ On the death of the Duke this manor reverted to the crown. Baynard Castle

\* Hume.

† Henry: Rapin.

‡ Rot. Parl.: Carte; Sandford; Lingard.

§ This name it lost in the time of Edward IV. The Duke of Gloucester also enclosed the park, and built a tower on the spot where the Observatory now stands.

(which had been burnt in 1428) was rebuilt by the Duke of Gloucester, after whose death and attainder it came into the hands of the King, by whom it was bestowed on Richard, Duke of York. On the possessions of Gloucester, we are further informed that the Marquis of Suffolk had prevailed upon King Henry, while the Duke was yet living, in 1446, to create John de Foix, son of Gaston de Foix, Earl of Longuile, Earl of Kendal. He had 1,000*l.* bestowed upon him, to maintain his dignity, and also the possessions in Guienne, which had belonged to the Duke of Gloucester, and which he had been compelled to resign. John de Foix had married the niece of Suffolk. The castle of Devizes, and other lands in England belonging to Duke Humphrey, we are informed, were assigned to "Margaret of Anjou;" and this partition of the Duke's property served to increase the general suspicion of his having been murdered.\*

It appears probable that King Henry was quite in ignorance of this plot against his uncle, until informed of its fatal issue. The people never suspected that he had any share in it; but, if indeed the Duke was murdered, nothing would seem to excuse the pusillanimity of Henry in passing it over in silence. The only excuse to be found for him would be his incapacity to interfere in public affairs, which deprived him of courage to punish the offenders, if he even suspected who were the culprits. This monarch passed his whole time in his devotions; the Queen so contrived it, some writers tell us. It is evident, however, that Henry willingly resigned the reins of government to his consort, doubtless feeling happy to be released from a task for which nature had unfitted him. He readily signed, without examination, all the orders which were brought to him, and thus he lent his name to whatever measures the

\* Carte.

Queen might think proper to adopt.\* In support of the opinion that King Henry was ignorant of his uncle having been murdered, it has been said that the King, alluding to the pardon he had granted to the servants of the Duke, asserted that it had not been suggested to him either by layman or clergyman, but that it arose from "religious considerations, and chiefly because God seemed to have taken the cause into his own hands, having, during the late year, touched, and stricken, certain of those who had been disloyal to him."

The question naturally arises, who were these persons whom God had stricken? Gloucester doubtless was one of them, and this expression, says Lingard, "is a proof that he died a natural death; for this religious prince would never have used it, if the Duke had been murdered."† There is, however, great reason to believe that this noble prince was murdered, and one motive assigned for the cruel deed was that the ministers supposed the Duke would prevent the surrender of Maine and Anjou, according to the marriage contract.

Their chief object was, undoubtedly, to establish their own authority at court; but, by this act, they not only failed in doing so, but drew on themselves, as well as on their Queen, the indignation of the country; and from this period England became the scene of violence and civil warfare.‡

Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, well known as the "rich Cardinal," died, at the age of eighty, on the 11th of April, 1447; having survived but six weeks his political antagonist, the Duke of Gloucester.

He was buried in the cathedral at Winchester. The

\* Villaret; Rapin; Smollet.

† Rymer; Lingard.

‡ Holinshed; Pennant; Villaret; Lingard; Smollet.

1447.  
Stow;  
Hume;  
Lingard.

legacies of Beaufort, which were mostly for charitable purposes, were magnificent; and in proof of his esteem for Queen Margaret (who was indeed a great favourite with him, and often visited at his house) he bequeathed to her the bed of cloth of Damascus, and the arras belonging to the chamber in which she had slept at Waltham.

In his last moments, the Cardinal appears to have shown some compunction for his conduct in the affair of Gloucester's death; "more," it is said, "than could have been expected from a man hardened during the course of a long life in falsehood and in politics."\* The conclusion of a life so spent was, as might be anticipated, a scene of misery and discontent; and Beaufort, whose love of wealth continued his prevailing passion, even on his death-bed, is pictured as complaining with bitterness that his immense riches were not able to prolong, even for a day, that life to which he so fondly clung. "Why should I die," saith he, "having so much riches? If the whole realm would save my life, I am able either by policy to get it, or by money to buy it; fie, will not death be hired? will money do nothing?"†

Cardinal Beaufort was more exalted in his birth than distinguished for learning; he was proud, wealthy, and "loved money more than friendship." He was enterprising, but not persevering, except in his enmities, and in the evil purposes of his heart. His covetousness made him forget the shortness of human life, and his duties as a Christian and a subject.‡

The Jewish historian assures us that Moses required

\* Holinshed; Sandford; Baker; Stow; Pol. Vergil; W. of Worcester; Speed; Hume; Green's Worcester.

† Hall; Biondi; Rapin; Sharon Turner; Henry; Villaret; Barante.

‡ Hall; Holinshed; Rapin.

in the priesthood a "double degree of purity," and this, in comparison with what was expected of the laity; and we find this also established amongst the early Christians. How were these commands regarded by our mercenary prelate? whose life was as that of those ambitious and turbulent teachers, who are so swallowed up in political dreams, as to forget that "Christ's kingdom is not of this world." \*

It was the Cardinal of Winchester, who, in conjunction with others, passed sentence of death upon Joan of Arc, and ordered the ashes of the unfortunate girl to be thrown into the Seine.† Beaufort was called the "cruel and implacable Cardinal;" and, indeed, his ambitious and sordid disposition too often dictated actions which justified these epithets. How unfitted was such a character for the guidance of a young and inexperienced queen!

Formed to shine at court, and to act a conspicuous part in the political world rather than in the Church, Beaufort's chief employment, from the time of his being created a bishop, was to heap up riches. In this he was so successful, that he was considered the most wealthy of the English nobility. Having great skill and discernment in the means suggested by human prudence to the ambitious, he readily attained the summit of his wishes. Finally, his birth, talents, riches, and the office of governor to the King, gave him great influence both in the Cabinet and in the kingdom.‡

The first occasion of Beaufort's quarrel with the Duke of Gloucester is not fully known, some being of opinion that the Bishop was angry at Gloucester's pre-ferment in the government, which would have pleased him better than the tutorship of the young King;

\* Josephus; Milner.

† Barante; Hume.

‡ Rapin.

others asserting that the Duke had conceived a hatred against his uncle, because he was ever ready to oppose his assuming too great an authority as Protector. Whatever might have been the true cause of their enmity, it ended only with their lives. The Cardinal never left off plotting how to supplant his nephew, until, as the sequel showed, he was at last but too successful.

The coadjutors of the Cardinal during his administration had been the Archbishop of York, Adam Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester and Keeper of the Privy Seal; William de la Pole, Marquis of Suffolk; Lord Say, and the Bishop of Salisbury. These ministers maintained their influence in the Council, under the direction of Queen Margaret, who now appeared to govern with arbitrary sway.

This arrangement, however, was displeasing to the nation, who, unaccustomed to the government of a woman, raised complaints against the Queen, being disgusted by her haughty demeanour and partiality in conferring favours; but doubtless the supposition that she had participated in the guilt of Gloucester's murder had no small share in causing these murmurs, coupled with personal disrespect. Irritated by the loss of their favourite, the people did not even care to maintain the honour of their Queen, when speaking of her *liaisons* with the Marquis of Suffolk. This minister they regarded with the utmost detestation; and as he became, on the death of the Cardinal, the first in the kingdom, and monopolized the Queen's favour, reports were circulated very unfavourable to the dignity of the Queen. Like other favourites, he became the object of jealousy and envy to those who were ambitious of distinction at court, and his great authority was another cause for complaint. It was said that he governed the King at his pleasure, and that too many favours were



conferred upon him. Amongst these were the wardship of the person and lands of the Countess of Warwick, and of the Lady Margaret, sole heiress of John, Duke of Somerset, which gave rise to fresh jealousy.\*

The pretext for assembling the Parliament at Bury St. Edmunds, at the time of the Duke of Gloucester's arrest, was to propose an interview between the Kings of England and France, with a view to the establishment of a general peace. At that meeting nothing was concluded but the prolongation of the truce until November of the same year, 1447. Again the truce was prolonged until the following April; and, after many difficulties arising to prevent the meeting of the two kings, as proposed, the former truce was once more prolonged until April, and again until June, 1449, still in the hope of concluding a general peace.†

The repeated delays in establishing this peace called forth the complaints of the people, who, grown impatient at the fruitless negotiations, evinced, by their murmurs, their hatred of the Marquis of Suffolk, whom they looked upon as the author of their grievances. They loudly complained that he had betrayed the interests of his sovereign, and of the state; for the treaty into which he had entered with the French, as well as his promise of the surrender of Maine and Anjou, were alike injurious in their results. The former leading to a truce of which they anticipated the evil effects, since it afforded their enemies time to recover themselves, and to arm themselves afresh for the renewal of the war; the latter seemed to them only as a voluntary sacrifice to obtain the hand of a princess, whose conduct had already alarmed their minds as to the future

\* Speed; Villaret; Barante; Holinshed; Carte; Rapin; Sharon Turner; Rymer; Lingard; Smollet.

† Sandford; Rapin; Allen's York; Monstrelet.

calamities they might expect under her arbitrary government.

The Marquis of Suffolk, no longer able to avoid the public censures, thought it expedient to endeavour to silence them, and to establish his innocence, by requesting the King to hear his defence. In answer to this appeal, King Henry graciously appointed a day upon which he might appear before him, and clear himself of these charges. In the King's chamber the Marquis accordingly, on the day appointed, arose, and in the presence of his sovereign, and of several lords assembled, who were all favourable to him, explained his conduct in France, and justified himself in the measures he had adopted, showing that he had been previously provided with the commands of the King on these matters.

King Henry assured the Marquis that he was satisfied of his innocence, and gave him letters patent under the great seal, by which he acquitted him of any misdemeanors, and forbade anyone, under pain of his displeasure, to accuse him.\* But the nation, whose public rights and feelings had been outraged, could not be so easily appeased.

It was generally expected that the King would be satisfied with the defence of the Marquis, but the people, still enraged against the court favourite, and unmoved by his justification, looked upon him with horror as one of the murderers of Gloucester. Besides this, they did not forget that the marriage of the King was effected by his means, and this also was regarded as a national calamity. Public feeling prevailed over the commands of their sovereign, whose exertions were annulled through the universal hatred felt against the Marquis. Discontent was general, except in the court itself. There were those, however, who favoured the ministers in various parts of the country, who, holding

\* Hall; Stow; Speed; Carte; Rapin; Lingard; Henry; Allen's York.

lucrative offices under government, were interested in siding with the court. These parties used their authority to silence the complaints of the disaffected; for the people began to regard Queen Margaret as a foreigner, whose father and relatives had united with the French against them, and they showed some disposition to treat their Queen as a latent enemy of their country.\*

In the midst of all this dissatisfaction great respect was paid to the King. His innocent life and amiable character endeared him to his subjects so much, that numbers took part with the court as a principle of duty; and thus the authority of the Queen, and of Suffolk, could not easily be set aside.†

1448.

In this year, 1448, Henry VI., who has been styled by one of our chroniclers "the most illustrious, the most benign, the most valuable, and most amiable king," visited the tomb of St. Cuthbert, in Durham. This pilgrimage he undertook on the 6th of October. He resided in the castle of the Bishop of Durham, and remained there until the end of the month. On Sunday, the Feast of St. Michael, this monarch was present, at the first vespers, in the procession, and at mass in the second vespers. Afterwards he expressed his satisfaction in the following letter, addressed to John Somerset:—

"RIGHT TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED,—We greet you heartily well, letting you witt that, blessed be the Lord God, we have been right merry in our pilgrimage, considering three causes: one is, how that the church of the province of York and diocese of Durham be as noble in doing of divine service, in multitude of ministers, as in sumptuous and glorious building, as any in our realm. And also, how our Lord has radicate in the people his faith and his law,

\* Sandford; Hume.

† Rapin.

"and that they be as catholic people as ever we came among, and all good and holy, that we dare say the First Commandment may be verified right well in them, '*Diligunt Dominum Deum ipsorum in totis animis suis et tota menta sua*' ('They love the Lord their God with all their soul and with all their mind'). Also, they have done unto us all great hearty reverence and worship as ever we had, with all great humanity and meekness, with all celestial, blessed, and honourable speech and blessing as it can be thought and imagined, and all good and better than we had ever in our life, even as they had been '*celitus inspirati*' (heavenly inspired). Wherefore, we dare well say, it may be verified in them the holy saying of the prince of the apostles, St. Peter, '*Qui tinebat Dominum et Regem honorificant cum debita reverentia*' ('Who fear the Lord, and honour the King with all due reverence'). Wherefore, the blessing that God gave to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob descend upon them all," &c.

"Wryten in our city of Lincolne, on the day after St. Luke the Evangelist, 1448."\*

The same year that King Henry visited Durham he also honoured the city of Norwich with his presence. He obtained a loan of 500 marks from this city (a sum which was afterwards repaid), and in the following year this monarch revisited Norwich, and was entertained at the expense of the bishop, the prior, the mayor, and commons.†

1448.

The Queen accompanied King Henry in all his progresses, and, by her affability and grace, found much favour with the citizens, as well at Norwich as elsewhere. We find, however, but little notice of her movements during the period immediately preceding

\* Antiq. of Durham; Hutchinson's Durham.

† Parkin's Norwich.

the impeachment of Suffolk, with one exception, which brings her before us as the enlightened patroness of literature.

King Henry VI., previous to his marriage with Margaret of Anjou, has been described as "advancing in virtue as he increased in age." He gave himself up to religious duties, and the worship of God and the blessed Virgin Mary. He took no share in the political affairs of his kingdom, committing them to his Council, neither would he participate in any worldly pleasures. He took a lively interest in the advancement of religion and the promotion of learning. In the year 1440 he had laid the foundation of Eton School, near Windsor, intending it as a nursery for his college in Cambridge, which he founded soon after. Eton College had a provost, ten priests, four clerks, six choristers, twenty-five poor grammar scholars, and twenty-five poor men.\*

A little later in the year 1443, King Henry had founded a college at Cambridge to Our Lady and St. Nicholas, which was called the College Royal, or King's College. Truly royal and magnificent was the original plan of this foundation, if we may judge of it by the chapel, which has called forth universal admiration as one of the finest specimens of architecture in the world. The misfortunes, however, of the founder, unhappily prevented the completion of that plan. At its commencement, the King ordered that the ancient castle of Cambridge should be pulled down to supply materials for this great work. King Henry also translated to this place a certain hostle near Clare Hall, called the "House of God," (which had been erected by William Bingham, rector of St. John Zacchary, in London, in the year 1442, for grammarians), placing therein a pro-

\* The supporters to the arms of King Henry on Eton College gate were two antelopes.

vost, four fellows, and scholars. This building having been taken into the bounds of King's College, the King would have increased the number of scholars to sixty, had not the subsequent fatal wars obstructed his pious design. To the maintenance of this college and that of Eton King Henry gave annually £3,400. He also bestowed 120 volumes on the library at Cambridge. Henry, Duke of Warwick, (who had continued until his death the especial favourite of Henry VI.), was enrolled as one of the benefactors of this college.\*

The same care and beneficence were bestowed by the King on certain colleges at Oxford. The New College there, within the walls, received from this monarch certain possessions, and likewise the College of Oriel. Henry VI. was also a magnificent benefactor to Pembroke Hall, which was called the "*King's Adopted Daughter*," and King's College, Cambridge, his "*True and First-begotten Daughter*." This magnificent plan† of King Henry called forth the poetic effusions of Walpole, who thus exclaims:—

"When Henry bade the pompous temple rise,  
"Nor with presumption emulate the skies,  
"Art and Paladio had not reach'd the land  
"Nor methodiz'd the Vandal builder's hands:  
"Wonders unknown to rule these piles disclose,  
"The walls, as if by inspiration rose;  
"The edifice, continued by his care,  
"With equal pride had form'd the sumptuous square,  
"Had not th' assassin disappointed part,  
"And stabb'd the growing fabric in his heart."‡

\* Howel; John Rous of Warwick; Carter's Cambridge; Toplis; Baker; Rapin; Parker's Cambridge; Henry; Magna Britannica; Gough's Sepul Monuments.

† The intentions of King Henry were long afterwards effected by his pious relative Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the mother of Henry VII., who obtained from her son a licence, and plentifully endowed the college out of her own lands and possessions, that the revenues afforded maintenance for a master, 12 fellows, and 47 scholars. The original plan is still to be seen in the library of the college.

‡ Walpole's Fugitive Pieces.

1448.  
Henry;  
Carter's  
Cambridge.

We are informed that Queen Margaret, observing the singular piety of her husband which led him to become founder of King's College, Cambridge, resolved on the establishing of another college close to it, and which obtained from its foundress the name of Queen's College. This building was erected on the borders of the monastery of the Carmelites. The chapel was dedicated to St. Margaret and St. Bernard, and Sir John Wenlock, Knight, laid the first stone, in the name of the foundress, on the 15th of April, 1448. On the corner stone was engraved, at the express desire of Queen Margaret, "*Erit Domine nostre Regine Margaretæ Dominus in refugium, et lapis iste in signum*" ("The Lord will be a refuge to our Lady Queen Margaret, and this stone shall be the sign, or monument thereof"). The college was richly endowed by the Queen bestowing on it to the value of £200 a year, to maintain a master and four fellows. King Henry also conferred additional gifts upon it. This edifice was involved in the calamities incidental to the reign of this Queen, and which, even while it was in its infancy, caused it to be near perishing. It was, however, preserved by the care and diligence of Andrew Duckett, who had been appointed its first president by the foundress; and during forty years, while he continued in that office, he procured for it many benefactors through his solicitations, so that he might even be esteemed its preserver or second founder.\*

\* When the civil wars compelled Queen Margaret, at the head of the Lancastrian party, to defend her husband's rights, this noble work of the college was suspended, until King Edward's queen, Elizabeth Woodville, animated, it would seem, by the good example of her predecessor, sought to emulate her fame in the completion of this noble building. This was happily accomplished in 1465, and many privileges granted it by King Edward. It was, however, chiefly owing to the active zeal of the president, Andrew Duckett, that the queen of Edward IV. took such interest in this undertaking; and it was through his persuasions, also, that the Countess of Richmond became so noble a patroness to King's College. He was appointed by this lady to the mastership, in which he continued thirty-six years, and prevailed on the

In the chapel of Queen's College was a curious altar-piece, on three panels, representing "Judas betraying Christ," "The Resurrection," and "Christ appearing to the Apostles after the Resurrection." These fine paintings, supposed to have been presented by the foundress, Margaret of Anjou, were afterwards removed to the president's lodge.\*

The distracted state of the public affairs, and the discontents of the people, first inspired Richard, Duke of York and Lord of Stamford, with the hope of one day being able to establish his right to the crown. He had of late risen in power and popularity, and was a prince of great valour and abilities; he was also prudent in his conduct, and mild in his disposition. He was the only heir to the House of Mortimer, or March, and was descended, on his mother's side, from Lionel, the second son of Edward III., and elder brother of John of Ghent, whose descendant was Henry VI., the monarch at this period occupying the throne.†

When the truce with France had been prolonged, in 1445, the Duke of York had returned to England, after his regency there, and had been graciously received at court, and many acknowledgments made to him for his services. The King, to show in an especial manner his gratitude, appointed him again Regent of France for

most generous of the nobility to furnish large sums of money; and amongst these we find the Duke of Clarence, Cicely Duchess of York, Marmaduke Lumley, and others, who became great benefactors to this college. Andrew Duckett, a worthy and discreet man, died on the 6th of November, 1484.—Sandford; Toptis; Henry; Rapin; Leland; Baker; Carter's Cambridge; Lysson's Cambridge; Parker's Cambridge.

\* This college, with the general title of "Queen's College," bears her hereditary arms. In the president's lodge is still to be seen a portrait of Queen Margaret of Anjou, and near to it that of her successor on the throne, Elizabeth Woodville. At the invitation of Bishop Fisher, Erasmus visited Cambridge many years later, and took up his residence in a tower of this college.

† Sandford; Baker; Hume; Rapin; Biondi.

the ensuing five years. Before this period had expired, however, the Duke became an object of serious mistrust to the Queen and her ministers, who, had they preserved the good opinion of the nation, or had the "Good Duke of Gloucester" been alive to maintain his rights, would not have had reason to fear these projects, as, in either case, it is highly improbable that the Duke of York would have ever asserted his claim.\*

The Duke did not at first openly assert his pretensions; it would have been dangerous to him to do so, while he was as yet ignorant of the dispositions of the people. He therefore proceeded with such caution that his intentions could not be discovered. He contented himself with making his right known to the people by secret agents. It was circulated that the House of Lancaster had usurped the throne, and that, although the usurpation had been tolerated whilst its kings were men of ability and virtue, and governed to the satisfaction of the nation; yet, having now no longer that expectation in their present king, they were unwilling to maintain it for the sake of a queen, a foreigner, and one whose arbitrary government was so much to their disadvantage. That the House of March had been unjustly deprived of the succession, and that the Duke of York, as sole heir of that distinguished house, ought to be acknowledged king, and advanced to a dignity to which his virtues, talents, and the services he had rendered his country, justly entitled him. By these secret intimations, the Duke soon obtained a party amongst the people; but he did not himself appear, his friends only exerted their influence in his favour.

In support of the present administration there were still many persons of great power and influence in the

\* Holinshed; Speed; Henry.

kingdom; of these were the Earl of Northumberland, the Duke of Somerset and his brother, the Dukes of Exeter and Buckingham, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lords Stafford, Clifford, Dudley, Scales, Audley, and others.\*

The late reports had not passed unheeded by the Queen and her Council; and they were not slow in attributing them to their true author, who, if concealed from others, could not easily deceive such quick-sighted persons as those who were themselves so interested in making this discovery. These parties came at once to the resolution, if possible, to lessen the credit of the Duke of York. They were more desirous of doing this, as they suspected the Duke would, as Regent of France, obstruct the surrender of Maine and Anjou, promised to Charles of Anjou at the treaty of 1444.†

The desired opportunity soon presented itself.

The Duke of Somerset, whose family interests were ever opposed to those of York, had endeavoured to hinder the dispatch of this Duke on his first appointment to the Regency of France. He became again so envious of the distinction of his rival, that he prevailed on the King to repeal the grant he had made to the Duke of York; and, assisted by the Marquis of Suffolk, he obtained the same grant for himself.

This treatment was highly resented by the Duke of York, and gradually the mutual enmity of these two nobles led to their ruin, and also that of many others who became involved with them.

The Duke of Somerset, who had upon his brother's death succeeded to the family title, was dismissed to France to take upon him the office of Regent in the place of York, who was thus removed previous to the expiration of the period for which it had been be-

\* Baker; Holinshed; Hume; Rapin; Henry; Villaret.

† Rapin.



stowed upon him.\* York resolved to be revenged, but for a time dissembled his resentment. The haughty disposition of Somerset gave him great offence also, and he became his determined enemy.

We shall soon have occasion to observe how private pique, and the irritating sense of injustice, contributed to increase the general dissatisfaction of the nation. Discontent is a growing evil, which oft takes its rise from some trivial cause; it needs the skilful hand of a physician to eradicate its earliest symptoms, or it will not fail to grow into an incurable disease.

Queen Margaret knew not how to stem the torrent of dissatisfaction to which her conduct had given rise. She seemed, at this time, as if she braved the people by lavishing favours on the object of their aversion. She caused the King, who submitted entirely to her guidance, to create the Marquis of Suffolk a duke, and by this a new pretext was afforded to the enemies of Queen Margaret to stir up the people against her.

The King's weakness becoming daily more apparent, the nation seemed at this period to be wholly ruled by the Queen and Suffolk. The great power of this minister is thus set forth by a writer of that day, who tells us, "There shall be no man so hardy to do, neither say, against my lord of Suffolk, nor none that longeth to him, and all that have done and said against him, they shall soon repent them."†

It is doubtless an error in the ruler of a state to listen only to the nobility, or to those courtiers who immediately surround the throne. The voice of the people should never be totally disregarded; and there are, at times, concessions necessary to be made, even to the meanest subjects in the realm.

\* Sandford: Holinshed; Baker; Stow; Carte; Speed; Rapin; Lingard; Barante; Villaret; Leland's Ireland.

† Holinshed; Baker; Hall; Stow; Speed; Pol Vergil; Rapin; Paston Letters; Villaret; Allen's York.

1443.  
Speed;  
Rapin;  
Paston  
Letters.

The honour lately conferred upon Suffolk was probably not intended to offend the people, but solely as a compensation to the Duke for the complaints to which he had been subjected; and possibly given to add weight to the King's declaration, and apparent conviction, of the Duke's innocence. Surely it could not have been expected that the Queen would pass censure on the conduct of Suffolk in the affair of her marriage, or be offended with a treaty by which she became Queen of England! This treaty, too, having been signed, and the conditions agreed to, would it be honourable not to fulfil them? Doubtless the Queen and her minister reasoned thus; and we have seen that they were influenced by it to remove the Duke of York from his Regency, that he might not obstruct the surrender of Maine and Anjou.

For this surrender, which appeared to them as an act of justice, they were severely blamed; and the more so, because these territories, being given up to Charles of Anjou, the uncle of Queen Margaret, it seemed to be done to favour the interests of her family.

## CHAPTER VI.

(*Lord Say.*) "Tell me wherein I have offended most?  
 "Have I affected wealth or honour, speak?  
 "Are my chests fill'd with extorted gold?  
 "Is my apparel sumptuous to behold?  
 "Whom have I injur'd, that ye seek my death."—SHAKESPEARE.

(*Duke of York.*) "T'was men I lack'd and you will give them me,  
 "I take it kindly; yet be well assured,  
 "You put sharp weapons in a madman's hands,  
 "Whiles I in Ireland nourish a mighty band,  
 "'Twill stir up in England some black storm  
 "Shall blow ten thousand souls to heaven or hell,  
 "And this fell tempest shall not cease to rage  
 "Until the golden circuit on my head,  
 "Like to the glorious sun's transparent beams,  
 "Do calm the fury of this mad-bred flaw."—SHAKESPEARE.

The surrender of Maine and Anjou—Losses in France—Complaints of the English—The arrest of York prevented—An affray at Coventry—Rebellion in Ireland—York is dismissed thither—Parliament meets—Suffolk accused of treason—His defence—He is sent to the Tower, and then banished the kingdom—His departure—His death—His character and enemies—The merits of the Duke of York—Reinforcements are sent to Somerset—Loss of Caen—The conduct of Sir David Hall—Somerset returns to England—Cade's rebellion and death.

It had been stipulated at the treaty of Tours, that the counties of Maine and Anjou should be surrendered to the French; but Le Mans was still garrisoned by the English, who, unwilling to quit so important a city, had repeatedly delayed the restitution; at first, on account of the opposition made to this measure by the Duke of Gloucester, and afterwards, by the Duke of York.\*

King Charles demanded the full restitution which

\* Rapin : Barante ; Daniel ; Villaret.

had been promised him; and, at length, grown impatient of the delay, he dismissed Count Dunois with a powerful army, to lay siege to Le Mans. Upon this, King Henry commanded that the city should be given up; but, at the same time, he declared that it was but during the time of the truce, and that he reserved to himself the right of sovereignty.\* The surrender was accordingly made in the year 1448.

1448.  
 Barante ;  
 Rapin ;  
 Hume

The feebleness of the English ministry at this period, while it served to encourage the discontents of the people, inspired their enemies, the French, with hopes of recovering their kingdom. Although they had again prolonged the truce, it was but to prepare for a renewal of war on the part of France. An unexpected circumstance, however, put an end to the truce sooner than was anticipated by any of the parties. The town of Fougiers, in Brittany, was suddenly seized upon by an Arragonese, named Surienne, who had been many years in the service of the English, and who had been governor of Le Mans at the time of its surrender to King Charles. He had, at first, refused compliance with the orders for this surrender, either doubting their authority, or anxious to retain his government as his only fortune; but, upon being compelled to yield it to the French, under Count Dunois, he withdrew with his troops, amounting to 2,500 men,† into Normandy, expecting to be quartered in some other town by the Duke of Somerset, who was Governor of Normandy. In this he failed, for Somerset refused to receive him, not being able to provide for his numerous followers, and displeased at his late disobedience.

Surienne, upon this, committed many ravages in Brittany, took the town of Fougiers, and supported his troops by his depredations.

\* Holinshed ; Barante ; Hume ; Carte ; Villaret ; Rapin ; Monstrelet.  
 † Monstrelet says Surienne had only 700 men.

The Duke of Brittany laid his complaints before King Charles, and this monarch required from Somerset compensation for these injuries. It was in vain that the latter represented that these depredations were committed without his privity, and that he had no power to restrain these adventurers; equally vain was his promise of affording satisfaction to the Duke of Brittany. The King of France rendered an accommodation impossible. He insisted on the recall of the plunderers, and that reparation should be made for the damages, which he caused to be estimated at the exorbitant sum of 1,600,000 crowns. This monarch had been occupied during the truce in establishing discipline in his army, in suppressing faction, repairing his finances, and promoting order and justice in his kingdom. Thinking this a fit opportunity for the renewal of the war, and conscious of his own superiority over the English, he dismissed two ambassadors to England to demand satisfaction for the insult offered to the Duke of Brittany; and should he even obtain this reparation, the King was prepared with another pretext to occasion a rupture with England. His ally, the King of Scots, had been engaged in a conflict with the English, who were charged by King Charles with having broken the truce with that monarch; but King James had not sought an advocate in his quarrel, and it was only because the French King had resolved on war that he made use of these pretexts.\*

In England nothing but discord prevailed; the court was divided into factions, ever contending against each other, and exhibiting their mutual animosity; the people, displeased with their government, were full of complaints. In the midst of these dissensions the conquests in France were no longer attended to.

\* Holinshed; Hall; Barante; Baker; Monfaucon; Hume; Pol. Vergil; Speed; Villaret; Ridpath.

The Queen and her counsellors did not even seem to think of preserving the acquisitions of Henry V.

The truces with France and Scotland had both been broken through, and there was much pillaging on the coasts, which were greatly exposed to such attempts. All these circumstances led to such great disorders, that men began to apprehend a rebellion. In the Paston Letters we find this, and similar expressions, "God save the King, and send us peace," which seem to imply a fear for the King's safety at this time, and alarm lest the discord so prevalent throughout the country should lead to civil war.\*

The condition of England at this period, (when the Queen, and her chief minister, Suffolk, directed all public affairs, and when the discontents of the Yorkists were becoming more manifest,) render it highly probable that the hostilities on the northern borders originated, rather with the ambition and animosity of the chieftains of the Marches than from any public commands. The Scotch writers affirm that the English first violated the truce. The Earls of Northumberland and Salisbury, who were the Wardens of the East and West Marches, invaded Scotland, at the head of two different armies, and destroyed the towns of Dunbar and Dumfries. 1448.

A speedy revenge was taken by James Douglas, Lord of Balveny, (a brother of the Earl of Douglas,) by spoiling and laying waste the county of Cumberland, and burning the town of Alnwick. The English retaliated, and a considerable army marched against the Scotch, led over the Western March by the Earl of Northumberland, who encountered, near the River Sark in Annandale, the Scotch army, commanded by Hugh, Earl of Ormond, another brother of Earl Douglas. A bloody battle ensued, in which the Scots were

\* Holinshed; Hall; Rapin; Villaret; Milles's Catalogue; Paston Letters.

1449.  
Monstrelet;  
Pinkerton.

triumphant, and 3,000 English were killed, or, in their flight, were drowned in the Frith of Solway. Many were likewise taken prisoners, and amongst them Lord Percy, while bravely endeavouring to rescue his father from a similar fate. The Scots lost 600 men, and their chief, Sir Thomas Wallace, of Craigie, to whose prowess they were much indebted for their success. A short truce, the next year, was entered into, which ended these hostilities.\* The King of Scots at this time celebrated his marriage with Mary of Gueldres.

1449.  
Speed;  
Hume.

In France, the Duke of Somerset was so ill-supplied with money, that he was obliged to disband great part of his army, and was unable to keep his towns and castles in repair; his exactions, too, in Normandy, rendered him hateful to the people of that province. In this unhappy position of affairs, he was at once attacked by four different armies, well disciplined and commanded; one of them by the King of France, another by the Duke of Brittany, and the other two by the Duke of Alençon, and Count Dunois. These forces no sooner appeared before the different cities than their inhabitants submitted. The French thus obtained possession of Verneuil, Nogent, Chateau Galliard, Ponteau de Mer, Gisors, Mantes, Vernon, Argentin, Liseaux, Fecamp, Coutances, Belesme, and Pont de l'Arche. So far from being able to lead his army into the field to oppose the enemy, the Duke of Somerset had not even the means of garrisoning the towns, or of furnishing them with provisions. He, therefore, had the mortification of beholding all the chief cities of this province fall successively into the hands of the French, while he retired with a few troops to Rouen, to endeavour to preserve this city from the general fate, and to await the arrival of succours from England;

\* Ridpath; Paston Letters; Holinshed; Pinkerton; Monstrelet.

but even in Rouen the English could not long hope to maintain their ground, and they were soon besieged there. The Counts Dunois and St. Pol first encamped before the city, and as their heralds were not permitted to enter, they failed in their object of getting the people to declare for them. There were, however, numbers of the inhabitants already disposed to mutiny.\*

The first assault failed; and King Charles, (who, accompanied by René of Anjou, arrived at this time at the camp,) thought it prudent to withdraw to Pont de l'Arche. Meanwhile Somerset, who, from the distracted state of affairs in England, could have but little hope of receiving succours, thought proper to treat with King Charles. Having obtained a safe conduct from the French King, the Archbishop and the chief citizens of Rouen, accompanied by several of the English generals deputed by Somerset, met, and conferred with Count Dunois, the Chancellor of France, and others. The Archbishop and his citizens accepted the terms offered by the French King, and engaged to use their endeavours for the surrender of the city; but with the English nothing was concluded.

The former kept their engagement, and the French troops were introduced into the city, amidst the universal joy of the inhabitants; while the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Shrewsbury, with only 800 men, were compelled to withdraw to the palace, the castle, the gates, and other parts, for security.†

The Duke of Somerset demanded an interview with the King; and when conducted to him, he found him in the midst of his Council. Somerset required the same terms for the English as had been granted to the

\* Barante: Monfaucon; Holinshed; Hall; Pol Vergil; Rapin; Hume; Monstrelet.

† Baker; Rapin; Hume; Henry; Barante: Monfaucon; Anquetil; Villaret.

citizens, viz., permission to depart the city without molestation. To this request King Charles would not accede; but added, that he now required the surrender of Harfleur, and of all the fortresses in the Pays de Caux.

"Ah!" exclaimed Somerset, "give up Harfleur; that can never be! It was the first city which surrendered to our glorious King Henry V., five-and-thirty years ago." He then left the Council, and with melancholy forebodings retraced his way to the castle, amidst shouts of "*Vive le Roi!*" and other demonstrations of the joy of the people.\*

The siege was renewed by the French, and the Duke being unable, for want of provisions, to hold out many days, was, at last, compelled to capitulate. Somerset surrendered his artillery and six of the chief cities of the province, and made a payment of 50,000 crowns; he was also obliged to leave the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Butler as hostages for the performance of these conditions, and was then permitted to depart the city.† It was believed that the city would not have been lost if the citizens had remained faithful to the English; but the deficiency of supplies from England caused the Duke of Somerset to make large exactions on the people, and thus excited their ill-will.

Some authors, in speaking of the losses in France, assure us that the English were so weakened, that they could no longer resist the power of the French; while others blame the Duke of Somerset because he neglected to maintain a sufficient number of soldiers. It is certain, however, that the only true reason of all the evil was the divisions in England, where every

\* Barante: Monstrelet.

† Holinshed; Baker; Monfaucon: Rapin; Stow; Henry; Villaret; Speed: Pol. Vergil.

one was seeking his private revenge, instead of uniting to resist their foreign enemies. Whilst there seemed to prevail a kind of stupor in the English Cabinet, and no attention was paid to the earnest entreaties of Somerset, and others, for supplies for the war, the whole realm was torn and distracted by contentions.

The misrule of the Queen and her ministers, the pride and hatred amongst the nobility, and the complaints of the people, all these were sufficient, even more than sufficient, to paralyse any political power or healthy action. It was the early manifestation of a morbid condition which preceded the terrific scenes of the civil war which speedily followed.

The Queen's inactivity about this time made it almost appear that she was in league with her husband's enemies; but it is evident that the English were totally unprepared for war, and, therefore, that Surienne acted independently in taking Fougiers; yet, if the English were unable to continue the war, and could not furnish the means for preserving their acquisitions in France, some effectual step ought to have been taken to establish peace.\*

The conduct of the English ministers was faulty in the extreme; they suffered King Charles to amuse them with fruitless negotiations while he prepared for war; and, on their own part, they neither contrived to observe the truce, by making restitution to the Duke of Brittany, nor did they take any measures for defence. Inexcusable as were these faults of the ministers, yet an accommodation with France would have proved impossible, since King Charles was bent on war, taking advantage of the dissensions in England. These dissensions were rather aggravated than allayed

\* Holinshed; Hume; Milles's Catalogue; Rapin; Villaret.



by King Henry and his Queen, the former not heeding them, and the latter being influenced by bad counsellors.

While the ministers were selected rather to favour the interests of the Queen, and to be subservient to her views and those of Suffolk, persons without talent and incompetent to rule the state were appointed, and others who had courage to oppose this party, (often men of merit and ability,) were dismissed from favour and excluded from any share in the administration. The people even complained that persons devoid of religion and without principle were chosen, in order that there might be fewer scruples in the way of any measure proposed by this party.

The Queen's government, as well as her choice of improper ministers, caused bitter complaints; and the people, impatient at the evident neglect of foreign affairs, became angry against the Duke of Suffolk, who, they said, had, by the surrender of Maine, been the cause of the losses in Normandy. They accused him of the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, whose memory was still cherished by the nation, and this served to throw a greater odium on all who were suspected of his death. Suffolk was likewise considered to have wasted the King's treasure, and to have removed from the royal presence his good and virtuous counsellors, and to have substituted persons of doubtful character, and enemies of the country. They even asserted that he had assisted in the removal of Gloucester, in order that this prince might not, with his wonted spirit and activity, penetrate or obstruct his designs.\*

The Queen, too, became very obnoxious to the people; for, at this time, looking on Suffolk as the author of her power, she seemed to adopt his passions

\* Holinshed; Sandford; Pol. Vergil; Allen's York; Rapin; Baker; Hume.

as her own; and, using her authority over the King, she found means to load the Duke with favours, following his advice in all things, and appearing to treat him as her confidant.\*

This conduct was very unwise on the part of Queen Margaret, and highly prejudicial to her. It could only have been occasioned by her youth and inexperience. Yet the consequent imputations cast upon the Duke of Suffolk and Queen Margaret were not only untrue, but absurd and ridiculous, as may be believed when we consider the family of Suffolk, his character in private life, and his great age. Suffolk had attained his fiftieth year before the death of his great patron and friend, the Cardinal of Winchester, who had, as well as the Queen, shown him especial favour, yet exhibiting it towards him with the most judicious care.

The aspersions cast upon herself and Suffolk were not unnoticed by the Queen, who began to fear they tended to the destruction of the Duke, and perhaps might even be fatal to herself. It is said that Queen Margaret adjourned the Parliament, assembled at that time at Blackfriars, to Leicester, and again from thence to Westminster.†

Many private dissensions originated at this period of our history; and some of them still remain involved in mystery. Amongst them may be named the enmity between Lord Bonville and the Earl of Devon. In 1449 the latter nobleman was engaged in besieging Lord Bonville in his castle of Taunton, which caused a great disturbance throughout the West of England. Assistance was most unexpectedly rendered to the besieged by Richard, Duke of York, Lord Molines, William Herbert, and others; and we are informed that Bonville delivered himself up to the Duke of York. The origin of this quarrel does not appear, but

1449.

\* Carte.

† Baker.

Lord Bonville from this period espoused the interests of the House of York; and even at this time Richard aimed at the crown.\*

1449. There were many changes also in the high offices of the kingdom. In this year the Bishop of Lincoln died; and, through the intercession of Suffolk, this bishopric was given to Marmaduke Lumley, Bishop of Carlisle.† John, Lord Beauchamp was made Treasurer, and Lord Cromwell, Chamberlain. Somewhat later the former was driven from office, and John Tiptoff, Earl of Worcester, was made Treasurer in his place; and, although Cromwell continued to be Chamberlain, we are told that the kingdom was ruled by the party of Somerset. This Duke was, indeed, sharing the royal favour. He was made Captain of Calais by King Henry, upon the occasion of the celebration of the festival of Christmas, held by this monarch at Greenwich in 1449.†

During the preceding summer a marriage had taken place, which had proved the unhappy source of contention. Thomas Neville, the son of the Earl of Salisbury, was united to the granddaughter‡ of Lord Cromwell, at Tattersalls, in Lincolnshire; and in returning from these nuptials a quarrel arose between the bridegroom and Thomas Percy, Lord Egremont, near York; which, adds the historian, "gave rise to the greatest trouble in England."§ This, and many other dissensions, like the gathering clouds in the distance, were portentous of the approaching political storms of this reign.

1449. Amidst the confusion which prevailed at this period, a lawyer's apprentice, named Brystall, moved that the King, having no heir to give security to his title, an heir apparent should be elected; and he proposed the

\* Toulmin's Taunton; Lingard.

† Or niece, as others say.

† W. of Worcester.

§ Lingard.

Duke of York. But for this offence Brystall was afterwards committed to the Tower.\*

The Duke of York, at this time, first began to afford Queen Margaret cause for serious inquietude. At a meeting between this nobleman and the King he made some demands on the royal favour, to which, if this monarch was, by his meek and yielding temper, disposed to listen, we are informed that Queen Margaret was decidedly opposed; and the Duke departed in satisfaction with his sovereign, but not in the same "good conceit" with his royal mistress. It was, indeed, rumoured that if the Duke of Buckingham had not, by his interference, prevented it, the Duke of York would have been arrested. The part which Buckingham took on this occasion was caused by the offence he had taken at the sudden dismissal of his two brothers from their offices of Chancellor and Treasurer, for this Duke usually sided with the Queen.† He was also the friend of Somerset, whose part he took during an affray at Coventry, in which two or three townsmen were killed and the alarm-bell rung, when a general insurrection took place, to the annoyance of the nobility; and "all this arose from the general hatred of the Duke of Somerset."‡

The aversion was even more general against the Duke of Suffolk, who upon one occasion (in 1449) was, with Lord Cromwell and others, in the Star Chamber, when William Taylboys, with a numerous party of his attendants—who were all secretly armed—surrounded the door of Westminster Hall and the Star Chamber, as Cromwell asserted, with intent to kill him. This was denied by Taylboys, and Suffolk admitted his excuses; yet the Council committed him to the Tower.

1449.

\* W. of Worcester.

† Paston Letters: W. of Worcester.

‡ Lingard; Paston Letters.

Lord Cromwell afterwards obtained a verdict against him; and, although it was against the wish of Suffolk, Taylboys was thrown into prison. Lord Cromwell also caused Suffolk to be called to account by the Commons for his disloyalty.

1449.  
Stow.

On the 6th of November in this year John, Viscount Beaumont was made Lord Chamberlain of England; Henry de Bromefield was created Lord Vesey; and William Bonville was created Lord Bonville. William Beauchamp was also created Lord St. Amaraud, and Thomas Percy, Lord Egremont. John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, dying in this year, he was succeeded by John Kemp, Cardinal of York.\*

A rebellion in Ireland at this time added to the troubles in which the English Court was involved; but it afforded Queen Margaret an opportunity of dismissing the Duke of York from her presence, who had made himself particularly obnoxious to her by the rumours lately circulated respecting his pretensions to the crown. He was created Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and dismissed to quell the insurrection, for which office, it was pretended, no one else was so well qualified. Only a few troops were, however, furnished him; and it is said that his enemies hoped he would, by a failure in this enterprise, forfeit his reputation with the people, or, that the chance of war would for ever remove this object of their mistrust.†

The Duke was keen enough to penetrate their designs; but he was so skilful that, by his condescension and mildness, he gained the good opinion of the Irish; and it must, in justice to the Duke, be said, that the Acts he passed during his administration were very creditable to his memory. He brought them back to their

\* W. of Worcester: Stow: Paston Letters: Collinson's Somersetshire; Lysson's Mag. Brit.

† Baker: Stow: Rapin; Burdy's Ireland.

duty; and, without having recourse to arms, he accommodated their differences: nay, he did more than this, for he so won their affections that they ever afterwards remained faithful to his interests, and those of his family, even in their greatest troubles.\* It was thus the Duke of York became all-powerful amongst this people; add to which, his vast possessions in Ireland increased his importance. He was Earl of Ulster and Cork, Lord of Connaught, Clare, Trim, and Meath, including at least a third of the kingdom in his inheritance.

In accepting the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Duke had taken care that it should be attended with all the honours and power which his most distinguished predecessors had enjoyed. He had stipulated to hold his government for ten years; to receive the whole revenue of Ireland without account; with a pension annually of two thousand marks, and the same sum in advance. He was also empowered to let the King's lands, to dispose of all offices, to levy all such forces as he might consider necessary, to name his own Deputy, and to return to England at his pleasure.†

Two rival powers at this time contended for supremacy amongst the Irish, at the head of which were the Earls of Desmond and Ormond. Of these it may be observed, that the former was a powerful leader, although his authority had been acquired by a kind of usurpation of the rights of his nephew.

The Earl of Ormond, struggling amidst many difficulties and troubles, had been twice unjustly accused to Henry VI., whose lenity and kindness to this nobleman seems to have originated the lasting attachment

\* Stow: Speed: Leland's Ireland; Moore's Ireland; Lingard; Burdy's Ireland; Rapin; Hume; Ellis's Orig. Letters.

† Leland's Ireland.

of the family of Butlers to the House of Lancaster.\* The leaders of the two opposing factions were chosen by the Duke of York, upon the birth of his son, George, Duke of Clarence, in the Castle of Dublin, to be the sponsors for the child; which incident had its full effect on Desmond, who became confirmed in his adherence to the House of York; and by the use which the Duke of York made of his power, he enabled his party, in the subsequent contests with the Lancastrians, to draw forces from Ireland to maintain their cause. It is also said that the zeal of the Irish was much augmented by the flattery of the Duke whenever called upon to support his cause in the subsequent wars.

The use of the English bow was much encouraged by the Duke in Ireland, and it was enacted that every one holding lands or possessions to the value of 20*l.* should entertain an archer, arrayed and horsed after the English manner. This provision, though apparently designed for the Irish, was really intended to maintain the Duke's cause in England, whenever he should openly assert his claims to the Crown.\*

During the absence of Duke Richard in Ireland the dissensions at home continued, and no attempt was made to accommodate them. Three predominant evils still harassed the country, and seemed to threaten its ruin. First, the misgovernment of the Queen and her ministers; secondly, the pride and evil passions, especially covetousness, of the lords spiritual and temporal; and lastly, the discontents of the people, occasioned by the said misgovernment. There were many changes in the rulers, and frequent commotions throughout England, which could scarcely be allayed; the aristocracy, growing more and more powerful, contended against each other, and while yielding to their hatred

\* Leland's Ireland.

and private animosities, the national welfare was forgotten.

To add to the murmurings of the people at this time, a considerable tax was laid upon the citizens of London.

The Bishop of Chichester, possibly discerning the coming disasters, resigned his seat in the Cabinet, and retired to Portsmouth, where, on the 9th of January, 1450, he was cruelly murdered by some sailors, said to have been hired for that purpose by Richard, Duke of York. Indeed the Duke's guilt was so apparent, that King Henry, two years afterwards, in his reply to the Duke of York's letter of complaint, confidently alluded to it. It has been suggested by some writers, that the Duke's hatred to all who were either wise or valiant enough to uphold King Henry, prompted him to this despicable action, and the sincerity of the Bishop could not fail to be a crime in the eyes of York. This was but one of many perfidious acts done by the adherents or accomplices of Richard, while he remained in Ireland. The people generally, however, appear to have taken part in this cruel deed, since they cried out that the Bishop was "a traitor to the King and Queen, and one of the barterers of Normandy."

Adam Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester, who was of the baronial family of Moleyns, was also Dean of Salisbury. The old chroniclers call him "a wise and stout man." He was one of the ambassadors who, conjointly with Sir Robert Roos and others, had agreed for the cession of Maine and Anjou.\*

In the same year, though somewhat later, the great power of Richard, Duke of York, was again made

\* Adam Moleyns was succeeded by Sir Reginald Peacock in the bishopric of Chichester.—*Stow*; *Speed*; *Carte*; *W. of Worcester*; *Toulmin*; *Honcel's Med. Hist. Ang.*

apparent. In the city of Gloucester he took Reginald, Abbot of St. Peter's, and sent him, with others, to the castle of Gloucester. This act was immediately on the Duke's return from Ireland.\*

1450.

The annals of this year were filled with tragical events, which exhibited the ferocious spirit of the times, and seemed to be precursors of the coming national calamities. One dark and mysterious page relates the cruel destruction of William Ascough, Bishop of Salisbury. He was descended from an ancient family, seated at Kelsey, in Lincolnshire. On the 26th of July, 1438, he had been consecrated to the above see, in the chapel of Windsor, and soon after appointed the King's confessor; this being the first instance of a bishop fulfilling this office.

Having occupied this see nearly twelve years, he had become obnoxious to the Commons of Leicester, who pointed him out as an object of public resentment, and when the rebel Jack Cade and his followers came to Edginton, in Lincolnshire, where the Bishop then was, some of this prelate's own tenants joined the rebels, and falling upon his carriages, plundered them, carrying off no less than 10,000 marks in money. They assaulted the Bishop himself on the following day, the 29th of June, 1450, even whilst officiating at the altar in his vestments; and dragging him away to a neighbouring hill, they barbarously murdered him. While kneeling down and offering his last prayer, one of the party clove his skull with a bill; then tearing his bloody shirt in pieces, *to be preserved in memory of the action*, they left his body naked on the spot.†

\* Stow; Fosbroke's Gloucestershire.

† Stow; Fabian Speed; W. of Worcester; Baker; Lingard; Fuller's Worthies.

Dr. Fuller, in speaking of this tragedy, gives this distich:—

“By people's fury mitre thus cast down  
“We pray henceforward God preserve the crown.”

The motive for this cruel treatment is not at first apparent. Bishop Godwin cannot account for it; but Dr. Fuller imagines it was because the Bishop of Salisbury was “learned, pious, and rich,” three capital crimes in a clergyman; and the last of these sufficiently accounted for the horrid tragedy, it being very probable, that, having robbed the good Bishop, they afterwards murdered him to secure his riches.

When we again consider the *tearing of the bloody shirt to pieces, to be borne away as a trophy* of the act, it does not appear that it was *avarice* which actuated the murderers. The circumstance of the Bishop's own tenants having joined in the attack would seem to show that he was, though perhaps unjustly, held to be a haughty or cruel master.\*

Amidst the general dissatisfaction, which extended 1450.  
Rapin. itself even to the members of the Council, Parliament met to arrange the affairs of France, and to devise some means for the recovery of their losses. The Queen perceived the necessity of their assistance to prosecute the war in France, lest they should be compelled to withdraw from that kingdom, and thus afford fresh cause for displeasure to the nation.

The divisions in the Cabinet suggested to the mind of Queen Margaret that she might obtain her object with more facility by the removal of the Parliament to Leicester, where she hoped to find herself more popular than in London; but her design was so earnestly opposed by the Lords, that she was compelled to abandon it, and the meeting was held at West-

\* Fuller's Worthies; Biograph. Britannica.



minster. The Lords assembled there were very numerous, and it seems they had apprehended some secret plot, similar to that which had led to the fate of the Duke of Gloucester.\*

1450.  
Holinshed;  
Hume.

At this meeting of Parliament the Duke of Suffolk was accused of high treason. The articles of impeachment were numerous, of which the chief were the following:—

1st. His having treated with the French ambassadors, to persuade King Charles to invade England, with a view to placing his own son, John, on the throne, whom he proposed to marry to Margaret, the daughter of John, Duke of Somerset, and who, it was pretended by him, was next lawful heir to the crown.

2ndly. That he had been bribed by the French to release the Duke of Orleans.

3rdly. That he had advised the said Duke of Orleans, before his departure from England, to persuade the King of France to make war in Normandy, by which advice the English had lost that province.

4thly. That he had agreed at the treaty of Tours for the surrender of Maine and Anjou, including the city of Mans, to the King of Sicily and his brother, Charles of Anjou, without the consent of his associates in this embassy; and that, upon his return to England, he prevailed upon the King and the Council to perform his engagement, to their great loss and disadvantage.

5thly. That he had traitorously made known to the French, while abroad, the weakness of the English garrisons in their kingdom, which information induced them to assault them.

6thly. That he had betrayed the secrets of the English Cabinet to their enemies.

\* Hall; Holinshed; Baker; Stow; Rapin.

7thly. That he prevented the conclusion of peace, by betraying the purposes and instructions of the ambassadors sent to treat with France.

8thly. That he had boasted before some lords, that his influence and credit at the French court was as great as in England.

9thly. That he had, in compliance with the views of King Charles, by whom he had been bribed, detained the forces prepared to oppose their enemies.

10thly. That he had omitted in the treaty for the truce the names of the King of Arragon and the Duke of Brittany (both comprised on the part of France), by which neglect the kingdom was deprived of both these allies.\*

The Duke of Suffolk came forward boldly to assert his innocence; and in answer to these charges he gave a formal denial to the greater part of them, while he replied to others by producing the written commands of the King. It was not in vain that the Duke had taken the precaution to provide himself with this instrument. Suffolk cleared himself before the Council of all these charges, except the last, which concerned the King of Arragon and the Duke of Brittany, which he still left a mystery; yet the popular rage could not be appeased.

The Commons sent up to the Lords, a month later, a new impeachment, charging Suffolk with improvident waste of the public money, and of advising the King to impoverish himself by needless grants; of bestowing public offices on disloyal persons, and of screening from justice a notorious outlaw, named William Taylboys. In neither of these impeachments was any mention made of the death of Gloucester, which, by some, has been considered as a

\* Holinshed; Hall; Stow; Speed; Fabian; W. of Worcester; Rapin; Allen's York; Hume; Villaret.

proof that there was no evidence of his having been murdered.

In the House of Lords the Duke of Suffolk arose and complained of the clamours raised against him. He insisted on his innocence, and expressed his concern that, after having served his country during thirty-four campaigns, seventeen of which he had passed abroad without seeing his native land; after having suffered in its cause an imprisonment, from which he had only been released by paying a large ransom; having lost his father and three brothers in the cause of the Crown, that he should be suspected of yielding to bribery, and of betraying his sovereign, who had liberally rewarded him with the richest of gifts, and highest honours in his power to bestow.\* This speech, however, failed to calm the resentment of the Duke's enemies, who were rather provoked by it to insist on the truth of their charges; yet these accusations were absurd and ill-founded, and adopted, rather upon the clamours of the people, than out of regard to justice and truth.†

It may be observed that greater skill and prudence were required for the defence of the English possessions in France, in the present position of affairs, than formerly had been necessary for Henry V. to acquire them; but this the people of England did not comprehend; and although they had granted very willingly the necessary supplies for the war, they complained bitterly of the loss of their acquisitions. It was not probable that a minister so high in the esteem of his sovereign, could abandon his foreign conquests, and invite the enemy, to assert his personal rights at home. The surrender of Maine might deserve to be censured, but Suffolk maintained that some of the Council had

\* Rot. Parl.; Speed; Lingard; Allen's York; Rapin; Hume; Villaret; Monstrelet.

† Howel; Hume; Allen's York.

given their consent to it; and that, as the English could not garrison all their fortresses abroad, it was proposed to contract their forces, and thus to make them more formidable. The subsequent loss of Normandy ought not to have been ascribed to this surrender, as it was already open to invasion.\* There would be little credibility in the idea of a person of the rank and character of Suffolk endeavouring to obtain the crown for his son; to effect which, he would have to call in the arms of the French to depose his own sovereign, whose right had been hitherto uncontroverted, and whose mild and inoffensive manners had made him beloved by his subjects. Queen Margaret, also, was far too active and penetrating to suffer such a purpose to escape her observation. Had she discovered it, there is no doubt that she would have withdrawn her favour from such an aspiring person, even if she had not resented it by inflicting some severe punishment; but the Queen remained the patroness of the Duke, and sought to screen him from the rage of the people.† It was also proved by the Duke of Suffolk before the peers, that Margaret of Somerset, to whom, it was said, he proposed to marry his son, had no title to the Crown; and he also appealed to some of those who were present, and who were acquainted with his intention of uniting his son to one of the co-heirs of the Earl of Warwick, had he not been disappointed in doing so by the death of that lady. The losses in France were accounted for by the negligence of the English ministers, and the people's discontent, which caused the foreign affairs to be forgotten, or but ill attended to, while King Charles was improving his states and preparing for war.

To appease the Commons, the Queen caused the Duke of Suffolk to be sent to the Tower; and thinking

\* Hume; Croyland Cont.

† W. of Worcester.

that this would satisfy them, she soon afterwards ordered him to be released, when he was received into his former favour at court. It appears, however, that from this time Suffolk, dreading the popular resentment, usually went out with a guard to protect him.

The news of the Duke's liberation gave occasion for a sedition in Kent; but this was soon appeased.\*

1450.  
Paston  
Letters.

The Queen, in April this year, procured an adjournment of the Parliament to Leicester, fearing that the enemies of Suffolk would persist in impeaching him. At this meeting the Duke appeared, in attendance on the King and Queen, in quality of Prime Minister, which gave great offence to the Commons, as it seemed to be done in contempt of them; nor were they slow in resenting this conduct. They came forward in a body to petition the King to punish all those persons who had been instrumental in the surrender of Normandy, and they accused the Duke of Suffolk, John, Bishop of Salisbury, Lord Say, and others. As there appeared no other means of quieting the people, the King removed Lord Say, (Treasurer of England,) from office, and also the other adherents of Suffolk.

The Duke was, meanwhile, reserved for a severer fate. His ruin seemed to be determined by the Commons, and there was no alternative but to punish him, or to engage in an open quarrel with that House; the Queen, therefore, judging that any sentence passed at such a moment must, necessarily, be a severe one, endeavoured to save the Duke from some part of the punishment which might, probably, be intended for him, by preventing a formal sentence.

The King assembled his Lords in his own apartment, and caused the Duke to appear before them, when he

\* Holinshed; Baker; Biondi; Hall; Stow; Speed; Paston Letters; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Hume; W. of Worcester; Baudier; Villaret.

demand of him what he could urge in his defence. The Duke of Suffolk denied the charge, but threw himself on the mercy of the King, upon which King Henry passed upon him sentence of banishment for the period of five years.\*

During the trial of Suffolk, the people were in a state of great agitation; and when the sentence was made known to them, they openly threatened the life of the Duke, and a party of 2,000 men even attempted to intercept him in his way from prison; but they only succeeded in seizing his horse, and ill-treating his servants, and the Duke proceeded to his estates in Suffolk.† Finding that his banishment was his only means of safety from the rage of the populace, the Duke of Suffolk hastened to embark.‡

1450.  
Rapin;  
Lingard;  
Hume.

When about to depart his country, he assembled all the knights and esquires of his neighbourhood, and took oath on the sacrament, in their presence, that he was not guilty of the crimes of which he had been accused. He also wrote an eloquent and affectionate letter to his son; and we are assured by one of our historians, that "whoever has read this affecting composition will find it difficult to persuade himself that the writer could have been either a false subject or a bad man."§ Judging from historic facts *only*, it still appears that Suffolk had been in some way implicated in Gloucester's removal from court, if not in his death,§ probably being influenced by the Cardinal of Winchester. He might have been ensnared into some measures which his heart and conscience did not approve, for the epistle of this nobleman to his son bears evident marks of a penitent mind, and of an

\* Sandford; Paston Letters; Howel; Stow; Speed; Rapin; Hume; Henry; Allen's York; Baudier; Villaret.

† Lingard; Hall; W. of Worcester.

‡ Rapin; Henry; Allen's York.

§ Lingard; Pol. Vergil; W. of Worcester

anxious desire to preserve his son from the consequences of such evil counsels and designs as he had himself fallen under. The letter is as follows:—

"MY DEAR AND ONLY WELL-BELOVED SON,—I beseech our Lord in Heaven, the Maker of all the world, to bless you, and to send you ever grace to love Him, and to dread Him; to the which, as far as a father may charge his child, I both charge you and pray you to set all your spirits and wits to do and to know His holy laws and commandments, by the which ye shall, with His great mercy, pass all the great tempests and troubles of this wretched world."

"And that also, weedingly, ye do nothing for love nor dread of any earthly creature that should displease Him. And there as (*whenever*) any frailty maketh you to fall, beseech His mercy soon to call you to Him again with repentance, satisfaction, and contrition of your heart, never more in will to offend him."

"Secondly, next Him, above all earthly things, to be true liegeman in heart, in will, in thought, in deed unto the King, our aldermost (*greatest*) high and dread sovereign lord, to whom both ye and I be so much bound to; charging you, as father can and may, rather to die than to be the contrary, or to know anything that were against the welfare or prosperity of his most royal person: but that, as far as your body and life may stretch, ye live and die to defend it, and to let His Highness have knowledge thereof in all the haste you can."

"Thirdly, in the same wise I charge you, my dear son, alway as ye be bounden by the commandment of God to do, to love, to worship your Lady and Mother; and also that ye obey alway her commandments, and to believe her counsels and advices in all your works, the which dread not but shall be best and truest to you."

"And if any other body would steer you to the contrary to flee the counsel in any wise, for ye shall find it nought and evil."

"Furthermore, as far as father may and can, I charge you in any wise to flee the company and counsel of proud men, of covetous men, and of flattering men, the more especially and mightily to withstand them, and not to draw nor to meddle with them, with all your might and power; and to draw to you, and to your company, good and virtuous men, and such as be of good conversation and of truth, and by them shall ye never be deceived nor repent ye of."

"Moreover, never follow your own wit in no wise, but in all your works, of such folks as I write of above, ask your advice and counsel, and doing thus, with the mercy of God, ye shall do right well, and live in right much worship, and great heart's rest and ease."

"And I will be to you as good Lord and Father as my heart can think."

"And last of all, as heartily and as lovingly as ever father blessed his child in earth, I give you the blessing of our Lord and of me, which, of His infinite mercy, increase you in all virtue and good living; and that your blood may, by his grace, from kindred to kindred multiply in this earth to His service in such wise, as after the departing from this wretched world here, ye and they may glorify him eternally amongst his angels in heaven,"

"Written of mine hand,

"The day of my departing from this land,"

"Your true and loving father,"

"April, 1450,

"SUFFOLK."\*

"28 Henry VI."

\* Paston Letters.

The Duke of Suffolk had so incurred the hatred of the English nation that he was regarded with equal detestation by all ranks in the kingdom. The nobility were envious of his exaltation to the premiership, and of the great favour shown him at court, and they could not bear to behold the preference given to one of inferior birth to themselves, and who was but the descendant of a merchant. His immense acquisitions also excited their envy, and as they took from the Crown (already reduced to the most shameful poverty), they appeared, even to the indifferent, to be highly censurable. The people, already exasperated at the Duke's supposed share in procuring the death of Gloucester, complained of his arbitrary measures, and of the injustice of his conduct. It may, however, be observed, that Suffolk and his associates in the ministry were compelled to adopt some measures which, in the eyes of the vulgar, might appear unnecessary, owing to the impoverished state of the revenues of the Crown, and their load of debt, amounting to £372,000, which could not be discharged; and the purveyors of the King, for the support of his household, were even compelled to become exorbitant upon the people, and to extend their demands to the utmost of their prerogative.\*

1450.

The Duke of Suffolk sailed from Ipswich with two small vessels and a little spinner. This last the Duke sent forward with letters, by some of his most faithful servants, towards Calais, to ascertain how he might be received there; but danger awaited him even in his flight from his native land. His enemies, perceiving that he still possessed the Queen's confidence, and that the irregular proceedings were intended for his preservation—judging, also, that it was probable he would, on the first opportunity, be restored to his former

\* Hume.

dignities and favour at court—engaged the captain of a vessel of war to waylay him on his passage to France.\* This vessel, carrying 150 men, had other ships in company, and its master having met the little spinner on its way, learnt of the coming of the Duke. The ships of Suffolk were captured, and the Duke himself ordered on board the *Nicholas of the Tower*, one of the largest vessels in the navy, belonging to the Duke of Exeter, Constable of the Tower.

Suffolk inquired the name of the ship; and on hearing it, he remembered the words of Stacy, who had foretold of him, that "if he might escape the danger of the Tower he should be safe;" and his heart failed him, believing himself deceived.

When the Duke of Suffolk entered this vessel, he was received with the awful salutation of "Welcome, traitor!" He remained two nights on board, during which time he wrote a letter to the King, had much converse with his confessor, and was compelled to submit to a mock trial before the sailors, who passed sentence of death upon him. He was, upon the second morning, let down into a small boat alongside the vessel, which was furnished with a block, a rusty sword, and an executioner, who, after requiring him to die like a knight, at the sixth blow struck off his head. The sailors next seized his gown of russet and his doublet of velvet mailed, and the body, thus stripped, was laid upon the sands near Dover, and his head, fixed upon a pole, was set by it. The hatred of the murderers of this nobleman was only directed against him personally, and did not extend to his followers, who were permitted to disembark unhurt. The attendants of the Duke, placing themselves by the remains of their master, offered up their prayers. Then the

\* Holinshed; Hall; Sandford; Baker; Stow; Paston Letters; Pol. Vergil; Fabian; Speed; Allen's York; Lingard; Henry.



Sheriff of Kent watched the body while he dismissed the Under-Sheriff to the judges, and then to the King, for some commands respecting it.

The Duke's remains were afterwards delivered to his widow, and buried in the collegiate church of Wingfield, in Suffolk.\*

Thus perished one of Queen Margaret's first friends in England; yet he had occasioned her many misfortunes.

There was no inquiry made after the perpetrators of this illegal act. The death of Suffolk was regarded by some persons as a just punishment from God for procuring the murder of Gloucester. His guilt, however, in this affair has not been proved; and if this accusation was unjust, still there can be little doubt that he caused many evils to his country, and to his ill conduct must be attributed the repeated losses in France. He had nevertheless previously distinguished himself for twenty-four years at the head of the English armies in France, had gained many signal victories, and, on the death of the Earl of Salisbury at the siege of Orleans, the chief command devolved on Suffolk, and he vigorously continued the siege.

When the English were defeated before Orleans, and subsequently, when many disasters befel them, Suffolk exhibited much bravery. He was at one time taken prisoner, but soon released in exchange for one of the French nobility, of whom many were in the hands of the English.†

The King and Queen were both grieved at the death

\* By some, however, it has been said that he was interred at Kingston-upon-Hull. His effigies in armour, carved in wood, painted and gilt, were placed upon his altar-tomb.—*Holinshed; Baker; Paston Letters; Hall; Sandford; W. of Worcester; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Fabian; London Chron.; Henry; Lingard; Allen's York.*

† Rapin; Holinshed; Speed; Allen's York.

of Suffolk. Queen Margaret was much enraged at the manner in which this deed was effected, and even threatened to be revenged, especially on the people of Kent; and this threat, we are told, became a plea for a formidable rebellion, which took place not long after in that county.\*

The death of the Duke of Suffolk appears to have been effected by a party who had sworn his destruction. This party consisted of some of the first persons in the kingdom, and whose vengeance was not to be averted by the failure of his prosecution, or by his escape from the mob, who attempted to intercept him in his way from prison. Of the motives of these persons we are left in ignorance.

It has been conjectured by some writers that the enemies of the Duke, and who procured his death, were those ambitious nobles who envied him for the preference shown him in the Council chamber. Others have concluded that he was removed through the policy of the Duke of York, because his presence was a bar to the attainment of his views; and in support of this opinion they allege that some of the noblemen, who afterwards actively espoused the cause of York, came to the Parliament at Leicester, at which Suffolk was impeached, with hundreds of their retainers in arms.†

If we admit the agency of Suffolk in the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, we at once account for many of the irregular and apparently mysterious proceedings of the nobility of that period, and which, until the principles and motives which influenced them be explained, cannot be at all understood. The Duke of York was the friend of Gloucester, and it is probable that he might have resented the treatment shown him; and upon his death, when a new path appeared to be laid open to his ambition, which he resolved to pursue,

\* Henry; Lingard.

† Lingard; Paston Letters.

he might have endeavoured to remove one obstacle to his views in the person of Suffolk, when, by so doing, he might think he was only inflicting a just punishment on the murderer of his friend. This was but one instance of the summary vengeance to which Duke Richard had recourse, and it was peculiar to his times.

The Duke of Gloucester had long enjoyed the favour and affections of the people, and it was the earnest desire of York to obtain these also; but he had been twice depreciated in their eyes by one who had already incurred his resentment.

He had been removed from his Regency in France to make way for his rival, the Duke of Somerset, and afterwards dismissed into Ireland to quell a rebellion there, with inadequate forces; and both of these measures originated with Suffolk.\*

These causes would seem to account for the removal of Suffolk by the agency of the Duke of York, especially as he was himself in Ireland, which prevented suspicion falling on him, while his two great friends, Warwick and Mowbray, with their armed retainers, seemed to have prepared themselves for resistance at Leicester, should any suspicion rest on them, or should the Queen or her party seek to revenge themselves for this murder.

There appears to have been a premeditated scheme to destroy the Duke of Suffolk, as these noblemen arriving at Leicester previous to this murder, they seem to have awaited its results, and agreeably to a previous acquaintance with this design. Both the Commons and people hated the Duke. The Queen and her party alone sought to defend him; and, as the last means for his safety, suddenly came to the resolution to banish him the realm.

The haste and secrecy observed in the execution of

\* Baker.

this determination, and the King's private council, would make it probable that the Queen had discovered some fresh cause for alarm. The people and the Commons had, neither of them, concerted any general plan by which to get rid of their enemy. The capture of the vessel also must have been by a very superior force to that of Suffolk, as his attendants did not make the least resistance, and yet they were attached to his person, as appears evident from their conduct when put on shore.\*

This powerful rival of York being removed while he was in Ireland, engaged in pacifying the Irish, the Duke continued to receive from his friends particular accounts of the proceedings in England, where his secret agents contrived to serve him by extolling his merits to the people, and by reminding them of the King's incapacity and of the Queen's arbitrary government. These representations had the more weight, as the general discontent increased on the subject of the losses in Normandy, and the Duke's party was augmented daily, while Richard thus cherished the displeasure of the nation instead of redressing their wrongs.†

The Queen, perceiving that the dissatisfaction, so general in the country, arose partly from the repeated losses abroad, despatched a reinforcement of 1,500 men to the Duke of Somerset, under the command of Sir Thomas Keriell. These forces were joined by many other troops, with their leaders, from the English garrisons, which much augmented their numbers; but they were met by the Constable Richmond at Fourmigni, where, after having defended themselves with great valour, they were entirely routed and their commander taken prisoner.‡

\* Paston Letters; Allen's York.

† Hall; Howel's Med. Ang.; Rapin.

‡ Holinshed; Hall; Baker; Paston Letters; W. of Worcester; Anquetil; Monstrelet; Villaret.

Somerset, who had retired to Caen after the surrender of Rouen, was now left without resource. King Charles's forces surrounded that city, led on by his most skilful generals, and amongst them the Constable, who had just been victorious at Fourmigni. There came also the Counts Dunois, Clermont, d'Eu, and Nevers, with the different armies of France. They had already conquered Harfleur, Bayeux, Honfleur, Avranches, and other cities, and now they were joined by the King, who came to besiege in person the city of Caen, attended by the King of Sicily, the Dukes of Calabria, Alençon, St. Pol, and many others.

The besieged were well supplied with provisions and ammunition, and a long siege was expected.\*

It was in vain for the Duke to resist these united forces, yet with but little hope the English defended themselves, and with much skill and courage persevered in repulsing their assailants. The walls sustained some damage, but the castle, which was situated on a rock, and had within it a dungeon which was inaccessible, received no injury.

Sir Robert Veer was captain of the castle, Sir Henry Bedford of the dungeon, while Sir David Hall, who had been appointed to the care of the city under the Duke of York, was still permitted to retain this office. It happened that while the cannonading of the city was continued daily, in a manner that was more alarming than dangerous, a stone shot fell in the town, and, as it chanced, came between the Duchess of Somerset and her children, which so terrified this lady that she implored her husband, on her knees, to have compassion on his family, and to procure their safe departure from the city.† Whether the Duke was influenced by the persuasions of his wife, or foresaw

\* Barante : Baker : Monfaucon : Rapin : Villaret ; Anquetil.

† Holinshed : Hall.

that the city must soon surrender, (for it was on the eve of being taken by storm,) the Duke resolved to capitulate, and it is said that he did so contrary to the advice of the other governors, who declared that it was not yet time to think of yielding.\* The city was saved the horrors of an assault, and by the clemency of King Charles, the Duke and his family, and all the garrison were permitted to depart, leaving only their artillery and 300 crowns.†

Sir David Hall, who had been always faithful and diligent in his trust, and who would have still defended the town if others had supported him, now remembering the interests of his former master, the Duke of York, departed with some of his trusty friends to Cherbourg, and there embarking, sailed for Ireland, where he recounted to this nobleman the unfortunate issue of the war and the loss of Caen. This recital served to excite still more anger and hatred against the Duke of Somerset in the heart of one already sufficiently his enemy, and who never afterwards ceased to persecute him until his enmity was silenced in the tomb.‡

The remainder of Normandy was soon subdued, and after two campaigns the King of France beheld himself master of this province. Not one town now belonged to the English of all their fair possessions.

The duties of the Duke of Somerset being ended, he returned to England to take an active part in the contentions so general, to supply the place of Suffolk in the hatred of the people, and to be equally confirmed in the good opinion of Queen Margaret.§

It was during the same year in which the French had been so triumphant, and had recovered entirely a

\* Holinshed : Hall : Rapin : Barante : Villaret.

† Baker : Stow : Olivier de la Marche ; Monstrelet.

‡ Hall : History of Shrewsbury.

§ Barante ; Rapin ; Sandford ; Monfaucon ; Milles's Catalogue ; W. of Worcester.

province which the English had been possessed of for thirty years, that the discontents of the English nation, hitherto confined to complaints and menaces, and only vented upon individuals, broke out into open rebellion. The Queen's credit had sensibly declined, since, notwithstanding her threats, she could devise no means of punishing those who had been the murderers of Suffolk. She appears to have been left at this period to stand alone at the helm of government, and she is said to have shown great firmness during the troubles with which she had to contend.\*

The war was apparently at an end, a truce having been concluded; yet the minds of the chief nobility were agitated continually, and none of them obtained the peace which they had been so long anticipating.

This was owing, as we are informed, to the great lenity of the King, who, had he shown greater firmness and exerted his regal authority, might have overruled all ranks and composed their differences.†

1450.

A bill at this time was passed in the Lower House to attain the memory of the Duke of Suffolk, and another to remove the Duke of Somerset from Court, and also the Duchess of Suffolk and most of the friends of the King; but King Henry would not give his assent to the first. This bill was expressed in the language of the Kentish insurgents, viz.:—"That Suffolk had been the cause of the arrest and death of Gloucester, and of abridging the days of other princes of the blood." While the Duke was alive they dared not to bring forward these charges, which has been considered as a proof of the innocence of Suffolk. Thus began to appear the rebellious spirit which marked these times.‡

\* Sandford; Rapin; Hume; Henry; Barante; Villaret; Holinshed.

† Baudier; Milles's Catalogue.

‡ Rot. Parl.; Lingard.

It has been maintained by many historians that the Duke of York, fearing openly to lay claim to the crown, wished, during his stay in Ireland, to try the dispositions of the people towards himself, and thus to judge of the probability of his future success; to this end he instigated an Irishman, named Cade, of low extraction and of desperate character, to become the leader of a rebellion amongst the Kentishmen. Jack Cade had formerly been in the service of Sir Thomas Dacre, and had fled to France to escape punishment for a murder of which he had been convicted. While abroad he had served in the French armies, and had acquired some skill and experience in military affairs; and his naturally bold and adventurous spirit well fitted him for the leader of a rebellious people. To give importance to his enterprise, Cade assumed the name of John Mortimer, of the House of March; and endeavoured, as it is believed, to pass himself off for the son of the nobleman of that name, who had been, in the former reign, condemned and executed for high treason.

In the present disaffection to the government, numbers were ready to listen to any one who would promise to redress their grievances; and the friends of the Duke of York, who were numerous in the county of Kent, soon rallied round the adventurer who had assumed so popular a name.\* Cade thus assembled great numbers, pretending that his object was a reformation in the government, and the relief of the people; and he assured his followers that his enterprise was both "honourable to God and the King, and profitable to the whole realm." He also added, that should the King or Queen fall into their hands, they should be treated with respect. The army of this adventurer was speedily augmented to the num-

1450.  
Baker;  
Rapin;  
Hume;  
Paston  
Letters;  
London  
Chron.

\* Holinshed; Hall; Sandford; Baker; Hume; Rapin; Villaret.

ber of 20,000; and with these he proceeded to Blackheath, and there encamped. The King sent to the insurgents, to demand the occasion of their taking up arms; and received for answer, that they designed no harm to their sovereign, but that they desired to petition Parliament to punish bad ministers, and to show more regard for the happiness of the people. The King marched against these rebels with an army of more than 15,000 men; but, upon his approach, Cade retreated to Sevenoaks, and there lay in ambush; while Henry, supposing that they had fled through fear, returned to the city, and contented himself with sending a small force against them, under the command of Lord Stafford. These troops were surprised by the insurgents, and defeated; their leader was slain, and Cade arrayed himself in the armour of that knight. At first the petitions of the insurgents were regarded as seditious, and only to be silenced by force of arms; they were now considered to be more reasonable. The rebels even inquired why they should fight against their own countrymen, seeing they were but asserting their national rights? Two petitions had been presented already by Cade, containing the demands of his followers. They were called "the complaints of the Commons of Kent," and "the requests of the captain of the great assembly in Kent." They represented the grievances of the country, viz., that the King designed to punish the people of Kent for the murder of the Duke of Suffolk, of which they were innocent; that he gave away the revenue of the crown, and maintained himself by taxing the Commons; that the lords of the blood-royal were excluded from the Cabinet, while men of low extraction were admitted to supply their places; that the sheriffs, collectors, and others, were insupportable extortioners; and that in the election of knights the

commoners did not obtain their just influence. In short, that justice was not duly and speedily administered.

They demanded that the relatives of Suffolk should be banished from court; and that the King should receive into favour the Dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, with other earls and barons. They required the punishment of all who had shared in the destruction of the Duke of Gloucester, and of those who had been the cause of the loss of Maine, Anjou, and Normandy, as well as of several well-known traitors, called Slegge, Cromer, Lisle, and Robert Este. These petitions also contained many assurances of loyalty and affection to the King, in whose service they professed themselves willing to suffer even to death. These demands appeared plausible; and as the insurgents, although elated with their victory, maintained a show of moderation, even promising that if their grievances were redressed, and certain obnoxious persons punished, (the chief of whom were Lord Say, the late Treasurer, and Cromer, High Sheriff of Kent), they would lay down their arms, the King's Council found it difficult to persuade the people to advance against them. It was not merely the common people, but also persons of wealth and high rank who inclined to the side of these rebels, and so general was the unwillingness to fight against them, and the persuasion that pacific measures should be adopted, that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Buckingham were sent to confer with them.

Cade behaved upon this occasion with propriety, but with decision; and while he showed them respect, he refused to disband his troops until his petitions had been complied with.

Some concessions were now deemed indispensable;



and upon the return of these deputies Lord Say was committed to prison, and Lord Scales being appointed to the care of the Tower of London with a sufficient garrison, the King disbanded his army, and withdrew, for greater security, to the castle of Kenilworth.\* Cade and his followers, who had resumed their position on Blackheath, next proceeded to London. Here it had been already determined, in a Council held by the Lord Mayor, that no resistance should be offered them. The gates were thrown open, and the insurgents, whose numbers were vastly augmented since the late victory, came into the city triumphantly. Cade, as he entered, cut the ropes of the drawbridge, and afterwards, passing London Stone, he struck it with his sword, exclaiming, "Now is Mortimer lord of this city!"

After their entrance into the capital, Cade contrived for some time to maintain the utmost discipline amongst his followers, whom he forbade, under threats of severe punishment, to injure the citizens. He even led his troops, to prevent disorder, every evening back to the Borough. Cade insisted on the Lord Mayor and the Judges assembling in Guildhall, and he caused Lord Say to be arraigned. Sentence was passed upon him, as well as upon the Duchess of Suffolk, and others, who were considered to be the accomplices of Suffolk. Lord Say was soon after beheaded, and his son-in-law, Cromer, the Sheriff of Kent, being found, shared the same fate. After this cruelty the head of the ill-fated nobleman, and also that of Cromer, were fixed on poles, and carried through the streets of the metropolis, with acts of shocking brutality, by the populace.

When the vengeance of the rebels had been somewhat satiated with the blood of these two individuals, they

\* See Appendix, p. 435.

became less circumspect in their conduct; Cade himself is said to have relaxed in his discipline, and to have plundered the house of a tradesman who had received him with hospitality. Upon this, the rabble eagerly sought to enrich themselves with the plunder of the wealthy, and several houses were entered and pillaged; at length, the rich citizens taking the alarm, concerted measures with Lord Scales to prevent the repetition of these injuries. Cade receiving intelligence, however, that they purposed to defend the drawbridge, and not to admit his party on the ensuing day, a riot followed, and during six hours a severe conflict was maintained between the two parties, when the citizens obtaining the advantage, Cade was compelled to retreat. It was agreed on both sides to suspend hostilities, being weary of the contest.

At this juncture, the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, who remained in the Tower, dismissed the Bishop of Winchester (William Waynfleet),\* to the borough of Southwark, whither the rebels had retreated, to offer them a pardon, under the Great Seal, to all except their leader, provided they immediately laid down their arms, and returned peaceably to their homes. The Kentishmen, discouraged by their late defeat, accepted the proposal with gratitude, and dispersed themselves; but Cade, suspecting that the King would not extend his mercy to the leader of the rebellion, repented, and once more attempted to assemble the disaffected. He found many still ready to support him; but the authority he had once lost could not be regained. The common cause was forgotten by these ruffians, who sought only to enrich themselves with the plunder which had been conveyed

\* On the death of the Cardinal, William Waynfleet had been advanced to the bishopric of Winchester. He exhibited great abilities, integrity, and prudence, especially in this insurrection.

from the city. At length, Cade, hopeless of re-establishing unanimity amongst them, fled on horseback into Sussex.

He was soon traced to his place of retreat, where, (defending himself courageously to the last,) he was slain by the new Sheriff of Kent, Alexander Iden. The head of this rebel, for which a reward of a thousand marks had been offered by the King, was carried to London, and placed on the bridge.

Several of the associates of Cade in this rebellion suffered on the scaffold; and it was afterwards laid to the charge of the Duke of York, that they had acknowledged that their design was to place him upon the throne, had their enterprise succeeded.\*

King Henry, however, failed to turn to advantage the success he had thus gained over the insurgents, and his inactivity at this crisis proved detrimental to his cause. The ministers of the King had offended the people, yet their attachment to the House of Lancaster remained firm and unshaken, and had Henry acted at once with great decision and spirit, the ambitious hopes of the Duke of York would have been early crushed, and the rights of the Lancastrian sovereign firmly established in the land.

\* Baker; Hall; Holinshed; Sandford; Fabian; Stow; Biondi; W. of Worcester; Pol. Vergil; London Chron.; Rapin; Villaret; Philpott's Kent; Birch's Illus. Persons of Great Britain.

## CHAPTER VII.

(Clarence.) "A little fire is quickly trodden out;  
"Which, being suffer'd, rivers cannot quench."

(King Henry.) "Thus stands my state, 'twixt Cade and York distress'd;  
"Like to a ship, that, having 'scap'd a tempest,  
"Is straightway calm'd and boarded with a pirate:  
"But now is Cade driven back, his men dispers'd;  
"And now is York in arms to second him."

(Warwick.) "I'll plant Plantagenet, root him up who dares;  
"Resolve thee, Richard; claim the English crown."—SHAKESPEARE.

Clamours against Somerset—He is sent to the Tower—The people murmur and suspect Queen Margaret—The Duke of York returns to England—He assembles his friends—The Earls of Westmoreland, Salisbury and Warwick, and the Duke of York described—Their connections—The Duke of York retires to Wales, raises an army and returns to London—He encamps at Brent Heath—He disbands his army—Interview between the Dukes of York and Somerset—York is apprehended and released—Treaty of peace with Scotland—The Queen goes to Norwich—Her condescension—Her letters—An effort made to recover Guienne—Talbot's success—His death—His character—Tastes—Gift to the Queen—Loss of France—Death of the Queen's mother—Complaints against the Queen—King Henry's illness—Birth of Prince Edward—Calumnies against Queen Margaret—The Duke of York urges his claim to the crown—His character—His party obtains great influence—Somerset arrested and sent to the Tower—The Duke of York made "Protector"—He holds a Parliament and gets possession of Calais—King Henry recovers—He resumes his authority, and Somerset is released—The King tries to reconcile York and Somerset—York is offended and withdraws into Wales to raise an army.

QUEEN MARGARET had accompanied the King when he marched at the head of his army of 15,000 against the rebels, but on the latter retreating, the Queen, far from being animated with the warlike spirit which marked her subsequent career, did not encourage her

consort to follow up his success by the pursuit of the insurgents. Yielding rather to feminine weakness, or fear, she entreated that the King would not place himself in personal peril, but resign to his lieutenants this easy victory.

The prayers of Margaret prevailed, and Henry, giving Sir Humphrey Stafford charge of his forces, retired with the Queen to the castle of Kenilworth.

Surely in the midst of the troubles and difficulties with which Queen Margaret had so lately been surrounded, it can hardly be doubted, that she must have greatly required the skill and experience of the several nobles and statesmen of whose services she had, in so brief a period, been deprived. Her indignation had been excited by the cruel murder of the Duke of Suffolk, whom she had vainly endeavoured to protect; and while deploring the loss of her earliest friend in England (who had brought her hither, and had braved with her the public enmity and hatred), how painful must it have been to her to endure alone these trials!

Even more than Suffolk must the youthful Queen have missed the talented Cardinal of Winchester, whose skill and discernment had, for so many years, been employed in the direction of political affairs. He might indeed, like the helm, have guided safely the tempest-tossed vessel in the late rebellion, during which, it may even be believed that the saving hand of a Gloucester would have been welcome!

At such a time as this, the return of the Duke of Somerset was considered fortunate, and we are told that the royal pair "hailed his arrival as a blessing." Somerset was indeed the nearest relative of the King; and at this moment, when the court was beginning to be distracted by the pretensions of the Duke of York, it was hoped that the services and attachment of one whose interests were allied to those of the

crown, would successfully oppose the ambitious projects of that nobleman. By some historians, Somerset has been considered as the only faithful minister of Henry VI., who, by his care, watchfulness, and good counsels, sought to deliver the kingdom from factions, and preserve peace. The Duke of York, therefore, justly anticipated the opposition he would raise to his projects, and determined to excite against him the hatred of the people and the envy of the nobility.

Certain it is, that the presence of Somerset was attended with new troubles to the Queen. The people immediately raised clamours against the Duke; they accused him of not having done his duty in Normandy, and blamed him for the loss of that province, but especially for his conduct at the siege of Caen. The Commons, adopting these complaints, presented a petition to the King, praying that the conduct of Somerset might be investigated, and that, in the meantime, he should be sent to the Tower. Their request was granted, for Henry was unwilling to offend the House of Commons.\* Upon receiving the news of the imprisonment of the Duke, the populace evinced such transports of delight that they immediately attacked and plundered his palace; and in spite of the exertions of the King's officers, they created such a tumult as could not be appeased until one of the ringleaders had been despatched.

At the breaking up of Parliament the Duke was liberated, and placed in the same situation at court as the Duke of Suffolk had occupied. He was created Prime Minister, and the Queen showed him great

\* This arrest of Somerset appears, according to some authors, to have been by the advice of the lords of the King's council, for the safety of his person, and to prevent his falling into the hands of his adversary; besides, that the power of the Lancastrian party was sufficiently strong to prevent his being brought to trial. His imprisonment was only for fourteen months. *Paston Letters*; *Rapin*; *Lingard*; *Villaret*; *Daniel*.

favour, by which, it would appear, that she did not censure his conduct; yet we are assured, by some writers, that the Duke of Somerset justly deserved the reproaches of his country for his treachery and cowardice.\*

1451.  
Holinshed;  
Villaret;  
Rapin;  
Barante.

The surprising success of the French in the recovery of Normandy, prompted them to carry their arms into Guienne. This province being much farther off than the former, it was not in the power of the English to afford it a better defence, had they even desired to do so; but it does not appear that they had the intention of preserving this country. No army was dismissed to the relief of the cities, which, one by one, surrendered after making a faint resistance. Thus King Charles became possessed of Bergerac, Geusac, Montserrand, Chalais, St. Fois, and other cities; and the conquests of the French continued uninterruptedly until they obtained possession of the whole of this province, excepting only Bayonne and Bourdeaux.

This last entered into treaty with the enemy, and engaged to submit to King Charles should they not be supported by succours from England before the 24th of October. At the expiration of that period no army appeared, and this city, as well as all the other towns in the duchy, were forced to open their gates to the French.

The city of Bayonne, only, refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of the French King, and to be included in the treaty. An army was dismissed against it under the command of the Count Dunois, who, obliging them to capitulate, ended the war in that province where the English had preserved their authority since the time of Henry the Second, a period of three hundred years.†

\* Pol. Vergil; Paston Letters; Villaret; Baudier; Daniel.  
† Holinshed; Hall; Baker; Sandford; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Barante; Anquetil; Monstrelet.

No sooner were the foreign wars over than the intestine divisions were renewed. The cession of Maine and Anjou had rendered the people of England suspicious of treachery; and when Normandy and Guienne surrendered to the victorious arms of King Charles, this nation bitterly complained of the government, and of those whom they judged had had any share in these misfortunes.

The practice about this period was adopted of writing satirical verses on those individuals who, by their political conduct, had become obnoxious to the people. Some of these verses, written in April, 1451, were intended for William Boothe, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, or Chester, as the diocese was generally called; on account of his taking part with the Duke of Suffolk in the King's Council. The petition of the Commons was, that Boothe and several others might be removed from the royal presence for the rest of their lives. They were charged with "misbehaving about His Majesty's person," and elsewhere, leading to neglect of law and non-observance of the peace of the realm.\*

The King only complied by banishing some of these for one year. The offence of the Bishop was soon overlooked, for in the following year, 1452, he was translated to the see of York.

Reflections were made in some of the verses alluded to, on the character of Boothe, and he was charged with procuring his advancement, not by his knowledge and talents, but by simony, usury, and the influence of his family. The writer adds, "by simoni and usur bild is thy *bothe*," and in another place, "breke up thy *bothe*." These and similar puns were the taste of the age. In addressing Boothe the writer speaks of the

\* See Appendix, p. 428.

fall of Rome, and warns him that a similar fate awaited England if the existing abuses were not removed; he cites the proverb, that "The voice of the people is the voice of God." Allusion is also made to De la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and the following pun made upon his name:—

"The *pool* is so perilous for men to pass  
"That few of the *bank* royal can escape."\*

The nobility, while they reproached one another, all united in blaming the Duke of Suffolk as the author of their troubles. Queen Margaret was regarded as a foreigner, and an enemy; and her father and relatives being engaged in advancing the interests of the French, it was not expected that the Queen would very strenuously oppose such measures as were favourable to them in the Council-chamber, where she held the most unlimited sway.†

It was not surprising that such an opinion should have gained credit amongst the people, (who were already blinded by their prejudices against the Queen,) when we remember that the House of Anjou, and especially one member of that House, the Count of Maine, (who was uncle to Queen Margaret,) was always in such high favour with King Charles. René also had accompanied this prince to the siege of Rouen, and was present at the taking of other cities.‡ It is certain that the observance of a neutrality on the part of these princes would have been of the utmost service to Queen Margaret.

Such indeed was the disaffection of the people towards the Queen's government, that she found herself unable to adopt any measures against the Duke of York, whose popularity increased. Doubtless the

\* Bentley's Excerpt. Hist.; Rot. Parl.

‡ Barante; Monstrelet; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Hume.

people would have supported this Duke in any new enterprise, and that he meditated some attempt against the throne began to be apparent.\*

It was privately whispered, at this time, that King Henry was of weak capacity, and easily abused; that Queen Margaret was ambitious and malignant; that the Council did not seek the public good, but their own; and that, through these causes, France was lost: finally, that God would not bless the possessions of the usurper, Henry VI.

There seems to have been little doubt that the late rebellion had been commenced through the instigation of the Duke of York, whose object was to ascertain the disposition of the people towards the House of March; but the death of the leader had prevented the evidence being adduced which would have determined the truth of this opinion.†

Great alarm began to prevail at court, as to the projects of the Duke of York. He was suspected of a design to bring over some Irish troops, doubtless with rebellious intent; and orders were therefore despatched to the sheriffs of Wales, Shropshire, and Cheshire, to prevent the landing of the Duke upon the coast; and should he succeed in doing so, they were commanded to refuse him lodging and entertainment.‡ This precaution was not only unnecessary, but ill judged, as it betrayed to the people that the court stood in awe of the Duke, and this, as leading them to enquire the cause, would have been best concealed; it also served as a caution to the Duke to be on his guard, and gave him a pretence to complain of suspicions which, for the present at least, were, or

\* Baker; Rapin.

† Leland; Hume; Hist. of Shrewsbury.

‡ These instructions were particularly insisted on at Chester and Shrewsbury.



seemed to be, altogether without foundation.\* Queen Margaret appears also, in this procedure, to have adopted a course widely different from her former conduct, for she had even anticipated the designs of the Duke, and had begun openly to oppose them. Had she concealed her suspicions, she might have betrayed him into some snare, or false step, which would have been his ruin, or justified her measures against him.†

Previous to the Duke of York's return from Ireland, he had opened his views to his friends in a letter from Dublin, in June 1450, addressed to the Earl of Salisbury, whose sister he had married. He began by complaining of the deficiency of supplies from England, owing to which he could not resist the rebels. He continues, "my power cannot stretch to keep it in the King's obeisance, and verie necessity will compell me to come into England, to live there, upon my poor livelihood. For I had leave be dead than any inconvenience should fall thereunto by my default," &c. &c.

The Duke's intimation of leaving his command without orders justly excited the displeasure of the court, and caused alarm amongst the ministers. They consequently determined to seize his person and prevent his approach to King Henry.‡

The conduct of the Duke, however, proved these suspicions to be erroneous. He embarked for England with only his own domestics, and, conscious that his enemies had no proof to bring against him of a treasonable nature, he boldly attempted to land on the coast of Wales; but finding an armed force at Beaumaris, headed by Lord de Lyle, ready to oppose him, he was compelled to proceed to another port, where

\* Hume; Leland.

† Rapin.

‡ Hist. of Shrewsbury.

he was more successful.\* We are told that one of the motives for this hasty return of the Duke from Ireland was, that he feared, on hearing of the loss of Caen, that he should be deprived of his large estates in that island, which he inherited through the Mortimers from the Lacys and De' Burghs, which caused him to resolve, on his immediate return to England, to attack the ministers, and endeavour to place himself at the head of the government.

While the Duke was passing through Northamptonshire, in his way to London, he sent for William Tresham, a lawyer, and the late Speaker of the House of Commons, who had been very zealous in the prosecution of the Duke of Suffolk. Scarcely had Tresham left his own house at Multon Park, near Northampton, when he was intercepted and murdered by a band of ruffians, 160 in number, armed with swords and spears, belonging to Lord Grey of Ruthyn; but how far this nobleman sanctioned the act of his servants is not known. It is probable that the life of Tresham was taken in revenge for his late conduct in procuring the death of Suffolk; and if not from private pique, it must have been caused by the public animosity. It may at least be called a sign of the lawlessness of that period. The Duke proceeded on his way, and the murderers of Tresham were outlawed.†

The friends of the Duke were numerous, and they had had frequent conferences together; but, being unable to resolve upon any step without his assistance, they had been anxiously expecting him. When the Duke of York arrived in the capital they assembled around him; and as they must, from their wealth and influence in the kingdom, have appeared a most formidable faction in the eyes of a young and inexperienced

\* W. of Worcester; Leland; Rapin; Henry.

† Rot. Parl.; Lingard.

Queen, who had been, from various circumstances, deprived of almost all good counsel, and who unhappily had lost the best inheritance of a sovereign—the love of her people—it will not be amiss to introduce the reader to a personal acquaintance with the House of York, its alliances, and its friendships.

Richard, Duke of York derived his claim to the crown from his mother, (a descendant of the House of Mortimer) who had married the Earl of Cambridge, beheaded in the preceding reign; he held, in right of his father, the rank of first prince of the blood, which conferred a lustre on his title derived from his mother; for the family of Mortimer, although of high descent, was equalled by others in the kingdom.\* Being the representative of three distinct successions, viz., those of Cambridge, York, and Mortimer, the present Duke became the inheritor of immense possessions. To these were also united the estates of Clarence and Ulster, and the patrimonial property of the House of March.†

The Duke had obtained considerable influence amongst the chief nobility by his marriage with Cecilia, the daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, whose family was perhaps the most powerful ever known in England. The individuals who composed that family, although extremely wealthy, were not so much distinguished by their opulence as by their peculiar characters and intrinsic merits.

Of this “noble, ancient, and spreading family” of the Earl of Westmoreland were the Bishop of Durham, the Lords Onsley, Latimer, Fauconbridge, and Abergavenny, and the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick. The two last were amongst the most distinguished of the English nobility.

The Earl of Salisbury was the eldest son of Ralph

\* Baker; Hume.

† Milles's Catalogue.

Neville by his second marriage, and obtained his title and estates by his union with the daughter of Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, who died at Orleans. Richard de Beauchamp, son of the Earl of Salisbury, also obtained the title and inheritance of another ancient and distinguished family, no less wealthy and powerful than the former, by his marriage with the daughter\* of Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who died while Governor of France. Thus, the Earl of Westmoreland, his son, and his grandson, were eminently distinguished by the gifts of fortune, but even still more remains to be said of their personal merits.†

Besides this family the Duke of York had many other adherents. Of these the chief were Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, (whose hereditary animosity towards the House of Lancaster had induced him to attach himself to the interests of York,) Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, (son-in-law of the Duke of Somerset,) and Edward Brooke, Baron of Cobham.‡

Such a powerful combination amongst the principal nobility could not but be formidable when the dissatisfaction of the people was so general.

At the time of the Duke of York's return from Ireland the court was absent from the metropolis, upon a progress in the western counties of England. The King visited his castle of Kenilworth, and the city of Coventry. He was joined by the Duke of Buckingham, “who came by command of his sovereign, with a “strong guard; also he attended about the King's “person with great costs and expenses.”§

The rebellion of Cade had satisfied the mind of the

\* This lady was sister of Henry, Earl of Warwick (after his father), and the favourite of King Henry.

† Holinshed; Milles's Catalogue; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Barante; Hume; Lingard.

‡ Holinshed; Rapin; Hume; Lingard.

§ Rapin; Issue Roll.

Duke as to the support he would be likely to obtain from the people; for, if such vast numbers were disposed to support the pretensions of one who had such slight claims to their notice, what might not be expected when the true heir of the House of March should step forward to demand their support?\*

The general discontent at the Queen's conduct, and that of her ministers, also warranted his hopes, and encouraged him in the first steps of his ambitious career.

This nobleman held a consultation with his friends and adherents, with whom it was determined that the Duke should retire into Wales, where he had many partisans, and there secretly secure an army to support his pretensions.†

1451.  
Rapin;  
Holinshed.

The Duke lost no time in executing his designs. When he had raised an army of 10,000 men in Wales, he addressed, from his castle of Ludlow, a monitory letter to the King, previously to his taking any steps which might be construed into rebellion. He therein complained, that during his stay in Ireland, he had been calumniated to the King; and that certain persons, set as spies, had been lying in wait in six several places to seize him, with intent to convey him to Conway Castle. Also, that his landing in England had been opposed by the King's officers; and that letters had been despatched to Chester, Shrewsbury, and other places, to prevent his reception. He also complained of the malicious attempts of certain persons to indict him for treason, to his great injury, and that of his family, and "for all this, he required, that justice should be done him." The Duke also complained of the general disaffection to the ministry, and especially

\* Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Henry.

† Holinshed; Baker; Sandford; Pol. Vergil; Milles's Catalogue; Lingard.

towards the Duke of Somerset, whose conduct, he prayed, might be inquired into, and satisfaction afforded to the nation. He offered his assistance in the execution of this purpose; and further complained, of Somerset's restoration to favour without being subjected to any examination.\*

It was evident to the ministers that the Duke of York sought to quarrel with them; but, in the present position of affairs, they dared not show him any resentment. King Henry, in his reply to the Duke's letter, alluded to the fact of the Duke having unlawfully slain the Bishop of Chester, as one of the causes of the frequent complaints against him; also, that the rumours of the ambitious sayings of the Duke had led the court, although uncertain of their truth, to act on the defensive, by placing troops to oppose his landing; but that the manner of the Duke's appearing, being unarmed, had sufficiently evinced his loyalty; and that his reception by the King would have been different had not the suddenness of his coming, without previous notice, occasioned the servants of the crown to act on their former orders. The King wrote also to this effect, viz., that he had some time since resolved to reform the government; and that for this purpose he intended to appoint certain counsellors of talent and virtue, amongst whom the Duke should be included; that it required some deliberation before he could bring to justice the traitors, of whom the Duke had complained; but that he would not permit them to go unpunished, not even the Duke of Somerset.†

This moderate reply, which was altogether unexpected by the Duke of York, took from him every pretence for rebellion; yet he resolved that the King's refusal to punish the ministers immediately should

\* Hall; Fabian; Rapin; Hume; Phillips's Shrewsbury.

† Holinshed.

furnish him with a pretext for employing an army already prepared; and that he would not be turned from his purpose by a moderation which might be real, or designed to deceive him.\*

Thus it was that ambition stifled the dictates of reason, and led on to civil warfare.

The Duke of York marched at the head of his new army towards London; but he had not proceeded far before he learnt that the royal forces were prepared to oppose him.

The Queen, who had anticipated his design, had been more active than he expected. She had raised, in the King's name, a body of troops, but without informing them for what purpose; and thus, while the Duke had retired into Wales, she had been engaged in preparing an army to advance against him.†

It was not the Duke's object to risk a battle yet, without a better pretence to win the people to his side, and to justify his rebellion. He well knew also that the citizens of London were of themselves sufficiently powerful to incline the balance in favour of either party, and therefore he resolved to gain that city over to his interests. On a sudden, therefore, he altered his course on hearing of the King's approach, although he was not deficient in courage, or in experience.‡ He endeavoured, by a rapid march, to get before the King, and expected on reaching the capital to be well received there; but, to his great disappointment, he found the gates shut, the citizens being unwilling to declare for him, while their King was so near at hand, with a much larger army. The Duke of York was therefore obliged to cross the Thames, at Kingston. He encamped at Brent Heath, near Dartford, twelve miles from London, whither the King followed him,

\* Rapin; Pol. Vergil.

† Baker.

‡ Rapin.

and pitched his camp at a distance of four miles from the insurgents. An engagement seemed inevitable; but the King dismissed the Bishops of Winchester and Ely to demand the reason of the Duke of York taking up arms; and the latter finding it expedient, at this juncture, to make his peace at court, for fear of ruining his affairs by precipitation, alleged that it had never been his intention to desert his sovereign; but that he only desired to remove from the Council certain evil-disposed persons, of whom the Duke of Somerset was the chief; and that he was willing to disband his troops, if the King would consent to the imprisonment of Somerset, so long as Parliament should decree.

King Henry's compliance with this request occasioned no less surprise to the Duke than he had before felt at his moderation, in the answer to his letter. He knew that both the King and Queen were guided by the advice of Somerset, whose interest it was to reject these demands; and for whose sake (as York wished it to appear) the ministers did not hesitate to involve the country in a civil war. The King not only engaged to comply with the Duke's request, but immediately caused the Duke of Somerset to be apprehended. Then would York gladly have retracted his word; but he was thus compelled to disband his forces, which he preferred doing to the risk of losing the favour of the people.\*

Upon this the Duke boldly appeared in court, without taking any precautions for his own safety; nay, he even ventured, in the presence of the King, to accuse the Duke of Somerset, with much vehemence, of having sacrificed the interests of his country to his own ambitious and sordid views. At this moment, whilst he was boldly proclaiming his enemy to be a traitor,

\* Sandford; Baker; Milles's Catalogue; Daniel; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Hume; Henry; Lingard; Birch's Illus. Persons of Great Britain.

what was his astonishment when Somerset presented himself before him, having been concealed behind the hangings of the tent, and he, on his part, accused the Duke of York of a conspiracy to dethrone his sovereign?

Greatly was the Duke of York dismayed at the sudden and unexpected rencontre, yet, perceiving the danger of his own situation, he did not lose his presence of mind; he moderately complained of the want of faith shown to him, and threw the odium of this treachery upon the Duke of Somerset. Yet he was no sooner dismissed the presence than he was apprehended by the orders of King Henry; who then proceeded to London, the Duke of York, as his prisoner, riding before him.\*

Thus betrayed into the power of his enemies, the Duke of York would most probably never have escaped the effects of their resentment had they dared to proceed against him, but they feared the opposition and hatred of the people, which had already often been manifested, and they knew the Duke was too popular to be unrevenged. Two other reasons also contributed to preserve him; first, a report that the Earl of March, the eldest son of the Duke of York, was advancing at the head of a powerful army to effect his release, and it seemed probable that the troops lately disbanded would unite with them. In addition to this, the deputies of Guienne had sought succours of the King, promising to reduce that province to his authority. The forces, however, designed by King Henry for this war must necessarily be employed at home, in the event of such a civil contest as was likely to result upon the punishment of the Duke of York, and thus would a fair opportunity be lost for the recovery of Guienne.

\* Hall; Holinshed; Baker; Sandford; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Fabian; Daniel; Rapin; Hume; Lingard; Henry.

A treaty of peace had been lately signed between England and Scotland, to which both kingdoms had been inclined, through the rebellions of the Douglas family in the latter, besides the agitated state of the Borderers, and the dissensions amongst the English people. The ambassadors of the two kings met in the church of St. Nicholas, in Newcastle, on the 14th of August, 1451, when the peace was concluded.\*

Queen Margaret, alarmed at the report of the approach of the Earl of March towards London, in her anxiety to secure friends, visited Norwich and other places, accompanied by Edmund of Hadham, and Jasper of Hatfield, the King's half-brothers. The Queen's familiarity and obliging address pleased the gentry, and indeed she well knew how to conciliate the affections of those whom she wished to gain over to her interests. We are told that the people of Norwich advanced 100 marks as a loan to their King, and the aldermen presented the Queen with 60 marks, to which the Commons added 40 more, and in return obtained a general pardon for past offences, and the grant of a new charter, on paying a fine of 20 marks.†

The King, being disturbed at this period by the claims of the Duke of York, prudently sought, by all possible means, to strengthen himself against him, and to this end he created his two half-brothers, Edmund, Earl of Richmond, and Jasper, Earl of Pembroke. These were sons of Owen Tudor, who had married Catherine, Queen Dowager of England, the King's mother. After her death, Owen lost that respect which had been shown him, and he was twice com-

1451.

1452.

\* Mackenzie's Newcastle.

† They also advanced to the Queen the whole fee farm of the city for the last year, being £129 11s. 4d. This charter, dated the 17th of March, at Westminster, was consented to in full parliament.—Hall; Holinshed; Baker; Paston Letters; Pol. Vergil; Stow; Rapin; Lingard; Henry; Parkin's Norwich.



mitted to prison, from which he escaped. When his sons had such high honours conferred upon them, the Welshmen were flattered by the promotion of their young countrymen, and continued ever after to adhere faithfully to the House of Lancaster. The next year (1453) King Henry knighted his two brothers.\*

The Queen's stay at Norwich was but short, only two days; while there (as we learn from the letter of Margaret Paston) "she sent for Elizabeth Clere, by Sharinborn, to come to her, and she dared not disobey her commandment, and came to her; and when she came into the Queen's presence, the Queen made right much of her, and desired her to have a husband; and the Queen was right well pleased with her answer, and reporteth of her in the best wise, and saith, by her truth, she saw no gentlewoman, since she came into Norfolk, that she liked better than she doth her."† The cousin of Elizabeth, no doubt, felt some satisfaction herself while she thus narrated the interview with royalty.

This was by no means a solitary instance of the Queen's address and condescension. Like the troubadour king, her father, she had a tinge of romance in her character, and a genuine flow of feeling and sympathy for the unfortunate, which, ever and anon, was elicited by circumstances such as made her acquainted with the wants of others, and their need of her royal influence. This she exerted for the benefit of her personal attendants and others, without reserve. All those who were in interesting positions of difficulty or distress, needing a friend to help them, found that friend in their gifted sovereign. When her personal eloquence was not available, her pen was often employed to persuade, to urge, and to excite

\* Stow; Pennant's Wales.

† Paston Letters.

those whom she addressed; to overcome their obstacles, and to consent to the happiness of their relatives. Her arguments, however, too often proved unavailing; a matter of no great surprise when we consider that many of these letters, (which, through party animosity, were consigned to oblivion for a period of 400 years,) were written during the first ten years after her marriage; that unhappy period, when the clouds gathered around her, when she became unpopular, and the national discontents were followed by the loss of her ministers, and open rebellion. It was during a succession of terrible events, which might have appalled any but a lion-hearted queen, like Margaret of Anjou, (between the year 1445, when, as one of the brilliant flowers of France, she came to England in all her pride and beauty, and the year 1455, the date of the first battle of St. Albans, two remarkable epochs, much contrasted with each other;) that these interesting letters were written.\*

The pleasing condescensions of this queen were, during this period, frequently elicited. It is agreeable to find this new and charming phase in her character, and should especially be dwelt upon at this, the commencement of her eventful career. Her tastes resembled those of her father. She exhibited great fondness for poetry and music; nay, she even inclined to the gentle arts. Her courage and heroism were blended with gentleness and sympathy for the unfortunate, especially in affairs of the heart. These letters of the Queen are proof of this; and it is to be regretted that in the absence of this testimony afforded by her correspondence, historians have been so apt to dwell on the belligerent

\* These letters were discovered in 1860 at Emral, in Flintshire; they had been transcribed, in the same century that they were written, by one John Edwards, of Kirkland. A daughter of this family married into that of Puliston, of Emral, where the MS. volume of letters, seventy-five in number, was found.—*Letters of Queen Margaret, edited by Cecil Monro.*

character which Queen Margaret was compelled to assume in the subsequent Wars of the Roses. Thus has the character of this Queen been traduced, and her excellent qualities ignored; even as in natural objects it sometimes happens that the darkest shades are permitted to become most prominent.

Queen Margaret, although conspicuous for the beauty of her person, and the richness of her attire, sought by higher influences than these to gain the attachment of those more immediately around her. She especially invited the young ladies to visit her; put to them questions about their lovers, and professed herself gratified by their answers. Never was the course of true love obstructed but Queen Margaret aroused her energies to remove the cause, and set all right again; and this, whenever she perceived that any member of her household, or their friends, required her support to further their suit. Most earnestly and pleasingly did the Queen act as mediatrix, and plead for the lovers.

One of her letters, written when Suffolk was chief minister, was addressed to Robert Kent, supposed to have been a "spiritual lawyer." She pleads for one of her attendants thus:—

"By the Quene.

"Welbeloved, we grete, &c., and late you wite  
 "that our welbeloved servant, Thomas Shelford, whom  
 "for his vertues, and the agreable service that he  
 "hath don unto us herbefore, and in especial now late  
 "in the company of our cousin of Suffolk, we have  
 "taken into oure chambre, there to serve us abowte  
 "our personne, hath reported unto us, that for the  
 "good and vertuous demening that he hath herd of a  
 "gentil woman beyng in your governance, which was  
 "doghter to oon, Hall of Larkfeld, he desireth full  
 "hertly to do hir worship by wey of marriage, as he

"seith; wherfor, we desire and praye you hertly, that,  
 "setting apart all instances or labours, that have or  
 "shalbe made unto you for eny other personne what  
 "so ever he be, ye wol by all honest and leaful menes  
 "be welwilled unto the said marriage, entreting the  
 "said gentilwoman unto the same, trustyng to Godd's  
 "mercy that it shalbe both for His worship, and  
 "availle in tyme to come. And if ye wol doo yor  
 "tendre diligence to perfourme this oure desire, ye  
 "shal therin deserve of us right good and especial  
 "thanke, and cause us to showe unto you therefore  
 "the more especial faver of oure good grace in tyme  
 "to come."

"Geven," &c.

It is worthy of remark, that Thomas Shelford, the wooer, had never seen the lady, but had fallen in love with her on hearsay of her virtues.

On another occasion, Queen Margaret requests of the executors of Cardinal Beaufort, to assist "one Frutes and Agnes Knoghton, poor creatures, and of virtuous conversation, purposing to live under the law of God, in the order of wedlock," that they may be helped forward by means of the alms at the disposal of these executors, "in their laudable intention."

This letter was written soon after the death of the Cardinal, in 1447, who left by his will the residue of his goods not disposed of, to be used for charitable works, according to the discretion of the executors, for the relief of poor religious houses,—“for marrying poor maidens, and for the help of the poor and needy; and in such works of piety,” he adds, “as they deem will most tend to the health of his soul.” The Queen, in her letter, alludes to the last words of this clause, and, on several occasions, applies to the same fund for the relief of the indigent, in furtherance of the intentions of her uncle, the Cardinal.

The influence of Queen Margaret was also exercised in favour of one, Thomas Burneby, "sewer for our mouth," who would fain unite himself to Jane, the well-endowed widow of Sir Nicholas Carew, the lady having seventeen manors in her own right, a circumstance not overlooked by the suitor when he induced his royal mistress to write for him. The Queen tells her, but in vain, that Burneby loves her "for the womanly and "virtuous governance that ye be renowned of," speaks of his merits, and hopes that "at reverence of us the "lady will be inclining to his honest desire at this "time."\* The widow lady of thirty-six gave no heed to the pleading of her youthful mistress, but married Sir Robert Vere, brother of John, the twelfth Earl of Oxford.†

At another time, Queen Margaret writes urging a father to persuade his daughter to consent to the suit of Thomas Fountaine, yeoman of the crown. Elizabeth Gascarick could not be prevailed upon to regard most kindly the trusty yeoman, although the Queen warrants his virtues and fidelity to both the King and herself, and pleads his love and zeal for his fair lady. The Queen then writes to William Gascarick, the father, to whom she says, "We pray right affectuously that, "at reverence of us, since your daughter is in your "rule and governance, as reason is, you will give your "good consent, benevolence and friendship to induce "and to excite your daughter to accept my said lord's "servant and ours, to her husband, to the good con-

\* This letter of the Queen was written from Eltham between 1447 and 1450. Burneby, the favoured "sewer of the mouth," was a legatee under the will of Cardinal Beaufort. He steadily adhered to the Lancastrians, and accompanied the Queen in her flight to Scotland, in 1461.

† Her son by Sir Robert Vere became subsequently the fifteenth Earl of Oxford. This lady became a second time a widow, and dwelt in the manor of Hacombe, with right to do according to her pleasure, except that, while she was permitted to enjoy the fruit, she was restricted from making "any cyder thereof."

"clusion, and tender exploit of the said marriage, as "our full trust is in you."

Quite useless, however, was the pleading of both queen and father; neither of them had any influence over this lady, who is said to have married Henry Booth, of Lincolnshire.

The prayers of the Queen were much disregarded by all those to whom she addressed them.

One of these royal letters was directed to Edith Bonham, the Abbess of Shaftesbury, respecting the promotion of her chaplain, Michael Tergory. Margaret doubtless esteemed him highly; his merits having been, indeed, well attested. After having studied at several of the colleges at Oxford, he had been one of the earliest rectors of the University of Caen, founded by Henry VI., in 1431. He was Archdeacon of Barnstaple, in the diocese of Exeter, in 1445, and then became the Queen's Chaplain. Very earnestly did Queen Margaret write in his favour from her residence at Pleshy, on the 11th of March, in 1447, the time when the Bishopric of Lisieux was vacant. To this see the King, as well as the Queen, sought to promote him; and it is said King Henry entertained a special respect for him; but fruitless were the recommendations of Michael Tergory, for Thomas Basin succeeded to the vacant see of Lisieux.\*

The same ill success attended the application of the Queen to the Master of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, with whom she pleads for the admission into the leper-house, of a young chorister "named Robert Uphome, "aged only seventeen years, late chorister unto the

\* The chaplain became, at length, Archbishop of Dublin, and died in 1471. He was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral. Michael Tergory was called, by Anthony Wood "the ornament of the university." Another author says of him, that he was a man of great wisdom and learning.

"most reverende fadre in God our beal uncle the Cardinal, (whom God assoile,) at his college at Winchester, who is now by Godd's visitation become "lepour."

Margaret was not, however, to be deterred from her good intentions, or her willingness to be of use to any one, even to Lory, our cordwainer, who being fully employed in fitting her Majesty, and other fair ladies, her subjects, with shoes, the Queen writes to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, and prays, that, "at such tymes as we shall have nede of his crafte, and send "for hym, that he may not appere, and attend in "enquests, (*jurys*,) in the Cite of London, that he "may not be empannelled, but therein sparing hym at "reverence of us," &c., &c.\* This prayer was probably unheeded also.

The testimony of the Queen was even given to the "famous and clean living of her clerks," in the hope of gaining preferment for them, which she urgently besought of some persons, who, had they been willing, could have granted her request. Nay, she could not, without difficulty, obtain for a lay servant even a poor servile appointment. All this disloyalty and indifference to the Queen's authority exhibit the aspect of the times, and betoken a season approaching of conflicts and rebellion.

In the correspondence of Queen Margaret no mention is made of her personal trials nor her difficulties. Her letters† are not on affairs of state, nor at all political. In some of them she speaks of the money owing to her; also of her wishes to be exempted from the dues of the customs on her imported finery; while in

\* This letter was written soon after the Queen's marriage. The cordwainers had only lately been incorporated.

† Many of the Queen's letters were dated from Windsor, and from Pleshy, a few from Eltham. The dates of the remainder have not been preserved.

others she writes about her parks, the care of her deer, and of her bloodhounds.

One of these was addressed to the "Parker of Ware," and from this letter it would appear that when it was written the Queen was on terms of friendship with the Earl of Salisbury,\* and that the condescension was mutual. This earl, although favouring in secret the Duke of York, did not openly espouse his cause until the year 1455. It was probably soon after the marriage of Margaret, and the assignment of her dower, (in which the castle of Hertford was included,) that she wrote as follows:—

"By the Queen,

"Wel beloved, for as much as we knowe "verily that oure cousin, therl of Salisbury, wol be "right well content and pleased that, at our resorting "unto our castell of Hertford, we take our disporte "and recreation in his parke of Ware; we embolding "us therof, desire and pray you that the game there "be spared, kepte and cherished for the same entent, "without suffering eny other personne there to hunte, "or have shet (*shot or shooting*) cource, or other "disporte, in destroing or amentissement (*diminution*) "of the game above-said, until (such) tyme (as) ye "have other commandment from our said cousin in "that behalf. As we trust you," &c.†

The number of Queen Margaret's letters dated from Pleshy, in Essex (which castle formed part of her dower, with the manor belonging thereto), leads to the conjecture that this was a favourite residence to which the Queen resorted for seclusion.‡

\* The father of the Earl of Warwick.

† Letters of Queen Margaret, edited by Cecil Monro.

‡ Pleshy was formerly called "Castell de Placeto," and was the abode for centuries of the lords high constables of England. The village, eight miles from Chelmsford, is now only distinguished by its ancient castle. There is, however, one space of ground, on which are some fine trees

1452.  
Holinshed.

A Council was called to meet at Westminster,\* for the purpose of hearing the accusations of the two Dukes, who mutually charged each other with many crimes and offences. Somerset, strongly suspecting the part which Richard, Duke of York, shortly after adopted, earnestly entreated the ministers to compel his adversary to acknowledge his purpose; and, after having thus convicted him of treason, to execute justice on him, and on his children; intending by the destruction of the Duke, and his heirs, to suppress rebellion amongst the people, and to restore peace to the kingdom. The certainty that York not only aimed at his own life, but also at that of the king, and that he aspired to the crown, caused Somerset to become vehement in his solicitations, and he even prayed that God would not permit this enemy of his king and country long to escape the hand of justice.†

Had the advice of Somerset been followed, the Duke of York would have been tried and executed; but the merciful Henry shrunk from the idea of shedding the blood of a cousin: his own word had been pledged for his safety, also the public faith was engaged; and the Duke's death at this time would have seemed rather the gratification of the revenge of Somerset than effected to secure the peace of the country.‡ Many things were in the Duke's favour, and seemed to set forth his innocence; of these were, first, his coming voluntarily to the King, unsupported by his followers; and, secondly, his humble submission, and reasonable demands for himself and for the people; which argued that he did not aspire to the crown.

situated between the rampart, called "the mounds," and the church, which still retains the name of "the Queen's garden."

\* This council was adjourned from Westminster to Reading, on account of the plague.

† Hall; Holinshed; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Mag. Britannica.

‡ Sandford; Lingard.

After deliberating on these points, Queen Margaret and her ministers determined to release the Duke, although the private interests of the House of Lancaster demanded the sacrifice of his life; indeed it is not improbable that the subsequent misfortunes incidental to this reign might have been prevented, had this nobleman been punished for his first revolt.\* To secure themselves as much as possible from any future designs on the part of the Duke of York, the Queen and her Council compelled him to take an oath "never again to appear in arms against his sovereign, but to be his faithful and obedient subject throughout life." This oath was taken in St. Paul's Cathedral, in the presence of the King, the Bishop of Winchester, and most of the nobility; it was also taken at Westminster, Coventry, and other places. After all this, the Duke was liberated, and retired to his castle of Wigmore.†

Somerset, now without a rival, continued in high favour at court.‡

At this time it was resolved to make an effort for the recovery of Guienne. The people of this province had only submitted to the King of France because the English had neglected to send them relief; and, as they yielded so unwillingly, it was not surprising that they should endeavour to free themselves from the yoke. The French army had no sooner quitted that province, than the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, with the principal lords of Guienne, determined to revolt to their former governors, provided that they would assist them; and they dismissed some ambassadors to London to represent their case.

This seemed a flattering prospect to the English for

\* Rapin.

† Holinshed; Hall; Sandford; Stow; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Lond. Chron.; Lingard; Hume; Rapin; Henry; Birch's Illust. Persons of Great Britain.

‡ Pol. Vergil.

1452.  
Rapin;  
Paston  
Letters.



regaining their lost authority; and the Queen and the ministers still hoped to retrieve their credit with the people by the success of this enterprise.

Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, (one of England's most courageous generals,) was dismissed to France, with an army of 7,000 men, to reconquer this province. This general, although about eighty years of age, engaged with the utmost alacrity in this expedition, for his country's honour. He speedily embarked with his troops, having assurances of further supplies to be sent after him; and, on his arrival on the Continent, lost no time in prosecuting the war. The day after he landed he entered the city of Bourdeaux, one of the gates being opened to him by the citizens who commanded it; and so unexpected was this blow to the French garrisons, that they could not even effect their escape. The Earl of Shrewsbury quickly regained several of the towns of Guienne; but the approach of winter put a stop to his conquests at a time when he was in a fair way for recovering the whole of this province.

1453.  
Rapin;  
Holinshead;  
Lingard;  
Hume;  
Pennant.

The following spring, the King of France, (who had been engaged in punishing an offence offered him by the Dauphin,) sent two of his generals, with an army of 10,000 men, to oppose the English. The Earl of Clermont followed with the rest of the French troops. Chaloin and Chastillon were besieged, and vigorously defended by their garrisons. The French, through fear of the Earl of Shrewsbury, whose long experience and courage they well knew, adopted some expedients to which they seldom had recourse.

Lord Talbot considering that should the Earl of Clermont unite his forces with those of the generals who preceded him, their numbers would so far exceed his own that a defeat would be inevitable, determined to prevent this by a bold attack. He drew out all his army, and leaving Bourdeaux, presented himself before

the enemy's camp. Here he fell upon them with a force and energy which had only been witnessed upon the field of Agincourt, or in similar battles. At first, the French were repulsed and driven to their camp, when, the English pressing on to complete their victory, they were attacked in their rear and compelled to halt by a troop of the enemy's horse; this gave the French an opportunity to recover themselves, and turned the fate of the battle.

The brave Lord Talbot was wounded in the thigh, and his horse killed under him. Turning to his son who fought by his side, this nobleman exclaimed,—“Leave me, my son, our enemies have gained the day; there be no shame to you in flying, for it is thy first battle;” but the young man thought not of any future services he might render to his country, and disdained an ignoble flight, preferring to lose his life along with his respected parent, and he was soon after slain. Lord Talbot was so disfigured by his wounds that his body, when borne from the field of battle, could not be recognised, and even an English herald, who came to seek him, hesitated on being shown the corpse; but at last he identified him by putting his finger in his mouth, and ascertaining by the deficiency of a tooth; then, indeed, the faithful servant yielded to an excess of grief. Upon the death of their general, the English were overpowered by numbers, and completely routed. They are said to have lost 2,000 men; but the death of the noble veteran, whose valour and skill supported their hope, was much more deplored. Lord Talbot had been twenty years in the King's service abroad, and had been rewarded by many signal honours. He was buried at Rouen, but his remains were afterwards removed to Whitchurch in Shropshire.

To complete the successes of the French, the Ear'

of Clermont arrived after the battle. Bourdeaux and all the other English cities were successively besieged, and surrendered, until the whole province fell again into the hands of King Charles, and the English were driven out, never again to return.

The unfortunate termination of this war took from the English every hope of the recovery of Guienne. Calais and Guisnes now only remained in their possession of all that fair portion of France which they had once held.\*

1453.

In this year, 1453, King Henry, who was always a weak monarch, and unable to hold the reins of government, fell dangerously ill. His disease, (which possibly he inherited from his maternal grandfather, Charles VI. of France,) was a severe malady of the brain, attended with total aberration of reason. So much was the natural imbecility of King Henry increased, that he could not even preserve the semblance of his royal dignity. He was so much afflicted that he appeared to be deranged, and was conveyed by the Queen, by slow degrees, from Clarendon, where he was staying, to Westminster.

The distressing condition of this monarch occasioned the prorogation of Parliament, and the Duke of York was recalled into the Cabinet.† Henry's acute sensibility and tendency to fever of the brain, had been too much disturbed and excited by the turmoil of the late public events; and under the difficulties he had had to contend with, his mental and bodily powers alike gave way, and left but little hope of his recovery.

The situation of Queen Margaret at this time, when she was expecting to become a mother, must have

\* Holinshed; Hall; Baker; Lond. Chron; Speed; Stow; Monfaucon; Barante; Rapin; Andrew's Great Britain; Henry; Phillips's Shrewsbury; John Rous; Pennant; Monstrelet.

† Baker; Sandford; Stow; Hume; Lingard; Hallam; W. of Worcester.

been most painful. The Duke of York was enjoying the supreme authority. The people were still discontented at the ineffectual attempts to recover their foreign possessions, and they blamed their Queen and her ministers, as if it were in their power to effect impossibilities.

The grievances of the nation were much augmented by the Duke of York, who, taking advantage of the King's incapacity and of the people's dissatisfaction, hastened to assert his title, which he was still more than ever resolved to maintain, since the oath which he had so lately taken was regarded by him only as a political expedient, by which he had succeeded to extricate himself from imminent peril.\*

During the late war in Guienne, the Queen had lost another of her best and earliest friends in Lord Talbot, who had, with his lady, joined in the escort of his fair sovereign, when she came from her native land to espouse King Henry. This noble warrior, (who had terminated his career in France like a hero,) was no less the sincere friend of Margaret, the polite courtier, and the enlightened peer of England. Highly intellectual and of refined taste, he was able to appreciate the talents and acquirements of his royal mistress, and, gratified on beholding her fondness for the arts, he presented to her a magnificent volume of illuminated manuscript.†

In this gift to the Queen, his own taste, and acquaintance with literature and the arts are also admirably displayed; and his dedicatory lines to Queen Margaret bear satisfactory evidence of his admiration of her abilities and accomplishments. He asks of her "to explain to his lord, the King, anything that may appear difficult to understand in the book; for," he

\* Hume; Henry; Rapin; Monfaucon.

† This MS. is still preserved in the British Museum.

adds, "though you speak English so well, you have not forgotten your French."

The illuminated title-page of this costly work exhibits a stately hall, in which the Queen, seated beside King Henry, and surrounded by their courtiers, is receiving from Lord Talbot his magnificent folio. In the hall is represented a rich oriel behind the royal seat, over which is a vaulted ceiling, groined, and painted blue, with golden stars; the long lancet-shaped windows are rounded at the top. From pillar to pillar is extended an arras of gold and colours, with the royal arms in checkers, forming the back-ground of the royal seat. The King and Queen are both arrayed in regal costume; the right hand of Margaret being locked in Henry's hand. The Queen wears a royal crown upon her head, from beneath which her pale golden-coloured hair flows in graceful profusion over her back and shoulders, and her pale purple mantle is fastened around the bust with bands of gold and gems. Her dress, beneath the mantle, is of furred *cote-hardi*. Margaret appears thus portrayed in the youth and beauty of her twentieth year, uniting the royal majesty to her own genuine loveliness. In this highly-finished picture Lord Talbot kneels before her with his offering; his faithful dog attending him. Queen Margaret's emblem, the daisy flower, is abundantly scattered over the title-page, also clustered round her armorial bearings, and appears in every corner of the pages of this valued manuscript. Another ornament is the Queen's initial, a crowned M., around which is the garter with its motto. A striking feature in the picture, and a novel one, is the appearance of the Queen's ladies in their newly adopted attire, viz., heart-shaped caps. They were made of a roll wreathed with gold and gems, and formed into a turban over a close caul of gold cloth, or net, brought to a point, low in front, and

rising behind the head. King Henry's nobles are crowded to the right of their sovereign, clothed in full surtouts of whole colours, and trimmed with fur. They have black caps, or their hair cut close to the head, the custom prevalent in time of war, when the growth of the hair was prevented by the pressure of the helmet.

The Earl of Shrewsbury has, in this unique work, paid another compliment to the Queen, by portraying Queen Olympias with *her* features, and arrayed in her royal robes. The kirtle of the Queen of Macedonia is also powdered with the daisy flower. At the close of this volume, an allegorical piece represents the Queen and the chief ladies of her court as the Virtues; Margaret, having on her crown and purple robe, is characterized as Faith, and King Henry as Honour.

The death of Lord Talbot was felt as a national misfortune, for the people had honoured him as the greatest general of his time. His noble character, and literary merits, had also gained him the high esteem of Queen Margaret and her court, who especially deplored his loss.

The ill success of the English army in France increased the distress and gloom of this period, and the clamorous Yorkists began to be regarded as enemies of the King. Still heavier trials than these awaited the Queen, who, in the spring of this year, had to mourn the loss of her beloved and devoted mother, with whom, in her early years, she had shared in difficulties and dangers, and learned the lessons of adversity.\*

Isabella of Lorraine died on the 28th of February, 1453, after a lingering and painful illness, in which she received the soothing care and attentions of her eldest daughter Yolande, and her husband, Ferri de

\* Queen Margaret's mourning weeds were blue, perhaps of that dark, deep shade called French black.

Vaudemont. Queen Margaret, although not able to share these duties, was deeply afflicted, and sympathized in the grief of René, who for a time appeared inconsolable.

If it be true that highly gifted intellects are apt to grasp at the probable future, and to guide their actions thereby, we may suppose that Queen Margaret, observing the passing clouds which oft overshadowed the reasoning faculties of her husband, formed some anticipation, that by a more heavy oppression he might be visited. She felt the urgent need of judging and acting for him when he was unable to decide on public affairs which perplexed and excited him. She therefore adopted the course of leading him to pass his time in peaceful occupations and amusements. Some have blamed this prudence, saying these pursuits were more suitable for a monk than for a king. Yet the Queen evinced in this her gentleness and affection for her consort no less than the correctness of her judgment.

It was during this unhappy position of affairs that Queen Margaret gave birth to her only child, Prince Edward. This summer the Queen had been residing at the Palace of Westminster, and here it was that her son, the heir of King Henry's now disputed throne, first saw the light, on the 13th of October, (St. Edward's day,) in 1453. The Queen was attended by the Duchess of Somerset, to whom she was much attached.

The nation rejoiced greatly at the birth of their prince. The little infant was baptized in Westminster Abbey, the ceremony being performed, with great splendour, by the pious William Waynfleet, Bishop of Winchester,\* who was King Henry's most beloved

1453.  
Holinshed;  
Sandford;  
Pol. Vergil;  
Hume;  
Lingard;  
Rapin.

\* This prelate immediately afterwards confirmed the infant prince, according to the Roman Catholic rites.

friend and counsellor; and the Duke of Somerset, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Duchess of Buckingham were the sponsors. The font was arrayed in russet cloth of gold, and surrounded by a blaze of tapers. The "Crysome" or king's mantle, in which the royal babe was received after his immersion, with other accessories, cost the sum of £554 16s. 8d. This mantle was very rich with embroidery of pearls and precious stones, and was lined with a fine white linen wrapper, to prevent the brocade and gems from coming in contact with the delicate skin of the newborn prince.\*

On the 18th of November the ceremony of the churching of the Queen took place at the Palace of Westminster, a writ of summons under the privy seal having been issued to command the attendance of ladies of the highest rank in England. On this occasion were present ten duchesses, eight countesses, one viscountess, and sixteen baronesses.†

King Henry was still suffering under his severe mental malady, and in such a state of aberration of mind that he could not notice his little son. The condition of the King, at this time, is portrayed in an interesting passage in a letter addressed to the Duke of Norfolk, as follows:—"As touchyng tythynges, "please it you to wite, that at the Princes comyng to "Wyndesore, the Duke of Buk' toke hym in his armes, "and presented hym to the Kyng in godely wise, be- "sechyng the Kyng to blisse him; and the Kyng gave "no maner answere. Natheles the Duk abode stille "wit the Prince by the Kyng; and whan he coude "no maner answere have, the Queene come in, and "toke the Prince in hir armes, and presented hym in

\* Issue Rolls; Fabian; Milles's Catalogue.

† Five hundred and forty "brown sable backs" adorned the Queen's churching-robe. See Appendix, p. 435.

1453.

"like fourme as the Duke had done, desiryng that he  
"shuld blisse it; but alle their labour was in veyne,  
"for they departed thens witout out any answeere or  
"countenance, sauynge onely that ones he loked on  
"the Prince, and caste downe his eyene agen witout  
"any more."\*

Previous to the birth of her son, the King had presented Queen Margaret with a token of regard, viz., a jewel, called a *demy ceynt*, bought by him of his jeweller, John Wynne of the city of London, and as he says, "delyverede by oure commandment unto oure  
"moost dere and moost entierly belovede wyf, the  
"quene."†

The royal infant had received from his mother the name of Edward, a name much dearer to the country than that of his father and grandfather. The choice of this name showed the wisdom and policy of Queen Margaret; still seeking, if it were possible, to ingratiate herself with the people. The little Prince was carried to Windsor, and there, on Pentecost Sunday, 1454, he was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, in the presence of the Queen, the Chancellor, the Duke of Buckingham, and many lords. To these titles were afterwards added the castle and lordship of Buelt and Montgomery; which, it would appear, belonged to this prince by right, but had been omitted in his former patent, through the interference of the Duke of York.‡

It may be presumed by the provision made at this period in favour of the young Prince that the recovery of the King was hopeless. What a season of anxiety

\* Egerton MSS.

† As long after as the year 1456, the King writes from the castle of Eccleshall to command payment of 200*l.* for the above gift.

‡ These creations are placed by some of our historians in the year 1457, three years later; but a letter in the Paston Collection proves this to be erroneous.

for the unfortunate Queen! We are told, indeed, that her child awakened in his mother's breast the fondest affection, but it was united to the deepest anxiety; and truly, it was his destiny to cause her many griefs.\* From his infancy, however, this prince gave presage of a most excellent disposition, which, in after years, was confirmed, and, as he arrived at years of discretion, he advanced in amiability and virtue.

The birth of Prince Edward gave rise immediately to some very unjust and unfavourable reports, in which the malice of the Queen's enemies was but too apparent. Some individuals boldly asserted that this child was not the King's son. Others, while they maintained this opinion, and called him supposititious, acknowledged that they had no other foundation for their opinion than the improbability of the Queen having a son, after having passed nine years of her wedded life without having any children.†

The legitimacy of the Prince was, however, soon established by the concurrent voice of the people; and while these remarks were circulated by the enemies of Queen Margaret, to the injury of her reputation, others, more liberally disposed, who questioned not the honour or virtue of their Queen, regarded the birth of her child as auspicious of better fortune; hoping, that having a son and heir, Queen Margaret would feel a more lively interest in the welfare of the nation. She had, in fact, become the object of popular dislike, if not of hatred, throughout the kingdom, and was universally considered as too well affected towards France.‡ Had this last imputation been true, it is most certain that Queen Margaret must have incurred the penalty of her

\* Sandford; Toplis; Milles's Catalogue; Paston Letters; Nugæ Antiquæ; Stow; Fabian; Howel's Med. Hist. Ang.; Pol. Vergil; Hallam; Hume; Birch's Illust.; Ormerod's Chester.

† Holinshed; Hall; Fabian; Rapin; Lingard; Henry.

‡ Rapin; Lingard.



deviation from rectitude; for the war with France was no sooner over than the active and discontented spirit of the English nobility broke out in a long and bloody civil contest, and all that courage and energy, (which had formerly gained them the brightest laurels in a foreign land,) were productive only of the most pernicious results, when employed in desolating their own country to gratify their personal resentments.\* Had the birth of the Prince of Wales happened earlier, it might have contributed, perhaps, to calm the public mind; which by this time had been prepared, by the insinuations of the Yorkists, to receive the Duke of York, if not as their king at this period, at least to acknowledge him as Henry's successor. This hope was destroyed by the inopportune claimant, the infant Edward, and Queen Margaret's enemies industriously circulated doubts of the legitimacy of her child, assailing her with calumnies which could not fail to be impressed on the minds of the people, who were so ill-disposed towards her.†

During the late events Richard, Duke of York, was staying in the city of York. It was reported that Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, was also there covertly, and the writer (a Lancastrian) adds, "God send him good counsel hereafter."

The Duke of York remained in that city until after the feast of Corpus Christi. He paid great attention to the religious solemnities, which gratified the people, and gained him much popularity.

The characteristics of this Duke had been displayed both in Ireland and in France, viz., his valour and ability, his prudent conduct and mild disposition; and these had gained him many friends. He was, besides, extremely cautious, and even betrayed some fear in his

\* Holinshed.

† Fabian.

subsequent proceedings against the King.\* Had not the death of Gloucester paved the way for the ambitious schemes of York, it seems probable that the latter would never have asserted his right to the crown; and, having now done so, he encountered so many obstacles, that he might have been diverted from his purpose, had not the general discontent of the people encouraged him to proceed.

The repeated indisposition of the King had caused great vacillation in the minds of the people, for although they respected their sovereign, and were attached to him for his meek and amiable disposition, they could not but acknowledge that he was only the shadow of a king; and that he lent his name to anything proposed to him by the Queen and her ministers. These ministers, by the bad use they made of their authority, had lost their influence and respect with the people, who loudly complained of Somerset's choice of men devoid of principle and talent, to fill the offices of state, and even the Council-chamber. They went so far as to suspect him of a design to suppress religion and morality altogether, and of not allowing the correction of the abuses and disorders of the country.† The loss of France had irritated the people, and while the King was thought to be incapable of retrieving the honour of the nation, the Queen was considered too zealous for the interests of the French, and ambitious of monopolizing all power; finally, that Somerset was a greedy minister, eager to enrich himself at the public expense.

Such was the condition of the public mind at this period. No wonder that they should listen to the claims of York, and that the birth of the Prince, by depriving this Duke of his right as heir apparent,

1453.  
Rapin.

\* Paston Letters; Hume.

† Rapin.

should increase the irritation of all parties, and exclude every hope of his peaceable succession to the throne.\*

The Duke of York perceived the advantage he derived from the disposition of the people, and resolved to insinuate himself into their affections, under the plea of redressing their grievances, by obliging the King to appoint more competent ministers. He was convinced that could he succeed in excluding his enemies from the Cabinet, he should be enabled to establish his own friends there, and eventually triumph.

Many of the nobility were predisposed to any new arrangement, through their dislike to the ministry. The Duke, therefore, to effect his purpose, engaged several lords in his interest, under pretence of driving the Duke of Somerset away from court; for he was envied and hated by all. He next stirred up the people against his rival, and tried to lessen the credit of his sovereign, by reminding the people of his incapacity to govern.†

The unfortunate Henry was indeed totally unfitted by his illness to assume even the semblance of regal power. He lay senseless, and was unable either to walk or to stand. Yet the hope of his recovery sustained the Queen in this trying hour whilst absorbed in maternal cares, and in watchful anxiety over the afflicting malady of her husband. Amidst the political changes of this period Margaret took no part. She would not risk the safety of her child by any attempt to seize the reins of government, but she acted with prudence and dignity. She maintained her state as Queen, held courts and audiences, but having no longer the King's authority to support her, she was

\* Monfaucon; Hume; Rapin.

† Holinshed; Hall; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Rapin.

compelled to yield to the torrent, and to suffer her enemies to govern as they pleased.\*

A graphic and interesting account has been afforded us in a letter from the pen of a Yorkist. He speaks of party gatherings about this time, and of individual movements; unconnectedly he speaks of both factions; it is, as it were, the history of *one* eventful year (1454) preceding the commencement of the civil wars. Anxiety for personal safety, or alarm for the public weal, seems to be, on every heart, portrayed. It would be difficult to fix the date to each of these particulars, but as a whole they exhibit a period symptomatic of the coming troubles, and show the misrule of the Yorkists and the confusion of the Lancastrians.

1454.

The purport of this letter is as follows:—

“At the beginning of the year 1454, we find the Duke of Buckingham giving orders for 2,000 bands or scarfs, distinguished by the Stafford knot; men were at a loss to know for what purpose.”†

“The Cardinal had commanded all his servants to be prepared with all such habiliments of war as they knew how to use, in the defence of his person.”‡

“The Earl of Wiltshire and Lord Bonville have made known, in Taunton, in Somersetshire, that every man who will join them, and serve them, shall have provision daily so long as they abide with them. The Duke of Exeter hath been to Tuxforth, near Doncaster, in the north country, and there Lord Egremont met him, and those two were sworn together; and the Duke is come home again.”

“The Earl of Wiltshire, the Lord Beaumont,

\* Holinshed; Lond. Chron.; Rapin; Hume; Henry.

† Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, was a firm Lancastrian, and in attendance on both King and Queen.

‡ Cardinal Kemp was of great age, and the burden of his charge of affairs in Church and State too heavy. His active measures in favour of the Queen might have caused him to fear an attack on his life.

"Panynges, Clyfford, Egremond, and Bonvile, are getting all the forces they can to come hither with them."

"Tresham, Joseph, Daniel, and Trevilian, have made a bill to the Lords, desiring to have a garrison kept at Windsor for the safeguard of the King and Prince, and that they may have money for wages of them, and other, that shall keep the garrison. Thorp of the Exchequer, articulet the fast against the Duke of York, but what his articles were is unknown. The Duke of Somerset's herbergeour hath taken up all the lodgings that might be had near the Tower, in Thames Street, Mark Lane, St. Katherine's, Tower Hill, and thereabout."

"The Queen has made a bill of five articles, which she desires to be granted her. First, that she desires to have the whole rule of this land; the second, that she may appoint the Chancellor, Treasurer, Privy Seal, and all other officers of this land, with sheriffs, and all other officers that the King should make; the third is, that she may give all the bishoprics of this land, and all other benefices belonging to the King's gift; the fourth is, that she may have sufficient livelihood assigned her for the King, the Prince, and herself; the fifth article was omitted."

In continuance, the writer describes the coming, on the 25th January, of the Duke of York to London, with his friends, Salisbury, Warwick, the Earls of March, Richmond, and Pembroke, each one of them with a formidable array of armed retainers. Next, he adds;—"Every one who is of the opinion of the Duke of Somerset makes himself ready to be as strong as he can make him."

Then follows a caution to York to watch and beware of the snares of his enemies; for, he adds, "the Duke of Somerset has spies going in every lord's house of this land; some go as brothers, some as

"shipmen and otherwise, which make known to him all that they see or hear relating to the Duke; therefore," he repeats, "beware and watch."\*

According to the information conveyed in this letter,† the Duke of York made his appearance in the metropolis, accompanied by his most powerful adherents and friends, each of them bringing a numerous retinue. The Court took alarm; and to prevent dissensions and warfare, which they apprehended, the Queen reluctantly consented to admit the Duke of York, and the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, to the Council.

The Parliament which had been summoned to meet at Reading on the 12th of November, 1453, was, in consequence of the King's illness, adjourned until the 11th of the February following, and again until the 14th of the same month in 1454, when the meeting was appointed to be held at Westminster.

Previous to the events of this year, 1454, York had taken the resolution to remove the unfavourable impressions inspired by his former conduct, by adopting a mild and submissive course, at the same time seeking to win the public favour. His willingness to disband his troops, and his oath of fidelity to the King, were, he well knew, likely to remove any suspicions of his evil intentions.‡

The King's malady was at its height in the year 1453, and the government was then chiefly administered by the aged Chancellor Kemp. It is true Queen Margaret herself exercised the regal authority in the

\* Egerton MSS.

† The object of the writer appears to have been to convey information privately, which had been collected by several persons belonging to the household of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, one of the lords of the Yorkists' party, that their master might be acquainted with the events passing in London, and other places, before his arrival in the capital.

‡ Rapin.

name of her husband, but the counsels to which she deferred were those of the Chancellor Kemp, and of the Duke of Somerset.

The former had, as the Queen knew, formed one of the Cabinet before her marriage to King Henry, whose unlimited confidence he had enjoyed.

Queen Margaret, however, lost this acute and faithful counsellor just when the political horizon of this country began to be obscured, and the threatening storm rendered his services more than ever necessary to his royal mistress.

1454. In February, 1454, the Duke of York opened the session in the name of the King, with the title of Lieutenant.

The death of the Chancellor Kemp, who was also Archbishop of Canterbury, occurred on the 24th of March, at his palace, Lambeth. A deputation forthwith waited on the King at Windsor, to convey the intelligence, and to consult his royal pleasure in appointing persons to fill these high offices; but, upon their return, they reported that although they had three times earnestly solicited an interview, they could not obtain it; nor did they receive any other reply than that "the King was sick."

This evidence of King Henry's inability to govern was sufficient. The Duke of York was created "Protector" of the kingdom during the pleasure of the King, or until the young Prince should arrive at years of discretion. This Act also granted to the Duke, as "Protector," a salary of 2,000 marks annually.\*

The Duke and his two friends, Salisbury and Warwick, had no sooner taken their seats in Parliament than they carried all before them. The first act of Richard of York was to proceed boldly

\* Milles's Catalogue; Lond. Chron.; Hume; Hallam's Middle Ages Henry; Lingard.

against the Duke of Somerset, and to have him arrested. This took place even in the Queen's chamber, from whence he was hurried to the Tower, where he was confined during the Christmas season. An accusation was also laid against him in the House of Peers, charging him with the loss of Caen. This impeachment, however, was not prosecuted, no sufficient evidence against him being adduced.

At this time the Duke of Norfolk distinguished himself as one of the enemies of Somerset; he rose in the house and made an artful and eloquent harangue against him. Somerset was deprived of his government of Calais; of which place, (always very important in times of trouble as a refuge,) the Duke of York took possession himself, for the period of seven years.\*

After these abrupt and decided measures of her enemies, and the disrespect shown to Queen Margaret, in the seizure of Somerset in her chamber, it is highly improbable that the articles, (alluded to in the preceding letter,) which she had drawn up, if presented at all, would be listened to by the Lords. In like manner, the petitions of her party must also have fallen to the ground.

The proceedings of this session, so much under the influence of the Protector, are difficult to trace. Many lords absented themselves, and were compelled by heavy fines to attend.

It was decided in the Parliament, held by the Duke of York, on the 15th of March, 1454, that a medical Commission should be appointed, of three physicians and two surgeons, to watch the health of the King, and to attend on him. Those who were chosen for this office were John Arundell, John Faceby, and William

1454.

\* Sandford; Holinshed; Baker; Hall; Paston Letters; Lond. Chron.; Stow; W. of Worcester; Rapin; Lingard; Henry; Hume.

Hatclyff,\* physicians, with Robert Wareyn and John Marchall, surgeons, who were empowered to act according to their own discretion and the exigency of the case.†

1454. At the meeting of Parliament on the 2nd of April, the King's three Great Seals, one of gold and the other two of silver, were brought in a wooden chest, and delivered by the Duke of York to the newly appointed Chancellor, Richard, Earl of Salisbury, who from this time became, (the first so styled) *Lord Chancellor of England*.

After conferring this distinction on his brother-in-law, the Protector next favoured the succession of Thomas Bouchier to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, at the same time nominating William Gray, Bishop of Ely in the room of Bouchier, the new Primate. Five noblemen were also selected from the two contending parties, to be intrusted with the custody of the seals for seven years; these were the Earls of Shrewsbury, Worcester, Wiltshire, and Salisbury, and the Lord Stourton.

During this period of the rule of the Yorkists, the Commons, steadfast in the cause of the King, vainly petitioned for the restoration of their Speaker, Thomas Thorp, who had been thrown into prison by the Duke of York.‡ The latter had, while in chief authority, prepared in the palace of the Bishop of Durham, habiliments of war; and these arms had been seized by Thorp at the command of the King, upon which the Duke brought his action against Thorp, and upon trial recovered 1,000*l.* damages; and the unfortunate Speaker was committed to the Fleet prison in execution.

\* One of the Foundation Fellows of Cambridge University, and chief physician to the King.

† Nicholas's Acts of the Privy Council.

‡ Stow; W. of Worcester; Rot. Parl.; Rapin; Lingard; Henry.

The whole House pleaded for him, urging his privilege by common custom, time out of memory of man, and "ever afore these times used in every of the Parliaments of the King's noble progenitors."

The Duke of York, however, declared in the House of Lords that Thorp, having been cast in an action of trespass for carrying away his goods, lay now in prison in execution, where he, (the Duke,) prayed that he might remain. This had the force of a command, for the Duke had great power; and, therefore, while the Commons, overlooking their grievances, appointed a new Speaker, Thorp was detained in prison notwithstanding his privilege, and was compelled to pay the exorbitant damages required of him. He contrived to escape to the King, but, being retaken, was sent to Newgate, and afterwards to the Marshalsea. This Baron Thorp was a faithful adherent of Henry VI., and was especially employed by him, both in peace and war, against the headstrong lords. He became thus the inveterate enemy of the Duke of York, who was much swayed from his usual disposition in procuring from the Commons so unwarrantable a determination against him; but at this time the country was fast verging on civil war.\*

The Lancastrians had contrived to maintain the rights of their King. They declared that the title of "Protector" carried with it no authority, merely giving to the Duke precedence in the Council, and the command of the army in time of war; that it might be revoked at the King's pleasure, and should not affect the rights of the young Prince of Wales, who had been created Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester, and, when of age, the Protectorate would devolve upon him, should the illness of the King continue.†

\* Baker; Stow; Hallam; Townsend's House of Commons.

† Rymer; Rot. Parl.; Lingard.



During the imprisonment of the Duke of Somerset, and the King's indisposition, Queen Margaret had been compelled to yield to the rival power; but Henry's malady was not permanent. He recovered his health, and the use of his reason, about Christmas, and was conveyed to London.

The interview between the Queen and this monarch, upon his recovery, has been thus described in one of the Paston Letters:—

"On the Monday afternoon the Queen came to him, and brought my Lord Prince with her; and then he asked what the Prince's name was, and the Queen told him, Edward; and then he held up his hand, and thanked God thereof. And he said, 'he never knew him till that time, nor wist not what was said to him, nor wist not where he had been, whilst he had been sick, till now;' and he asked, who were godfathers? and the Queen told him, and he was well apaid (*content*).

"And she told him that the Cardinal was dead; and he said, he never knew thereof till that time; and he said, one of the wisest lords in this land was dead.\* And my Lord of Winchester,† and my Lord of Saint John's‡ were with him on the morrow after Twelfth Day, and he spake to them as well as ever he did; and when they came out, they wept for joy.

"And he saith, he is in charity with all the world; and so he would all the lords were. And now he saith matins of Our Lady, and Evensong, and heareth his mass devoutly."

"Written at Greenwich, on Thursday after Twelfth-Day,

"By your Cousin,

"EDMUND CLERC."

"10th January, 1455.

"33 Henry VI."

\* This was John Kemp, whom the King commended. † William Waynfleet.  
‡ Robert Botill, lord prior of St. John of Jerusalem, in Middlesex.

This brief and curious account of King Henry's illness is interesting as coming from himself. His total loss of memory, to which he alludes, commenced about October 11th, in 1453, and continued until Christmas, 1454. This letter also exhibits the King's true character for charity, meekness, and discretion. The writer of this epistle, who had some appointment at court, was then staying at Greenwich, and had therefore good opportunity for observation.

No sooner was the King's health restored, than Queen Margaret instigated him to revoke the Duke of York's commission, and to resume his own proper authority; with which the King complied, at the same time treating the Duke with his accustomed kindness. Thus ended the "Protectorate."\* The late inactivity of the Queen had lulled the Duke of York into an imaginary security. He did not expect to be thus suddenly deprived of his newly-acquired power: his affairs were not, however, sufficiently advanced to give him authority to dispute this point, although it was evident that the King's resumption of power was only to intrust the government into the hands of the Queen.

Margaret, on recovering her former influence, immediately released the Duke of Somerset from the Tower, the Duke of Buckingham offering bail for him, together with the Earl of Wiltshire, and two other knights; but these were, a month after, freed from their engagement. Somerset had been accused and apprehended by orders of the Council, and it was therefore considered that the King had no power to release him without consulting that body; but no regard was paid to this opinion; and, without having been submitted to any trial, the Duke took his seat in

\* Sandford; Baker; Paston Letters; Carte; Lingard; Rapin; Henry; Milles's Catalogue.

the Cabinet, where the Queen, supported by this favourite minister, regained her former importance, and York and his party were no longer able to preserve any authority.\*

The enmity between the Dukes of York and Somerset, upon this, rose to a great pitch, and some of the more prudent of the members exerted their interest to reconcile them; nor did this appear impracticable, the object of both parties being to preserve the good opinion of the people, which they could not hope for should they suffer their ambitious motives to become apparent. These noblemen consented to submit to arbitration; and agreed that whichever refused to yield to this decision should forfeit to his rival the sum of 20,000 marks, and that the award should be given before the 20th of June. Eight persons were chosen as arbitrators, viz., the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Ely, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Wiltshire and Worcester, Viscount Beaumont, and the Lords Cromwell and Stourton. These all met at Coventry, and held their controversy in the presence of the King. It was represented, meanwhile, to this monarch by the Duke of Somerset, that he had been deprived of his government of Calais upon an accusation against him, which had not been proved; and that it was still detained from him unjustly by the Duke of York.

With much earnestness did King Henry labour to reconcile his two irascible subjects. He now took from the Duke of York the government of Calais, and, under pretence of maintaining a neutrality between the parties, he declared that he would himself assume that government; but this arrangement proved highly displeasing to the Duke of York, who immediately, with feelings of deep resentment, retired from court.

\* Stow; Baker; Carte; Lingard; Henry.

For his personal safety he went into Wales, but his chief object was to prepare an army to enforce his claims to a throne, which he found he could not obtain by policy and address.\* The Duke had become convinced that nothing but force could displace his enemies; the Queen and Somerset having, through their influence over the King, so much the advantage. The friends of the Duke—Salisbury, Warwick, Lord Cobham, and others,—soon joined him. They had also arrived at the same conclusions, viz., that remonstrances and public accusations were ineffectual.

It was resolved, finally, that their disputes should be settled by force of arms. An army was speedily levied, and their pretext for this hostile movement was, the release of the Duke of Somerset without legal authority; a plea, they well knew, which would draw many to their standard. From his castle of Ludlow, the Duke of York addressed a letter, in February, 1455, to the bailiffs, burgesses, and commons of Shrewsbury, complaining of the misconduct of the Duke of Somerset; and setting forth his intention, viz., to remove this minister by force from the King's Council and person; and he further exhorted them to aid him in this enterprise.

1455.  
Stow.

In the march of the Duke of York towards London he was supported by the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Cobham, with all their followers, amounting to 3,000 men.

On the side of the royalists were the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, the Earls of Northumberland, Stafford, Dorset, Pembroke, and others, with an army of 8,000 men,† with the King at their head.

\* Sandford; W. of Worcester; Carte; Paston Letters; Lingard; Rapin; Hume; Henry; Phillips's Shrewsbury.

† Stow says more than 2,000.

These all encamped the night before their encounter at Watford, and the following morning entered St. Albans.\*

\* Baker ; Holinshed ; Stow ; Sandford ; Carte ; Phillips's Shrewsbury ; Howel ; Hume ; Pol. Vergil ; Rapin ; Lingard ; Henry.

## APPENDIX

### TO THE FIRST VOLUME.

(Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xi.) A.D. 1444. 22 Henry VI.

*For the Earl of Suffolk upon his scruples in the execution of the Embassy entrusted to him.*

The King to all, &c. :—

Know that, as we have commissioned our dearly beloved cousin, William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, Great Seneschall of our Household, our Ambassador, and others in his suite in our kingdom of France, to our Uncle and Adversary of France, upon certain matters touching Us, our Kingdom, our dominions and the quiet of our subjects.

And as our cousin fears to exceed the bounds of his commission as granted by Act of our Council under our own hand and Seal.

We, wishing to remove all occasion of fear and scruple from our afore-said cousin, and all doubt in the execution of our laws and commands, and every like feeling in the hearts of our subjects.

To all and every we wish to be known, in our great desire for peace, the matrimony of our person, and the quiet and tranquillity of our faithful English subjects, &c., &c.

Here follows a declaration exonerating the Ambassador and his heirs for ever and ever from any consequences resulting from the discharge of his embassy, and freeing him and his heirs from all molestation, or demands on the part of the King, his heirs or successors.

Witness the King at Westminster,  
Feb. 25.

*Mandate for the Payment of Moneys for the expenses of the Queen's journey into England.*

Henri, by the grace of God, kyng of Englande and of Fraunce,  
and lord of Irland, to the tresorere and chamberlains of  
oure Eschequier, greting,

We, by the advice ofoure counsail, have maade certain advisamentz of

dispenses and coustages that by estinacione wolde suffice for the bringing oute of our reaume of Fraunce unto oure presence of oure mooste beste beloved wyf the quene, as by ij copies of the said advyses, the whiche we sende unto you closed withinne thees, it may appere unto you more at plain. We wol therefore, by thadvis of oure saide counsail, and charge you that yedeliver, by way of apprest, unto oure welbeloved servantz Johne Breknoke and to Johne Everdone, clerks in oure householde, or to the oon of theim, whom we have assigned to entende for and aboute the said expenses, the sommes conteigned in the said cedula after the tenour of theim, to paie the same sommes after the teneure of the said advyses.

Yevene undre oure Prive Seal, at Westminster, the xix day of Augst, the yere of oure regne xxij.

BENET.

*(The Second Schedule.)*

Five barons and baronesses, each four shillings and sixpence the day, and three esquires, each at twenty-three pence the day, two valets, each at sixpence the day for ninety-one days.

The controuller at two shillings and sixpence the day, and one esquire at eighteen pence the day, two valets each at sixpence the day, for ninety-one days.

Thirteen knights, each at two shillings and sixpence the day, and six valets, each at sixpence the day, for ninety-one days.

Forty-seven esquires, each at eighteen pence the day, and one valet, each at sixpence the day, for ninety-one days.

Eighty-two valets, each at sixpence the day, for ninety-one days.

Twenty sumptermen and others, each at four pence the day, for ninety-one days.

BENET.

*On Safe Conduct to see the Coronation of the Queen.*

The King, by his letters patent to remain in force the next half year, doth take under his especial protection, safe keeping, and defence, for safe and sure conduct, William Monypeny, Esqr., and Master Donald Motmulon, Clerk, Scotsmen, and their sixteen servants, in their journey in the Kingdom of the King of England, by land or by sea, by water, on foot or on horseback, with their gold and silver in bars and wallets, and all other goods whatever, on their coming to see the solemnity of the Coronation of the Queen.

Here follows permission to come to any place within his Majesty's dominions, Territories, and Jurisdiction, to abide and to go backwards and forwards as often, and in what way they please, during the term of the

Safe Conduct, without let, hindrance, or obstruction from the servants and officers of the King.

Provided always, that they conduct themselves well and honestly towards the King and his people, and that neither by word or deed they say, or attempt anything that may tend to the prejudice of the King or people—provided always, that they do not enter into any Castle, Fortress, or fortified Town of the King, without shewing to the proper Authorities the letters of Safe Conduct.

Witness the King at Westminster,  
Dec. 5.

(Ibid.) A.D. 1445. 23 Henry VI.

*Concerning the ring with which the King was sacred on the day of his Coronation at Paris, to be remade for the marriage of the Queen, and of various presents.*

Right trusty and well-beloved,

For, as moch as oure Trusty and well beloved Squire John Merston, Tresorier of oure Chamber and Keeper of our Jewels, hath by oure special commandement delivered these jewelles under written; that is to say:—

A Ryng of Gold garnished with a fayr rubie, somtyme yeven unto us by our Bel oncle the Cardinal of Englande, with the which we were sacred in the day of our Coronation at Parys, delivered unto Matthew Philip to Breke and thereof to make another ryng for the Queen's wedding ring.

Here follows an enumeration of various articles of gold and jewellery with their prices, presents from the King to various persons, on the New Year's day previous.

A Tabulet of Gold with an Ymage of the Pite of Our Lord, Garnished with Stones and Perle, bought of Matthew Philip, and yeven unto oure bel oncle, the Duc of Gloucester, by us on Neweyere's Day last passed, price *xclib*.

A Cuppe of Golde covered and chased, bought of John Pattesley, goldsmith of London, and yeven by us to oure bel oncle the Cardinale of England, on the said Neweyere's Day, price *xclib. vijs*.

An Ouche of Gold Garnished with a Balys, a Saphyr, and a great Perle, bought of the said Mathew, and yeven by us unto the Duc of Exeter on the said Neweyere's Day, price *lx l*.

A Tabulet of Gold garnished with stones and perle, Bought of the said John Pattesley, and Yeven by Us unto the Archebishop of Canterbury on the said Neweyere's Day, price *l lib*.

A Tabulet of Gold with an Ymage of Our Lady, garnished with stonys and perle, Bought of the said John, and Yeven by Us unto the Duchesse of Buckingham on the said Neweyere's Day, price *xxxiii l. vis. viij d*.

An Ouche of Gold made in manner of a Gentil-woman, garnished with stones and perle, bought of the said Mathew, and Yeven by Us unto the Earl of Warwick on the said Neweyere's Day, price *xxx l*.

VOL. I.

E E

A Tabulet of Gold with an Ymage of St. Katerine, garnished with stonys and perle. Bought of the same Mathew and Yeven unto the Bishop of Sarum on the said Neweyere's Day, price xxvii. xiiis. and iiij d.

A Gipser of Gold, garnished with Rubies and perle, bought of the said Mathew, and Yeven by Us unto oure Cousin, the Viscount Beaumont, on the said Neweyere's Day, price xx l.

An Ouche of Gold made in manner of a parc, garnished with Stonys and Perle, and bought of the said Mathew, and Yeven by us unto the Lord of Sydeley, on the sayd Neweyere's Day, price xx l.

An Ouche, garnished with a Balys, a Saphyr, and six Perles, bought of the said Mathew, and Yeven by Us unto Sir James Fenys, Knight, on the same Neweyere's Day.

An Ouche of Gold made in manner of a Peche, garnished, bought of the said Mathew, and Yeven by Us unto Sir John Beauchamp, Knight, Steward of our Howshold, on the same Neweyere's Day.

An Ouche of Gold and in the middles a Flour de Lyes, bought of the said Mathew, and Yeven to Sir Roger Fenys, Knight, Tresorier of oure household on the same Neweyere's Day.

And an Ouche of Gold garnished with a greet Perle, a Rubie, and a Diamond playn, taken of the Stuff of our Jewellhows, and Yeven by Us unto Rose Merston on the sayd Neweyere's Day.

We wol and Charge you, that, under our Prive Seal, being in your Warde, ye do make oure Letters of Warrant sufficient and in due forme unto oure said Squire for his discharge for the deliverance of the Jewelles aforesaid, and theese our Letters shall be your Warrant.

Yeven under our Signet at our Castle of Wyndesore the xij day of January the yere of oure Regne xxiii.

Dors.

To our Right Trusty and Well beloved Clerc, Maister Adam Moleyns, Keper of oure Prive Sele.

*Concerning the jewels prepared for the Coronation of the Queen, &c., &c.*

(Ibid.) A.D. 1445. 23 Henry VI.

R.

To the Tresorer and Chamberleins, &c., Greeting.

We Wol and Charge you that ye Deliver sufficient assignement of the Half XVth Graunted unto Us by the Lay People of this oure Reaume in this oure present Parlement of Four Thousand Marc, as for Monnoye Lent unto Us in manere and fourme as foloweth; that is for to sey,

Of Two Thousand Marc to Us into cure Chambre by the Handes of John Merston, Keper of oure Jewells, for a Jewell of Saint George the whiche we have Bought of oure trusty and welbeloved Knight, William Estfeld.

And of the other Two Thousand Marc, for Two Thousand Marc the

whiche oure said Knight hath lent now unto Us in Prest Money at the Contemplacion of our moost best beloved Wief the Queene for hir comynge now unto oure Presence.

Yeven, &c., at Wyndesore the Sext Day of Aprill, the Yere, &c., xxiii.

R., &c.

To the Tresorer and Chamberleins of oure Eschequier Greeting.

We Wol and Charge you that, for such things as oure right entierly Welbeloved Wyf the Queene most necessarily have for the Solempnitee of hir Coronacion, ye Deliver, of oure Tresour, unto oure trusty and welbeloved squier John Merston, Keper of oure Jewell, a Pusan of Golde, called Ilkyngton Coler, Garnished with iv Rubees, iv greet Sapphurs, xxxii greet Perles, and liii other Perles. And also a Pectoral of Golde Garnished with Rubees, Perles, and Diamonds, and also with a greet Owche Garnished with Diamondes, Rubees, and Perles, sometyme bought of a Marchant of Couleyn for the Price of Two Thousand Marc, He as wel to Deliver the saide Pusan as the said Pectoral unto oure saide Wyf of oure Guft.

Yeven, &c., at Southwyk the xviii Day of Aprill, the Yere, &c., xxiii.

(Ibid.) A.D. 1445. 23 Henry VI.

*Concerning the attendance of the Queen to England.*

The King to all greeting:—

Be it known that we, in consideration of the great care, trouble, and expense, which our trusty and faithful Secretary, Richard Andrew, in our business, as our Ambassador, and especially in his attendance on our well-beloved Consort, on her departure from our Kingdom of France, and on her coming to our presence, has had and sustained, and also of the valuable, acceptable, and praiseworthy services which he has rendered us, and will render to us in future, in our especial favor, we have granted him One hundred pounds, to be received every year from the last past Festival of St. Michael.

To wit—Sixty Pounds from our Customs on Wool, Tan, and Skins in the port of our Town of Southampton, to be paid by the Collectors of those duties for the time being, at the Easter and Michaelmas Quarters, in equal portions of forty pounds from our Customs on Wool, Tan, and Skins, in our port of London, to be paid by the Collectors of those duties for the time being at the aforesaid periods in equal portions.

Confirming all other grants and gifts formerly made by us to the said Richard, all and every statute, act, ordonance, restriction, on any cause or matter whatever otherwise made or provided notwithstanding.

In virtue whereof, &c.,

Witness the King at Westminster,  
15th day of May.



(Ibid.) A.D. 1445. 23 Henry VI.

*Concerning the customary gifts for the Master of the Ship who brought the Queen to England.*

The King to all, &c., greeting:—

Know that, as we have been informed that it has always been a custom on those occasions, when Queens have arrived in this our kingdom, that certain gifts should be granted to the masters of those vessels in which they have crossed the seas.

We, therefore, in consideration of the good and faithful services which our trusty Thomas Adam, late master of the Ship called Cok John of Cherbourg, in which our well-beloved and chosen Queen voyaged to our said kingdom, rendered to our aforesaid Consort on her passage, in our especial favor do grant him 20 marks annually to the end of his life, on the death of John Williams, seaman, of our Customs, in port of our Town of Southampton, to be paid by the Collectors of Customs for the time being, at Michaelmas and Easter, in equal portions.

In virtue whereof, &c., &c.,

Witness the King at Westminster,  
June 10.

*Issue Roll, 23 Henry VI.*

18th June.—To five minstrels of the King of Sicily, who lately came to England to witness the state and grand solemnity on the day of the Queen's coronation, and to make a report thereof abroad. In money paid to them in discharge of £50, viz.:—to each of them £10 which the Lord the King commanded to be paid, to be had of his gift by way of reward.

By writ, &c. £50.

To two minstrels of the Duke of Milan, who came to England to witness the solemnization of the Queen's coronation, and report the same to the princes and people in their country. In money paid to them by the hands of Edward Grymeston, in discharge of 10 marks; viz.:—to each of them 5 marks, which the Lord the King, with the advice and assent of his Council, commanded to be paid to the said minstrels, to be had of his gift.

By writ, &c. £6 13s. 4d.

To John de Surenceurt, an esquire of the King of Sicily, and steward of the Queen's household abroad, who came previously to the Queen's reception, to witness the solemnization of her coronation, and to report the same as above. In money paid to him by the hands of Edward Grymeston, in discharge of 50 marks, which the Lord the King, with the advice and assent of his Council, commanded to be paid to the said John, &c.

By writ, &c. £33 6s. 8d.

To John d'Escoce, an esquire of the King of Sicily, who, as a true subject of the Queen's father, left his own occupations abroad and came in the Queen's retinue to witness the solemnity on the day of her coronation. In money paid to him, &c.

By writ, &c. £66 13s. 4d.

19th June.—To Sir Almeric Chaperon, knight, and Charles de Castellion, clerk, Ambassadors from the King of Sicily, lately sent to the Lord the King, in the Queen's retinue, upon certain affairs on behalf of the said Lord, the King of Sicily. In money paid to them in discharge of 200 marks, which the said Lord the King commanded to be paid to the said Almeric and Charles; viz.:—to each 100 marks, to have of his gift by way of reward.

By writ, &c., £133 6s. 8d.

*Issue Roll. 27 Henry VI.*

14th Nov.—To William Flour, of London, goldsmith. In money paid to him by assignment made this day, in discharge of 20 marks, which the Lord the King commanded to be paid to the said William, to be had by way of reward, because the said Lord the King stayed in the house of the said William on the day that Queen Margaret, his consort, set out from the Tower of London for her coronation at Westminster. By writ of privy seal amongst the mandates of Michaelmas Term, in the 24th year of the said King.

£13 6s. 8d.

PETITIONS IN PARLIAMENT IN THE TWENTY-THIRD YEAR OF HENRY VI.

(From original Documents in the Tower of London.)

So it baillie as Srs.

Grace be to the Lord.

A.D. 1444.

"Henry by the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to all the present members of his Parliament Saluting.

The  
Queen's  
Dower

Ye know how, when the honour of high rank of King took its first origin, and to which we have attained, it was disposed of by God to be administered by his rule, that the subordinate powers might be bestowed on all those needing and deserving the Royal munificence. In like manner it is fitting that the King's Majesty should be the more studious to provide for the Queen, as relating to her dowry; and since the ineffable providence of the Eternal King, ever bestowing his favours upon us, decided wisely on both sides; he has taken in marriage the most illustrious daughter of the King of Naples and Jerusalem, and Grand Duke of Lorraine, the Queen Margaret, born of Isabella, according to the agreement of our nuptials.

We do therefore tenderly solicit your wills and custom in the dowry of the Consort herself of Henry; following nobly the recorded works of our ancestors, the titles of her right, declaring that it should be given her at this demand in the following form; by the advisement and assent of the Lords present and temporal, and of the authority of King Henry of England in the present Parliament at Westminster; begun and held

on the twenty-fifth day of February, in the twenty-third year of King Henry's reign, and until the twenty-ninth day of April then next following, adjourned and prorogued; and afterwards until the twentieth day of October then next following, adjourned; and from the said twentieth day of October, until the twenty-fourth day of January then next following, adjourned and prorogued; by authority of those belonging to the said Parliament: "We do give and concede to the said consort of Henry, the castle, town, possessions and honours of Leicester, with its members and dependencies in the county of Leicester, namely the Manor of Desseford, the Bale of Desseford, the Manor of Shulton, the Bale of Shulton, the Manor of Hinkeley, the Borough of Hinkeley from without the Bale of Hynkeley; the Bale of Glenfeld, the Bale of Belgrave, and Syleby, with 40 marks per annum from the fruitful farm of the town of Gunthorp in the county of Nottingham, the Bale of Curleton, the Manor of Stapulford, the Bale of Stapulford, Hethelye, with the deed of the thrifty Frith, the Bale of the Honor of Leicester in the Counties of Northampton, Warwick, and Leicester, the Manor of Swannington, the farm and Mills of the town of Leicester, the Manor of Fouston, the Manor of Sweton, and the Manor of Langton in the County of Leicester, fixed at the value of 250*l.* 8*s.* 0*½d.* per annum. The Castle, the Manor, and Honor of Tudbury, with their members and appurtenances, viz., the Manor of Rolleston, the Manor of Barton, the Manor of Marchington, the Manor of Uttoxhatter, Manor of Adgarseley, the Bale of one part, called Anard, of the other part, called Rodman, the Bale lately freed in the County of Stafford, the Ward of Tudbury, Ward of Barton, Ward of Yoxhale, the Ward of Marchington, and the Ward of Uttoxhatter, in the County of Stafford; and in the County of Derby, the Manor of Duffeld, the Manor of Beaurepaire, Manor of Holbrok, Manor of Allerwassle, Manor of Southwode, Manor of Heighege, the Hundreds of Gresley, the Manor of Edrichay, Manor of Holand, Manor of Byggyng, Manor of Irtonwode, Manor of Bonteshale, Manor of Brassington, Manor of Matloke, Manor of Hertington, Manor of Spondon, Manor of Scropton, the Hundreds of Appaltre, the Bale for filling up lately freed in the County of Derby; the Ward of Duffeld, the Ward of Holand, the Ward of Colbrok, Ward of Beaurepaire, the Castle and Manor of Melbourne, the farm Querrere of Rouclif, the Castle and estate of Alti Pecci, the Landsend called Wynnclondes, the new freedom in Pecco in the County of Derby, fixed at the value of 92*l.* 17*s.* 7*½d.* per annum. The Manor of Yerkhull in the county of Hereford, at the value of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum. The Manor of Croudou in the County of Bucks, at the value of 20*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* per annum. The Manor of Haseley, Manor of Kirtelington, Manor of Dadlington, Manor of Firyton, and the Manor of Ascot in the County of Oxfordshire, to the value of 155*l.* 7*s.* 10*½d.* per annum. The Castle and Estate of Plecy, the Manor of Heighestre, Manor of Waltham, Manor of Masshebury, Manor of Badewe, Manor of Dunmowe; Manor of Lighes, Manor of Wykes, Manor of Walden, Manor of Dependen, Manor of Quenden, Manor of Northampstede, Manor of Farnham, Manor of Shenfeld, the Bale of the Honor of Tudbury, Lancaster and Leicester, in the Counties of Essex,

Hertford, Middlesex, London and Surrey, the Manor of Enfeld, and a building called Hackeys, in the Connty of Middlesex, an Hotel in the city of London, called Blanch Appleton, with a house, called Steward's Inn, in the parish of St. Olive's in that city; the Castle and town of Hertford, the Manor of Hertfordingbury, Manor of Esgudeu, and the Manor of Bayford in the County of Hertfordshire; and the Manor of Walton in the county of Surrey, to the value of 555*l.* 16*s.* 0*½d.* per annum. The Estate in the County of Essex, to the value of 40*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* per annum. The Manor of Wathersfield, in the County of Essex, to the value of 27*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.* per annum; and the Castle and possessions of Kenelworth, with dependencies in the County of Warwick, to the value of 15*l.* 4*s.* 6*½d.* per year. And certain Castles, Towns and honours, domaines, manors, lands and houses, and other things pertaining to Duke Henry of Lancaster, are promised and are held per annum at the value of 2,000*l.* To be had, held and kept of the said Consort of Henry, all the appointed Castles, Honours, Towns, Domains, Manors, Wapentaches, Bales, county estates, sites of France, carriages, landed farms, renewed yearly, the lands, houses, possessions and other things promised, with all their members and dependencies, together with the lands of the Military, Ecclesiastic advocacies, Abbotcies, Priories, Deaneries, Colleges, Capellarics, singing academies, Hospitals, and of other religious houses, by wards, marriages, reliefs, food, iron, merchandize, liberties, free customs, franchise, royalties, fees of honour, returned in a short time, and other our commands, given in our presence, and by executions on the same things by outlets, boundaries, and amercements, forests, chaises, parks, woods, meadows, fields, pastures, warrens, vivaries, ponds, fish waters, mills, mulberry trees, fig trees, and all other things pertaining to the same Castles, Honours, Towns, Estates, Manors, Possessions, lands, houses, and other things promised; however they may tend, or pertain to them; together with such returns of lands and tenements in the dowry, to the end of her life, or years; and by all other returns made to the appointed Castles, Towns, Honours, Possessions, Manors, Wapentaches, Bales, Lands, Houses, and other things promised however, tending, or pertaining thereto; to be given at the feast of the sacred Michael the Archangel, in the 24th year of King Henry, to the end of her life, in respect of her dowry, and so freely and honestly, until some restoring or making over to Us, or the heirs of Henry, so that we may inherit them, or be indebted to his heir if we hold them at the hands of Henry. And if it should happen that some of the appointed Castles, Honours, Towns, Dominions, Manors, Wapentaches, Bales, County Estates, Annuities, sites of France, carriages, landed Farms, Restoration Lands, Tenements, possessions, or other things promised, should so be assigned through us to the said Consort of Henry in respect to her dowry, or some parcel of the same, that they shall be shown and recovered out of the hands of the said Consort of Henry, or that she herself shall be lawfully expelled from thence, or from some parcel of thence; then We will and concede, that the said Consort of Henry do receive the necessary satisfaction, and recompence of us, the heirs and successors of Henry,

having so shown or recovered them by this means. And that the same Consort of Henry, when her authority is allowed, shall have and coerce for her whole life, through herself and her ministers, all things and all such like privileges, franchises, liberties, state affairs, with executions, for grant and proclamation of the same, concerning the Castles, Honours, Towns, Dominions, Manors, Bales, and other things promised, assigned, and conceded, to the same Consort of Henry in the form appointed, such as we have appointed to Duke Henry in the said ways. And since diverse annuities to the amount of 324*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* annually accruing, conceded to different persons before these times, to the end of the life of the same separately, of Castles, Dominions, Manors, Lands, Tenements, and other things promised, pertaining to the Duke Henry of Lancaster, are ended; that it is appointed that such should be assigned to the Consort of Henry in respect to her dowry. We have conceded, and we do concede, when her authority is allowed, to the said Consort of Henry, 324*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* to be had and held of the said Consort of Henry annually, from the said feast of the Sacred Michael to the end of her life; on account of the issues, profits and returns of Henry, Duke of Cornwall, and on account of the issues, profits and returns of the Tin Coinages in the Counties of Cornwall and Devon, through the hands of the General Receiver, the said Duke Henry, our heirs and successors, and of whatever other Receivers, Occupiers, or Holders of the said profits, issues, and returns, for the time being, in recompense for the appointed 324*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* of the appointed Castles, Dominions, Manors, Lands, Tenements, and other Possessions appointed, in the annuities being ended, which were given to the end of the lives of the divers persons separately. Provided always, that after that, it should happen, that any person inheriting any annuity by concession or confirmation of Henry, whether of any one of our progenitors, or ancestors, in the said Castles, Dominions, Lands, Tenements, and other possessions of the said Consort of Henry in respect to her dowry, above assigned, shall retire, whilst the appointed Consort of Henry is living; that then such a sum as the same person may thus receive per annum from thence, or from some parcel thence, shall be annually deduced and cut off, during the life of the said Consort of Henry, for the use of Henry and our heirs, from the appointed 324*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* conceded by the same Consort of Henry, as is appointed in recompense, and so singly during the life of the said Consort of Henry, after the decease of whose person some annuity in the appointed Castles, Dominions, Manors, Lands, Tenements and possessions appointed, shall be assigned to the said Consort of Henry, in the appointed form, as part of her dowry, by concession or confirmation of Henry, or of our fore fathers, or ancestors, as it is appointed, the heir dying, such a sum as the said person in his life may receive of the appointed 324*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* annually, above repeated, during the life of the said Consort of Henry, shall be deduced and cut off, for the use of Henry and our heirs. We will also, and by granted authority ordain that the Chancellor, Duke Henry of Lancaster, for the time being, in writing under the seals of the same acknowledged Duke, shall certify before the Saint Henry to the Treasurers

surers and Barons of the same Saint for the time being, other men, and single persons, for the said annuities of the said Castles, Dominions, Manors, and other things promised, pertaining to the same Duke, as part of the dowry that is promised to be assigned, or of some parcel of the same, inherited in whatever manner, besides the sums and quantity of this annuity of the same persons, that the same Treasurer and Barons may be able particularly to receive nothing in deducing and cutting off the said 324*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* in recompense of the things conceded. And that all those who inherit, or are now about to inherit any farms belonging to the specified Castles, Manors, Honours, Lands, Tenements, Possessions, Profits, Emoluments, or commodities of whatever kind belonging to the Duke Henry of Cornwall through the said Royal patents of the great seal of Henry, or otherwise are held, or shall be held, to return, or pay whatever gains they themselves make through us for those farms, that they pay, and are compelled and held to pay, such gains to the Receiver-General, Henry, Duke of Cornwall, and not to the Reception of St. Henry, nor any others by any means. And that the same Dwellers on the soils of this said Receiver Henry, called Duke Henry for the time being, his farms made and appointed through the acquaintance or acquaintances of the Receiver himself, with St. Henry, and of our heirs, do testify the sum, or sums of monies received and paid of this same, to us, Henry's heirs and successors, that they may inherit the allowed allocation, and live quiet and free, and without pretext of any other payment, or by other means done. We concede also, and by granted authority of the said Consort of Henry we concede, a thousand pounds to be had and received of the same Consort of Henry, to the end of her life, annually, from the said feast of St. Michael, to the end of the Passover and St. Michael, in respect of her dowry, or marriage portion, from the issues, profits and returns of other remains of Castles, Dominions, Manors, Lands, Tenements, Honours, Services, Possessions and Heritages, and other emoluments of whatever kind belonging to Duke Henry of Lancaster, as in England, so in Wales existing and remaining in the hands of Henry, beyond the said Castles, Dominions, Manors, Lands, Tenements, and other things promised, pertaining to the Duke aforesaid, in respect of the dowry assigned, by the hands of the General Receiver, Henry, our heirs and successors, of the same Duke Henry of Lancaster for the time being. And if the said annual return of a thousand pounds or any part pertaining thereto, on the contrary should not be paid to the same Consort of Henry to any end aforesaid, then we will and concede, by authority and assent of the aforesaid, that it shall be held well lawful for the same Consort of Henry, through her officials and ministers in all the Castles, Dominions, Manors, Lands, and Tenements of Henry remaining appointed to the said Duke Henry of Lancaster, existing and remaining in the hands of Henry, to bind fast, and to carry off, the bond thus taken, to escape and hold back themselves from punishment until it is satisfied and paid to the same Consort of Henry by the same return and arrangements of the same party. And moreover lest perhaps the said possessions,

and other things promised belonging to the Duke Henry of Lancaster remaining in the hands of Henry, should be diminished or accumulated by imposition, through which it might be likely that the said Consort of Henry should be retarded by any one from receiving payment of her said annual return of £1,000, by the said assent and authority we ordain and establish, that if any person of whatever rank or station he may be, shall adopt and receive any of the said patent royalties, under Seal of Duke Henry of Lancaster, or any other seal of Henry or of our heirs, or successors, in diminution, accumulation, or lessening of the same possessions and other things promised, after the Feast of Pentecost which will be in the year of our Lord 1446, that these said patents shall be deprived of vigour and authority in his cause. And moreover by the said authority We will, concede, and ordain, that all donations and concessions given after the said Feast of Pentecost henceforward through us to any person, or persons, by the said Henry, under the Seal of the Duke Henry of Lancaster, or any other seal of Henry, of any Dominions, Manors, Lands, Tenements, Restorations, and Services, of the said Duke Henry of Lancaster, or of any annuity proceeding from the same, made in any manner, shall be void in law, and that all that so given or conceded and contained in the said Henry's patents then finished, made known or specified, forthwith and immediately after the donation or concession of the same as is appointed to be done, shall remain to the said Consort of Henry, to be held to the end of her life, as part of the deduction of the said £1,000 assigned and conceded to the same Consort of Henry as is appointed in respect to her dowry or marriage portion. Provided always, that the true annual value of this thing so given or conceded, be annually deducted and pruned out of the said £1,000 for the use of Henry and our heirs: and in order that for better security it be paid annually to the same Consort of Henry out of her said annuity of £1,000 through us, as it is appointed to be conceded to her, by the hands of the General Receiver Henry for the time being, we will and ordain, by the aforesaid authority, that no particular Receiver for any one of the Castles, Dominions, Manors, Honors, Grounds, and other things promised of the Duke Henry of Lancaster remaining in the hands of Henry, shall have any demand in his computations henceforth returned through the Auditors of the same Duke Henry, of any sums of money whatever out of the issues of his office through any other person except that to be paid by Henry the Receiver-General, the said Duke Henry, during the life of the said Consort of Henry; always excepted whatever sums of money are inherited by any persons as any annuities, by the concession, or confirmation of Henry before these times, received by any person of the said Duke Henry, through such his annuities, and through the grounds and walks of the Officials and Ministers of Henry, by and under the said Duke Henry paid annually, besides by the necessary Keepers and repairers of the Castles, Dominions, Manors, Lands, and Tenements of the said Duke Henry, existing in the hands of Henry, and by other repairers and rebuilders of the same. And if any such particular Receiver should make any payment out of the issues of his office otherwise than as it is ap-

pointed by the Receiver-General Henry, the said Duke Henry, he shall be burdened still in his computation by sums so paid through him to us. We concede also, and by the said authority moreover we assign to the same Consort of Henry, £3,666 13s. 4d. to be had and received of the same Consort of Henry, annually, to the end of her life, from the said Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, to the end of the Passover and St. Michael, by equal portions, as a part of her dowry, in the subsequent form, viz., £1,000 thence annually to the end of the aforesaid time, both from the small and great Customs of Henry, our heirs and successors in the Port of the Town of Southampton belonging to Henry, through the hands of the Collector of the same Customs for the time being. And £1,008 15s. 5d. thence per annum, to the end of the said time, from the issues, returns, and profits of the said Duke Henry of Cornwall, and from the issues, profits, and returns of the Pewter and Tin Coinage in the Counties of Cornwall and Devon, through the hands of the Receiver-General Henry, heirs and successors of the same Duke, and of whatever other Receivers, occupiers, or Dwellers of the same Profits, issues, and returns for the time being. And £1,657 17s. 11d. thence per annum, to the same end, to the Saint Henry, our heirs and successors through the hands of the Treasurers and Chamberlains of the same Saint for the time being, as well from the first monies proceeding from the advances of our Vice-Counsellor and Commissary, our heirs and successors, as from whatever other issues, profits, farms, debts, and returns are paid to the said Saint, until We, the heirs and successors of Henry, shall have made provision and recompense to the same Consort of Henry, from the Lands, Tenements, Returns, and other possessions to the value of the said £3,666 13s. 4d. per annum, within Henry's kingdom of England, as part of her dowry, or other things to be held to the end of her life. And moreover by the said authority, We will and concede, that the aforesaid Consort of Henry shall be provided and recompensed out of the lands, tenements, returns, and possessions, which first come or fall into the hands of Henry, or of our heirs through us, and the said heirs of Henry, according to the deduction and satisfaction of the said £3,666 13s. 4d. to be held as part of her said dowry. And by the aforesaid assent and authority, We will and concede that the said Consort of Henry shall have so many and such Baronial fees as may be allowed by Law, and unemployed, by demand, and other Baronial fees and other Warrants so many and such as may be necessary and opportune to be conceded and assigned to her in this part, for the payment of sums and annuities to her, as it is promised, and for the execution of the promised things. And that the Chancellor, Henry of England, and the Keeper of the private Seal of Henry, besides the Chancellor, Duke Henry of Lancaster, We, being heirs and successors for the time being, do make, without delation from the tenor of those presents, such Baronial fees and Warrants, from time to time whensoever and wheresoever on the part of the Consort of Henry *ronabiliter*, they may be requisite. Save whatever things are bound to the state of Henry, or his possession, right, title and



interest, in the customs, issues, profits, and returns of the said Duke of Cornwall, the Pewter and Tin Coinages, and in the said Castles, Towns, Dominions, Manors, Honors, Bales, Grounds, Lands, Tenements, Wapentaches, sleek cattle, Hundreds, Franchises, Liberties, Farms, Returns, profits, Commodities, Possessions, and other things promised to the same Consort of Henry in the said form conceded and assigned both in the said Dukedom of Henry of Lancaster, and in Grounds, Roads, Annuities, Custodies, Offices, and Farms whatever in or about the Dukedom of Henry of Lancaster, or other parcels of the things promised, if such are contained in the same.

We concede moreover to the said most beloved Consort of Henry, that she shall by no means whatever be burdened or compelled to return to Us or the heirs of Henry, any computation of any issues, profits, or returns of the said Castles, Dominions, Lands, Tenements, and other things promised, or of any one of the same: so that she may be quiet and unannoyed in any manner by any computation and other burdens whatever thence, regarding Us and the heirs of Henry. But all these things are through Us, by the said authority, confided, given, conceded, and assigned, on the 19th day of March, in the Twenty Fourth year of Henry's reign, by the said Parliament of Henry then sitting."

"In whose reign," &c., &c.

*Issue Roll.* 24 Henry VI.

30th May.—To Margaret, Queen of England. In money paid to her by assignment made this day by the hands of John Norrys, in discharge of £1,000 which the lord the King commanded to be paid to the said Queen, as well for the daily expenses of her chamber as in relief of the great charges which the said Queen incurred on the day of the Circumcision of our Lord last past.

By writ, &c., £1,000.

Amidst the agitation caused by the disastrous public events, and whilst the spirit of resistance to the government was beginning to manifest itself, songs and poetry, as a means of promoting the general discontent, were much used, and even assumed a bold character. Some of these, which have happily been preserved, are most valuable. There are many allusions in one of them to persons of rank and influence, each of whom is described by his badge. It appears that this poem was written after 1447, as Cardinal Beaufort, who died in that year, is spoken of as having "his velvet hat closed."

The deaths of the Dukes of Bedford, Gloucester, Exeter, and Somerset, and of Cardinal Beaufort, are first enumerated, and the commencement of the troubles in England is dated from the capture of Rouen in 1417. The Duke of Norfolk "laid to sleep," meaning bribed by Suffolk, who

envied him. The gallant Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, in reference to his name and badge, "our good dog," was perhaps "bounden" by the grant of the Earldom of Waterford, &c., in 1446. By Lord Fauconberg having "lost his angle-hook," his capture by the French is implied. Lord Willoughby de Eresby seems accused of indolence, and by the bear being "bound that was so wild, for he had lost his ragged staff," allusion was intended to Richard Neville having been created Earl of Warwick, which distinction may have satisfied his wishes, and thus, to use the metaphor, the bear was deprived of his staff. The Duke of Buckingham's "wheel" became spokeless from his having taken offence at the dismissal of his brothers, (the Chancellor and Treasurer,) by Suffolk; and also from having induced the King to receive with kindness, the Duke of York. Thomas Daniel, John Norreys, and John Trevilian are particularly mentioned, since the last-named is said "often to have blinded the King," and their names appear among those indicted by the Commons, in 1451, "for mysbehaving about the King's roiall persone." The Earl of Arundel having refused to support Suffolk's power, became popular in Sussex and Kent. Bouchier, and some other noble, who is described as the wine bottle, (possibly the Earl of Oxford, since a long-necked silver bottle was one of his badges,) and the Prior of St. John's, are mentioned as having united with the Bishop of Exeter. The Earl of Devonshire is related to have retired into his own country, instead of helping "with shield and spear" the attempt then contemplated to overthrow the obnoxious minister; while the Duke of York's anxiety and irresolution are admirably described under his cognizance, a falcon, flying hither and thither, uncertain where to build her nest.

ON THE POPULAR DISCONTENT AT THE DISASTERS  
IN FRANCE.<sup>1</sup>

Bedforde<sup>2</sup> Gloucester<sup>3</sup>  
"The Rote is ded, the Swanne is goone  
Excetter<sup>4</sup>  
"The fry Cressett hath lost his lyght;  
"Therefore Ingland may make gret mone,  
"Were not the helpe of Godde almyght.  
Roone<sup>5</sup>  
"The castelle is wonne where care begowne  
Somerset<sup>6</sup>  
"The Portecolys is leyde adowne  
Cardinalle<sup>7</sup>  
"Iclosid we have oure welevette hatte  
"That keveryed us from mony stormys browne,

<sup>1</sup> Verses in the Cotton. Rolls, ii. 23.

<sup>2</sup> John Plantagenet, Duke of Bedford, third son of Henry IV. Badge,—the Root of a tree.

<sup>3</sup> Humphrey Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, fourth son of Henry IV. Badge,—the Swan.

<sup>4</sup> John Holland, Duke of Exeter. "A Cressett with burning fire," i.e., a fire beacon, said to have been the badge of the Admiralty.

<sup>5</sup> Rouen, surrendered to the French in 1447.

<sup>6</sup> John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset. Badge,—a Portcullis.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, "Cardinal of England."





"We swere by hym that hairwede<sup>1</sup> helle  
 "They shalle no lenger in eresy dwelle  
 "Ne in ther fals beleve.  
 "So pore a kyng was never seene,  
 "Nor richere lordes alle bydene;<sup>2</sup>  
 "The communes may no more.  
 "The lorde Saye biddeth holde hem downe,  
 "That worthy dastarde of renowne,  
 "He techithe a fals loore.  
 "Suffolk Normandy hath swolde,<sup>3</sup>  
 "To gete heyt agayne he is bolde,  
 "How acordeth these to in one;  
 "And he wynethe,<sup>4</sup> withouten drede,  
 "To make the kyng to avowe his dede,  
 "And calle hit no tresoun.  
 "We trow the kyng be to leere,<sup>5</sup>  
 "To selle bothe menne and lond in feere;  
 "Hit is agayne resoun.  
 "But yef the commyns of Englonde  
 "Helpe the kyng in his fonde,<sup>6</sup>  
 "Suffolk wolle bere the crowne.  
 "Be ware, kyng Henré, how thou doos;  
 "Let no lenger thy traitours go loos;  
 "They wille never be trewe.  
 "The traytours are sworne alle togedere  
 "To holde fast as they were brether;<sup>7</sup>  
 "Let them drynk as they hanne<sup>8</sup> brewe."  
 "*O rex, si rex es, rege te, vel eris sine re rex;*  
 "*Nomen habes sine re, nisi te recte regas.*"

The following extract is from a spirited ballad on the death of the Duke of Suffolk. It commemorates how, in the month of May, Jack Napes, as the favourite is here termed, had gone to sea as a mariner, but was arrested on the way by death; and that Nicholas (possibly the name of the ship's commander) offered to be his confessor.

"In the monthe of Maij, when gresse groweth grene,  
 "Flagrant<sup>9</sup> in her floures, w<sup>t</sup> swet savour,  
 "Jack Napes<sup>10</sup> wolde ouer the see, a maryner to ben,  
 "With his cloge,<sup>11</sup> and his cheyn, to seke more tresour,  
 "Syche a payn prikkede hym, he asked a confessour.  
 "Nicholas said, 'I am redi, this confessour to be.'  
 "He was holden so, that he ne passede that hour,  
 "For Jack Napes soul, *Placebo* and *Dirige*.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harrowed.<sup>2</sup> At once, or at the same time.<sup>3</sup> Sold.<sup>4</sup> Thinketh.<sup>5</sup> Empty or weak.<sup>6</sup> Dilemma.<sup>7</sup> Brethren.<sup>8</sup> Have.<sup>9</sup> Fragrant.<sup>10</sup> A nickname for William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk.<sup>11</sup> A Clog argent with a Chain or, the badge of Suffolk.<sup>12</sup> Cottonian MS.

A poem more general in satire was written, just before the civil wars commenced, on the troubles arising in the land.

## "HOW MYSCHAUNCE REGNETH IN INGLONDE.

"Now God, that syttyst an hyge in trone,  
 "Help thy peple in here greet nele,  
 "That trowthe and resoun regne may sone  
 "For thanne schal they leve owt of drede.  
 "In that wyse conscience schal hem lede,  
 "Hem to brynge onto good governaunce;  
 "That yt may sone be doon in dede;  
 "Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

"Meed<sup>1</sup> and falseheed associed are;  
 "Trowthe bannyd ys, the blynde may not se;  
 "Manye a man they make fulle bare,  
 "A strange compleynt ther ys of every degré,  
 "The way is now past of tranquyllyté,  
 "The wyche causyth a full greet varyaunce;  
 "Amange the comunys ther ys no game nor gle;  
 "Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

"Murder medelythe ful ofte, as men say;  
 "Usure and rapyne steffy dothe stande,  
 "Here abydyne ys wythe her that goon ful gay;  
 "For whanne they wele they have hem in hande,  
 "Ful manye they brynge to myschaunce.  
 "Wyse men, beholden, be wayr al afore hande;  
 "Of alle our synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

"Wyght ys blak, as many men seye,  
 "And blak ys wyght, but summe men sey nay;  
 "Auctoryteys for hem they toleye;<sup>2</sup>  
 "Large conscience causyth they croked way,  
 "In thys reame they make a foul aray,  
 "Whanne the dyse renne, ther lakkythe a chaunce  
 "Clene conscience bakward goth alway;  
 "Of alle our synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

"Myscheef mengid<sup>3</sup> ys, and that in every syde;  
 "Dyscord medelythe ful fast amonge;  
 "The gate's of glaterye<sup>4</sup> standen up wyde,  
 "Hem semythe that al ys ryghte and no wronge,  
 "Thus endurid they have al to longe;  
 "Crosse and pyle standen in balaunce;  
 "Trowthe and resoun be no thyng stronge;  
 "Of alle our synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

<sup>1</sup> Mede,—reward or bribe.<sup>3</sup> Mengid,—reminded.

VOL. I.

<sup>2</sup> Toleye,—to put forward.<sup>4</sup> Glaterye,—flattery.

" Rychesse renewyd causith the perdicion  
 " Of trowthe, that scholde stande in prosperyté  
 " Between here and hope ys mayd a divisoun,  
 " And that ys al for lak of charyté;  
 " Wherefore ther regnethe no tranquillyté:  
 " Thys mateer causith the fool ignoraunce,  
 " That the peple may not in eese be;  
 " Of alle our synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

" Now, God, that art ful of al pletevousnesse;<sup>1</sup>  
 " Of al vertuys grace and charyté,  
 " Putte from us al thys unsekyrnesse;<sup>2</sup>  
 " That we stande in grete necessté,  
 " That agayn trowthe no varyeng be.  
 " Al tymes that art founteyne of al felycité,  
 " Of al oure synnys, thou make a delyveraunce."<sup>3</sup>

In a curious metrical prophecy, still more obscure, we are told that disastrous occurrences are to take place, and among them a battle on the banks of the Humber, "when Rome shall be removed into England, and every priest shall have the Pope's power in hand." Another poem describes England as in a state of universal contention; that there were much people of light consciences; many knights possessing little power; many laws with little justice; little charity but much flattery; great show of living on small wages, and many gentlemen but few servants; &c.

## ON THE TIMES.

" Now ys Yngland alle in fyght;  
 " Moche peple of consyens lyght;  
 " Many knyghtes, and lytyll myght;  
 " Many lawys, and lytylle ryght;  
 " Many actes of parlament,  
 " And few kept wyth tru entent;  
 " Lytylle charyté, and fayne to plesse;  
 " Many a galant penyles;  
 " And many a wonderfulle dysgyzyng;<sup>4</sup>  
 " By unprudent and myssavyzyng;<sup>5</sup>  
 " Grete countenance and smalle wages;  
 " Many gentyllemen, and few pages;  
 " Wyde gownys, and large slevys;  
 " Wele besene, and strong thevys;  
 " Moch bost of there clothys,  
 " But wele I wot<sup>6</sup> they lake<sup>7</sup> none othys."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plenteuousness,—abundance.

<sup>2</sup> Unsekyrnesse,—insecurity.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge, in a handwriting of the reign of Henry VI.

<sup>4</sup> Disguising.

<sup>5</sup> Bad counsel.

<sup>6</sup> Know.

<sup>7</sup> Lack.

<sup>8</sup> MSS. in Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

## Issue Roll. 32 Henry VI.

To Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, who, by the King's command, in the month of September, in the 29th year of his reign, went to the said Lord the King at his castle of Kyllingworth, and to his city of Coventry, with a strong guard; also attended at great costs and expenses about the King's person. In money paid to him by assignment made this day by the hands of John Andrew, £400, which the Lord the King commanded to be paid him, &c. By writ, &c., £400.

## Issue Roll, Easter. 32 Henry VI.

17th July.—To Margaret Queen of England. In money paid to her by assignment made this day, by the hands of Robert Tunfield, for divers sums of money paid by the said Queen for an embroidered cloth, called "*Crisome*," for the baptism of the Prince, the King's son, and for 20 yards of russet cloth of gold, called "*tisshu*," and "540 brown sable bakkes," worth altogether £554 16s. 8d. The said Queen to have the same by the King's command of his gift. By writ, &c., £554 16s. 8d.

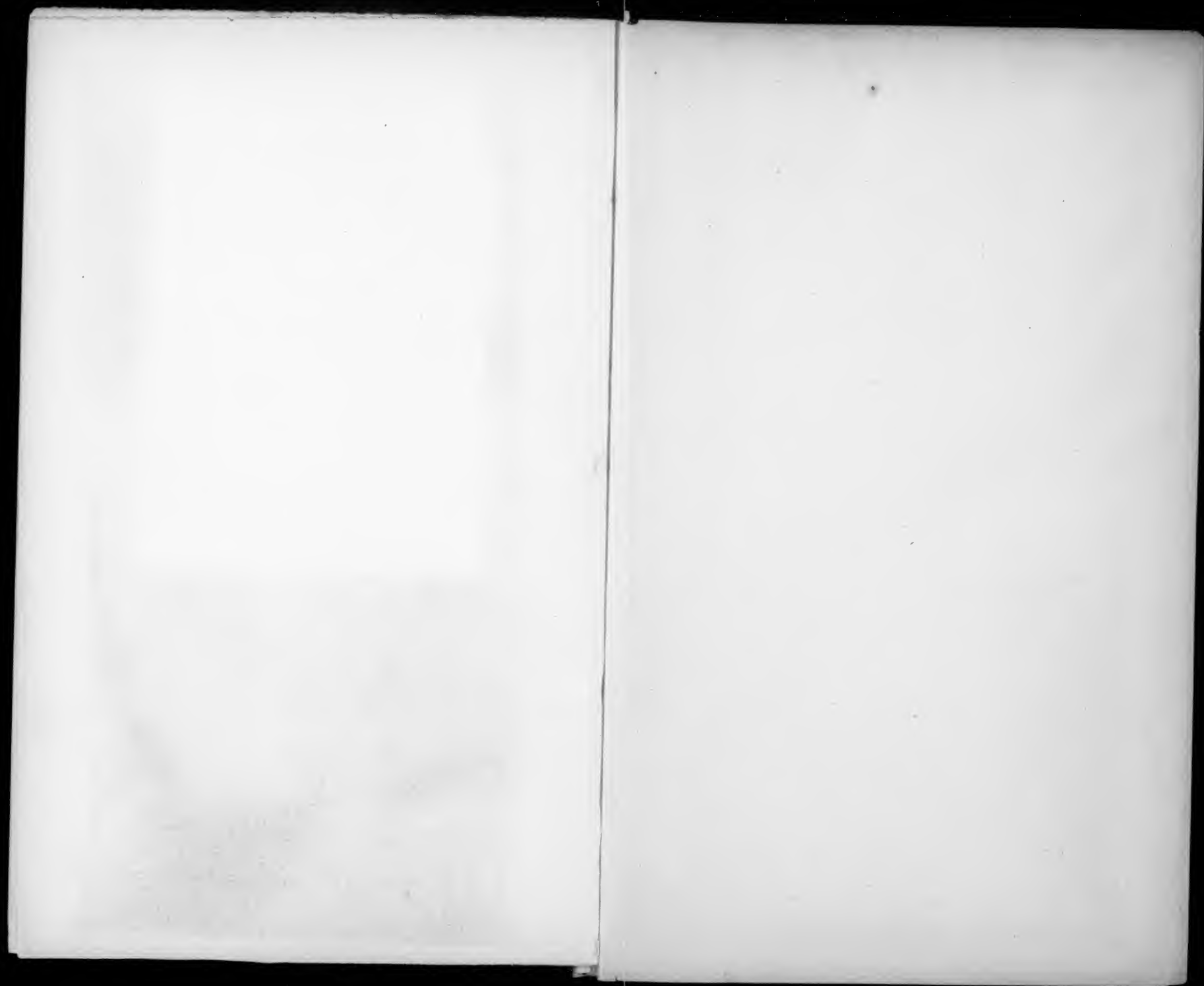
## Issue Roll, Michaelmas. 33 Henry VI.

19th February.—To the Prior and Convent of the Blessed Peter, Westminster. In money paid to them by the hands of John Wode in discharge of £10, which the Lord the King, with the advice of his Council, commanded to be paid to the said Prior and Convent, for the wax lights burnt at the baptism of Edward, the son of our Lord the King. By writ of privy seal amongst the mandates of this term. £10.

21st February.—To Margaret, Duchess of Somerset, who, by the King's command, resided and remained in attendance in the city of London and suburbs thereof from the feast of Lent, in the 31st year, to the 11th of August then next following, at her great cost and charge. In money paid to her, &c., in discharge of £100, which the said Lord the King commanded to be paid to the said Duchess, of his gift, &c.

By writ of privy seal, £100.

## END OF VOLUME I.



M. P. le

942.043

H76

Hookham.

Margaret of Anjou

28 1 1840

06470718

06470718

942.043

H76 V1 C1

MARG ANJOU

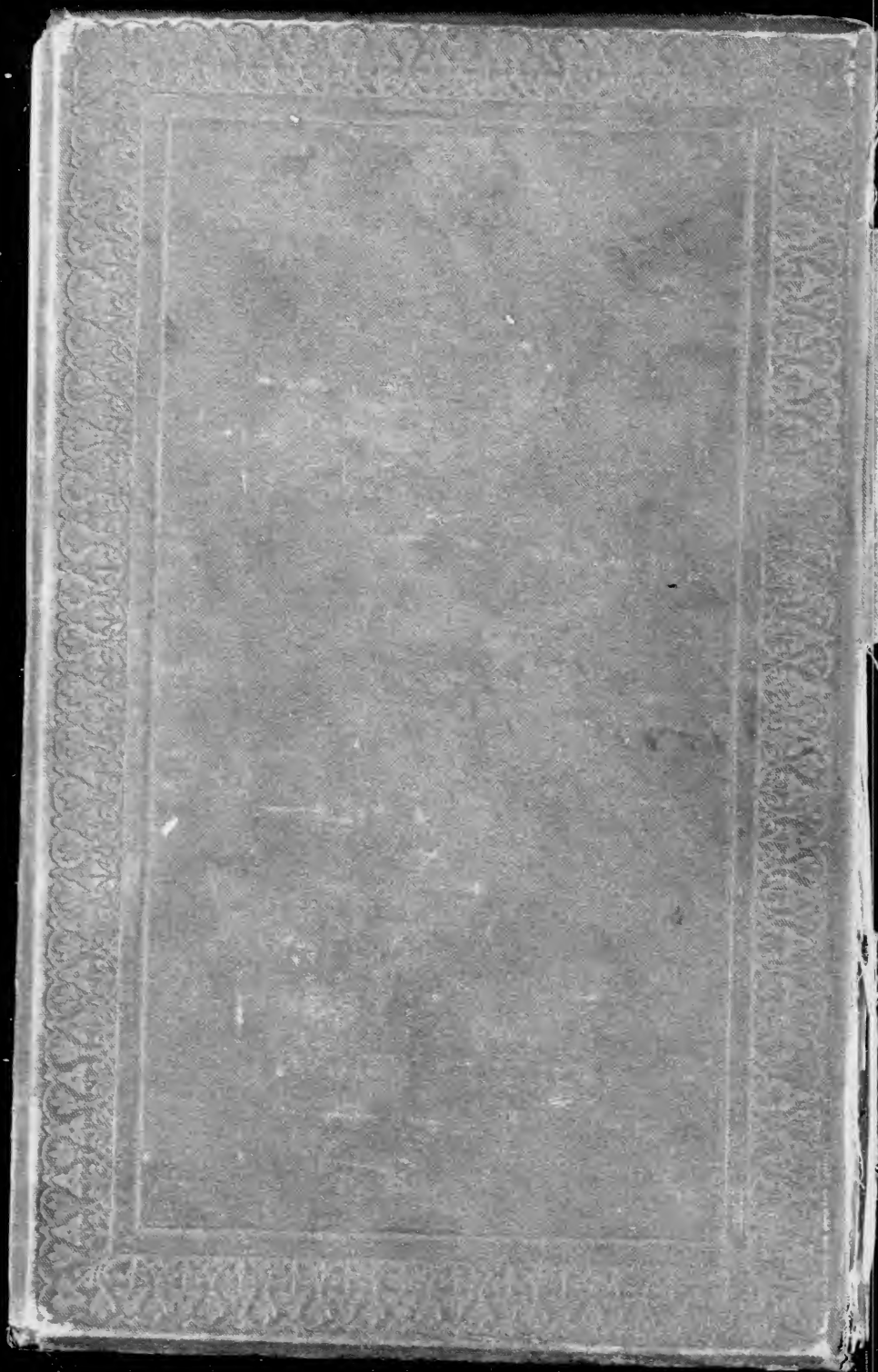
BRITTLE DO NOT  
PHOTOCOPY

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



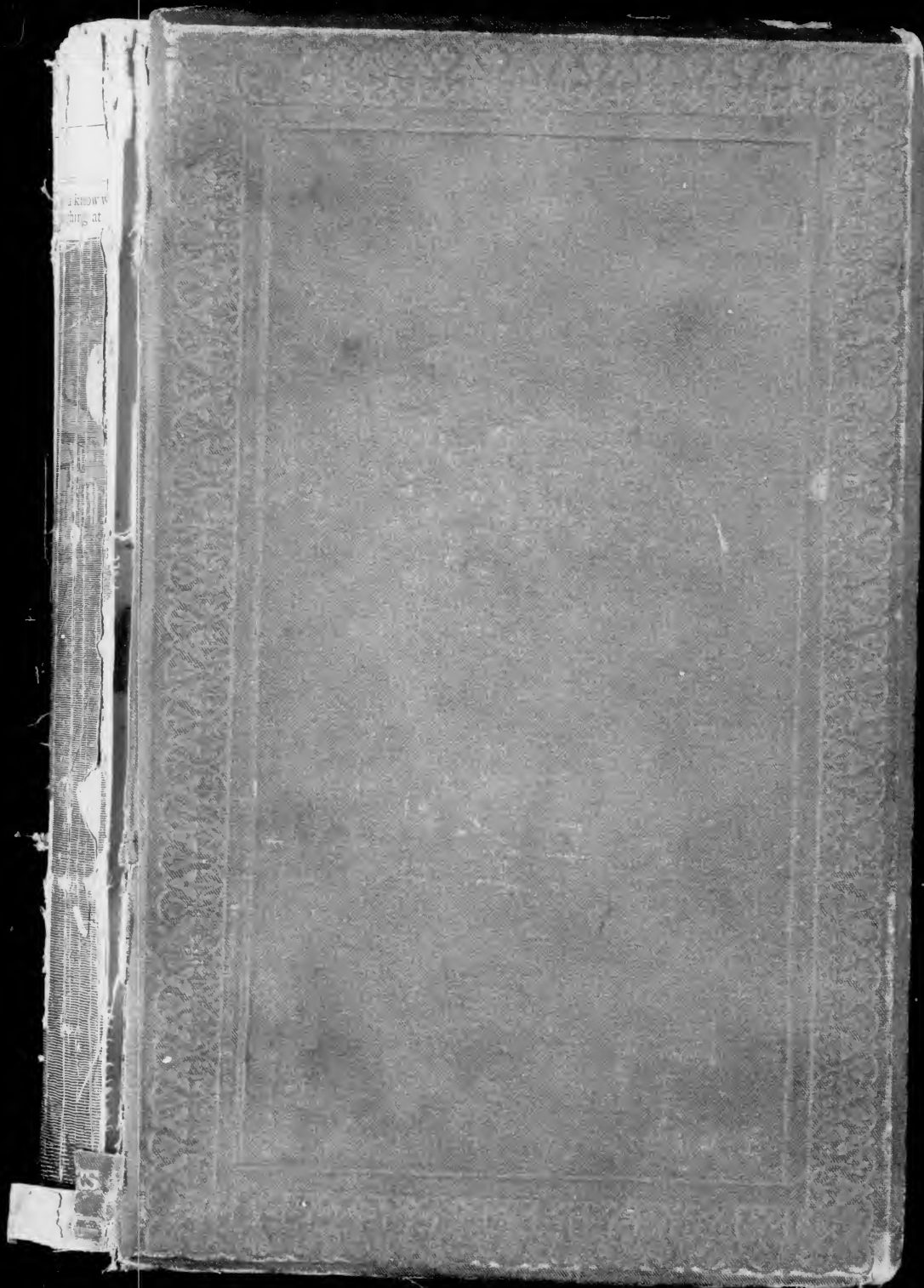
0032257392





MARGA  
OF AN  
MRS. HOO

# VOLUME 2



942.043

H76

2

Columbia College  
in the City of New York.  
Library.



Special Fund  
1895  
Given anonymously.

MARGARET OF ANJOU.



1871  
1872  
1873  
1874  
1875  
1876  
1877  
1878  
1879  
1880  
1881  
1882  
1883  
1884  
1885  
1886  
1887  
1888  
1889  
1890  
1891  
1892  
1893  
1894  
1895  
1896  
1897  
1898  
1899  
1900

123456789101112131415161718192021222324252627282930313233343536373839404142434445464748495051525354555657585960616263646566676869707172737475767778798081828384858687888990919293949596979899100



RENÉ "THE GOOD,"

KING OF SICILY, NAPLES, AND JERUSALEM, DUKE OF ANJOU AND LORRAIN AND  
COUNT OF PROVENCE.

COLUMBIA  
COLLEGE  
LIBRARY N.Y.

THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

MARGARET OF ANJOU,

QUEEN OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

By MARY ANN HOOKHAM.



VOL. II.

LONDON:  
TINSLEY BROTHERS, 18, CATHERINE ST., STRAND.  
1872.

ARMULIOO  
303LLIOO  
Y.M.YBASSLI

COLUMBIA  
COLLEGE  
LIBRARY

THE  
LIFE AND TIMES  
OF  
MARGARET OF ANJOU,  
QUEEN OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE;  
AND OF HER FATHER  
RENÉ "THE GOOD,"  
KING OF SICILY, NAPLES, AND JERUSALEM.  
WITH  
MEMOIRS OF THE HOUSES OF ANJOU.  
BY  
MARY ANN HOOKHAM.  
WITH PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.  
IN TWO VOLUMES.  
VOL. II.

LONDON:  
TINSLEY BROTHERS, 18, CATHERINE ST., STRAND.  
1872.

ARMULIOO  
30ELLIOO  
Y.N.YRABUL

LONDON:  
BRADBURY, EVANS, AND CO., PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

## CONTENTS.

### CHAPTER I.

A.D. 1455-1459.

	PAGE
The battle of St. Alban's—King Henry's illness—York again "Pro- tector"—The King and Queen go to Coventry—They invite the Lords to repair thither—Invasions of the French and Scots—The reconciliation of the Lords—Their procession to St. Paul's—An affray—Warwick assaulted—Salisbury takes up arms—The battle of Bloreheath—Lord Audley is slain—Ludlow spoiled—Parliament held at Coventry—Yorkists attainted—Rebellion in Kent—The insurgents enter London . . . . .	1

### CHAPTER II.

A.D. 1460-1461.

The battle of Northampton—The Tower of London besieged—Death of Lord Scales—The Duke of York's claims discussed in Parliament —York becomes absolute—Queen Margaret flies to Durham, Wales, and Scotland—She excites the northern barons to take up arms— The battle of Wakefield—The Duke of York killed—Battle of Mortimer's Cross—Second battle of St. Alban's—Edward, son of the Duke of York, proclaimed King . . . . .	68
--	----

### CHAPTER III.

A.D. 1461-1464.

The Queen raises a large army—Yorkists defeated at Ferrybridge— Battle of Towton—King Henry, his Queen, and their son fly to Scotland—They are well received by the Scots—Incursions in England—Henry repulsed at Durham—A defeat in Wales—King Edward's first Parliament—Somerset submits to Edward—Lord Oxford beheaded—Queen Margaret goes to France—Death of Charles VII. and of his wife, Marie of Anjou—Louis XI. lends money to Queen Margaret, and some troops, headed by Pierre de Brézé—They return with the Queen to England—They take several castles, but are repulsed by the Yorkists—A shipwreck—Warwick retakes the castles—Margaret in Scotland—Brézé departs . . . . .	112
--	-----

217442

## CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1464-1465.

Battles of Hedgely Moor and Hexham—King Edward's treatment of the Lords—The Queen's adventure in the forest—She escapes to Flanders, and settles in Lorraine with her son—Education of Prince Edward—Sir John Fortescue—The distress of the Lancastrians—King René's tastes and occupations—The Tournaments—The Order of the Crescent—Death of Isabella of Lorraine—René's war with the Genoese—Marriage of René to Jeanne de Laval—King Henry's concealment in Wales and elsewhere—He is discovered, and brought to London—Ill treatment of him by Warwick—He conducts him through London—Henry VI. in prison in the Tower . . . 161

## CHAPTER V.

A.D. 1465-1470.

King Edward's marriage—Warwick offended—The Widdevilles are promoted—Jealousy of the nobility—Marriage of the sister of King Edward—Warwick's revenge—His plot against Edward—He marries his daughter to Clarence—Insurrection in Yorkshire—Battle of Banbury—Earl Rivers and his son beheaded—King Edward taken prisoner—He escapes—A rising under Sir Robert Wells—Lord Wells beheaded—The battle of Ernpyngham—Warwick and Clarence, with their families, fly to Devonshire—Sail from Dartmouth—Land at Honfleur—They go to Amboise—Louis XI. sends for Queen Margaret—She is reconciled to Warwick, and Prince Edward marries Lady Ann—Warwick returns to England, and restores Henry VI. to the throne . . . 210

## CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 1470-1471.

Rejoicings in France—Queen Margaret's reception in Paris—Burgundy's discontent—King Edward at the Hague—Parliament called by Warwick—Edward's party attainted—The Earl of Worcester beheaded—Warwick sends for Margaret, and waits for her at Dover—The league "du bien public"—René's conduct—John of Anjou in Spain—His death—René's letters, genius, paintings, writings—His good nature and love of his people—His Institutions—The Duke of Burgundy's policy—Affairs in England—Edward returns and lands in Yorkshire—Warwick opposes him—Clarence joins his brother—Restoration of Edward IV.—His affability—King Henry sent to the Tower . . . 263

## CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 1471.

Battle of Barnet—Warwick killed—Edward enters London in triumph—Queen Margaret lands at Weymouth—She takes refuge at Cearn—Then at Beaulieu—Her alarm for her son's safety—She goes to Bath—The Lords assemble the Lancastrian forces—King Edward collects his army—Battle of Tewkesbury—Somerset and others taken prisoners and executed—Murder of Prince Edward—Queen Margaret taken prisoner—Sir John Fortescue taken, and set free—The Queen led in triumph to London, and imprisoned in the Tower—Henry VI. murdered—His burial—His own choice of the place of his sepulture—Three parties claim the right of the interment of his body—A licence granted by the Pope for his removal—The design of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. to repair his tomb—His character . . . 292

## CHAPTER VIII.

A.D. 1471-1480.

Queen Margaret in prison in the Tower—Removed to Windsor—Then to Wallingford—René's age and misfortunes—Death of Charles of Anjou, and of Ferri de Vaudemont; also the death of Nicholas of Anjou—Louis XI. seizes on Anjou—René retires to Provence—His pursuits, tastes, and disposition—René's letter to Queen Margaret—Louis XI. meets René at Lyons—René appoints Charles of Maine his heir—Cession of the rights of René—Louis treats with King Edward—Margaret's ransom—She leaves England—Yields up all her rights—Her melancholy—René at Gardane—He instructs his grand-daughter—The defeat and death of "Charles the Bold" by the Duke of Lorraine—René's illness—Death—Will—Removal of his body—Interment, monument, and epitaph—René's Institutions—His character—Charles of Anjou his successor—His death—Louis XI. his heir . . . 330

## CHAPTER IX.

A.D. 1480-1482.

Queen Margaret's second cession to Louis XI.—Her pension—Her residence at Dampierre—Her last days—Her death, burial, and will—The cathedral of St. Maurice—Character of Queen Margaret—The sequel to Jeanne de Laval, Yoland of Anjou, Margaret of Lorraine, Cecily Duchess of York, Elizabeth Woodville, and other prominent characters, in conclusion . . . 368



## CHAPTER X.

	PAGE
Review of the fifteenth century—Causes of the Wars of “the Roses”— Religion, politics, arts and sciences, literature, manners, and customs . . . . .	384

APPENDIX . . . . .	427
--------------------	-----

## MARGARET OF ANJOU.

## CHAPTER I.

(*Warwick to Plantagenet.*) “In signal of my love to thee,  
 “Will I upon thy party wear the rose;  
 “And here I prophesy—this brawl to-day,  
 “Grown to this faction in the Temple Gardens,  
 “Shall send, between the Red rose and the White  
 “A thousand souls to death, and deadly night.”\*—SHAKESPEARE.

White and Red Roses—Battle of St. Alban's—Somerset is slain—The Yorkists conduct the King to London—King Henry's illness—York made “Protector”—Henry recovers, and York is deprived of his office—He retires into Yorkshire—He consults with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick—The King and Queen go to Coventry—Margaret's stratagem, and her attempt to reconcile the two parties—They come to London—The reconciliation and procession to St. Paul's—The Yorkists withdraw from Court—An affray in London—Warwick assaulted—Salisbury takes up arms—Battle of Blackheath—Lord Audley slain—Queen Margaret assembles a large army at Coventry—Remonstrates with the King, who advances to Ludlow—He offers pardon to the rebels—Complaints of the Yorkists—The Duke of York's stratagem—Trollop goes over to the King, and the Yorkists disperse—The castle and town of Ludlow spoiled—A Parliament held at Coventry—The Yorkists attainted—The Duke of York in Ireland—Somerset sent to gain Calais—Interview between York and Warwick in Ireland—The punishment of the Yorkists—Rebellion of the Kentishmen, who are joined by the Lords from Calais—An army of 25,000 march to London—The gates of the city are thrown open to receive them.

THE two contending parties had assumed the badge of a rose; a white one being borne by the Yorkists, whilst a red one distinguished the party of the Lancastrians. It seems strange that so lovely a flower,

\* Shakespeare seems to have chosen from tradition, rather than history, the locality of the Temple Gardens, as the scene where the two badges were first assumed by the Yorkists and Lancastrians.

always emblematical of beauty; of innocence, and of love, should in those days have been used as the badge of destruction, hatred, and bloodshed; but it affords another instance amongst the many of man's perversion of the good gifts in nature, when excited by his passions to the destruction of his fellow-men in civil warfare.

As early as the time of John of Ghent, the rose was used as an heraldic emblem; and when he married Blanche, the daughter of the Duke of Lancaster, he used the red rose for his device. Edmund of Langley, his brother, the fifth son of Edward III., adopted the white rose in opposition to him; and their followers afterwards maintained these distinctions in the bloody wars of the fifteenth century. There is, however, no authentic account of the precise period when these badges were first adopted. The "House of Clifford" bore the white rose, being descended by a female line from Edmund of Langley. We are further told that the white rose was the device of the castle of Clifford, one of the possessions of the Duke of York. The badge of the House of York was first the white falcon, and it was not until the time of his claiming the crown that the Duke of York adopted the white rose, when it is probable he chose it for his followers from its contrast to that of his rival.\*

1455. In the town of St. Alban's, on the 23rd of May, 1455, was fought the first battle in the memorable wars of the Roses.

Baker;  
Holinshed;  
Sandford.

\* The white dog-rose, "*rosa arvensis*," which is most common in the west of Yorkshire, has been generally named as the rebel rose; but both white and red were rebellious emblems, as the blood of our ancestors has proved. Some have said that during the civil wars a rose-tree, found at Longfleet, bore white flowers on one side and red ones on the other, prognosticating the union of the two Houses; also, that after the marriage of Henry VII. a rose was first seen with red and white petals, called the "York and Lancaster," an emblem of that happy union.—*Sandford; Pennant; Londiniana; Willemont's Regal Heraldry; Camden's Remains; Phillips's Sylva Florifera.*

The two armies met on level ground, where there appeared to be no impediment to fighting, and an engagement seemed inevitable. Before its commencement King Henry sent a herald to the Duke of York, commanding him to keep the peace as a dutiful subject, and thus to avoid the shedding of blood. To this the Duke, who, in all his actions sought to make it appear that he was consulting the public good, replied, that he would dismiss his troops if the King would deliver up the Duke of Somerset to submit to the ordinary course of justice. The King refused, declaring, with firmness, "That, sooner than abandon one of the Lords who was faithful to him, he was prepared that day to live or die in their quarrel." Thus was the Duke's offer rejected, the Court only regarding it as a vain pretext; and finding no other way to accommodate their differences but by the sword, both parties prepared for battle.

The King's banner was placed in St. Peter's Street. The attack was commenced in three places by the insurgents, who, headed by the Earl of Warwick, vigorously pressed the royalists, shouting the tremendous name of their leader, as they broke in through the gardens into Holywell Street. The Duke of York also entered the town, when a dreadful fight ensued. The suddenness as well as the force of the assault had thrown the royalists into great confusion, and the Duke of Somerset found it impossible to repair the disorder. The opportunity, indeed, was scarcely afforded him, for the Duke of York, perceiving the advantage which his friend had gained, seconded him with so much alacrity that the battle was quickly decided, with the loss of 5,000, or as some say, 8,000 \* men, on the side of the royalists.

\* Pennant says orders had been given by the King, or Queen, that no quarter should be given. Authors differ much in their computations. Some

Many of the chief nobility were slain. Amongst those who fell were the commander, the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland (son of the noted Hotspur), Humphrey Earl of Stafford, the valiant John Lord Clifford, who had defended the barriers, and several others of less note. The Duke of Buckingham, the Lords Dorset, Dudley, and Wenlock, with others, who were also wounded, withdrew from the battle, and thus the defeat was complete.\*

King Henry, finding himself deserted by his chief nobility, and having received a wound in the neck with an arrow, retired to a neighbouring dwelling, which was quickly invested. The Duke of York, with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, hastened thither, and, throwing themselves on their knees before their Sovereign, with mock humility assured him of their readiness to obey all his commands, now that their common enemy, the "Traitor" Somerset was no more. The affrighted monarch exclaimed, "Let there be no more killing, and I'll do what you will have me!" A retreat was immediately sounded, and King Henry was conducted by the Duke of York, first to the shrine of St. Alban's, and afterwards to London.

The lively interest so universally felt for the King was evinced on this occasion. A letter written immediately after this battle ends thus:—"And as for our sovereign Lord, thanked be God he hath no great harm." This first battle of St. Alban's was chiefly gained by the archers. The Duke of Somerset

say that many thousands were slain in this battle. One writer tells us 800 common men, besides the nobles. A letter, dated the day after the battle, reduces the number to six score. The day of the battle has also varied; by some it is placed on the 2nd, 22nd, 23rd, or 28th of May.

\* Baker; Holinshed; Hall; Fabian; Rapin; Carte; Harding's Chron.; Milles's Catalogue; Sandford; Pennant; Henry; Daniel; Stow; Lond. Chron.; Howel; Toplis; Lingard; Hume; Paston Letters; Rot. Parl.; Bridge's Northampt.; Phillips's Shrewsbury.

lost his life beneath the sign of the "Castle," thus fulfilling the prophecy of Margery Jourdemayne, the "witch of Eye," which has thus been given by Shakespeare:—

"Let him shun castles,  
"Safer shall he be on the sandy plains,  
"Than where castles mounted stand."\*

In the chapel of St. Mary, at St. Alban's, were interred the bodies of Somerset, Northumberland, Clifford, and others, to the number of forty-seven, slain in this battle.†

The timid monks of St. Alban's Abbey had anxiously "listened to the clash of arms and the groans of the wounded, and on the morning after the battle issued from their cells to behold the melancholy spectacle. The maimed and mangled corpses lay in the streets, transfixed with barbed darts, which had made such havoc amidst the partisans of the red rose." Fearful of offending the victor, these monks would not remove the bodies of the slain, until permission had been given them. Then the pious brethren performed their obsequies, and interred them in a line in the chapel, each one of the nobles and others according to their birth and rank.‡

Sir Philip Wentworth, who had borne the King's standard in the field, cast it down and fled; thus he drew upon himself the contempt of all parties by this base desertion of the royal colours. The Duke of Norfolk, although on the Yorkist side, would have hanged him for his cowardice, had he not concealed himself in Suffolk, not daring to appear before the King.§

In the reverse of fortune which King Henry at this

\* Baker; Holinshed; Sandford; Toplis; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Howel; Paston Letters; Pennant; Rapin; Lingard.

† Pol. Vergil; Milles's Catalogue; Pennant; Daniel.

‡ Wethamstede; Gough.

§ Paston Letters.

time experienced, he did not so much lament his own misfortunes, as he grieved at the death of the Duke of Somerset. He had placed such great confidence in him, and could not but regret that, after his conduct in France, and the great valour he had shown abroad, he should at length be slain at home by his own countrymen.

It is recorded, of this first battle of St. Alban's, that no executions were commanded by the victorious party. The ties of kindred were yet unbroken by the ambitious and vindictive spirit of the nobles and heads of families; but, it being a point of honour to revenge offences, these high-born chiefs, yielding more and more to their resentment, became at length implacable, and daily widened the breach between the two parties. In this fatal contest of "the Roses," the first blood shed was in this battle of St. Alban's. It was the commencement of an era quite unprecedented in English history, and signalized by twelve pitched battles, in which alternately the banners of York and Lancaster floated triumphantly; the utmost fierceness and cruelty being exhibited during a period of thirty years, in which it is computed not less than eighty princes of the blood lost their lives, and almost all the ancient nobility of this land were annihilated.\*

1455.  
Holinshed;  
Milles's  
Catalogue;  
Paston  
Letters.

After the battle of St. Alban's and the King's return to the metropolis, a Parliament was summoned by this monarch, which was appointed for the 9th of July following.† The Lords were commanded to attend with only their own household servants, such fear was there, that this meeting would lead to discord and contention.

A letter of that period informs us that the King, Queen and Prince then repaired to Hertford, to remain

\* Toplis; Hume.

† This was prorogued on the 31st of July to the 12th of November.

until the opening of Parliament. The Duke of York also went to the Friars at Ware, the Earl of Warwick to Hunsdon, and the Earl of Salisbury to Rye, to await the time of this important session.

The Duke of Buckingham had, it appears, taken an oath of submission to the Yorkists, and was bound, as were his two brothers, by recognizance in notable sums to adhere to their party. Previous to the late engagement the Earl of Wiltshire had been in attendance on the King's person, and desiring to return to this office he addressed a letter from Petersfield to the victorious Lords for their permission to do so, or in case of their refusal, to allow him to depart to Ireland and live there on his own estate; but, previously to this, these lords were advised to require of him, the same as of the Duke of Buckingham.

The Baron Dudley was in the Tower, having accused many persons; and the Earl of Dorset was in the custody of the Earl of Warwick.

Three persons were, at this time, accused of conspiring to stab the Duke of York in the King's chamber, but they were able to clear themselves of the charge; yet this occasioned a great commotion throughout London, on Corpus Christi, the 5th of June.

In this month also a blazing star is recorded by the chroniclers to have appeared, extending its beams to the south: the ominous precursor of this Parliament and of the coming disasters.\*

The unfortunate King Henry was at this season again attacked by his former disorder, and the session was opened by the Duke of York, as his Lieutenant. The next day the Commons petitioned that if the King were incapable of attending to the protection of the country an able person should be appointed as "Protector," to whom they might have recourse, to redress

1455.

\* Paston Letters; Howel's Medulla Historiæ Anglicanæ.

their grievances; especially as great disturbances had lately arisen in the West, through the feuds of the Earl of Devonshire and Lord Bonville.

Upon this the Lords conjured the Duke of York to undertake this charge. In reply, the Duke, with affected humility, alleged his incapacity; but, on their renewed entreaties accompanied with compliments on his wisdom and abilities, he accepted this office, but conditionally, that the "Protectorate" should not be, as before, revocable at the will of the King, but by the Parliament, with the consent of the Lords temporal and spiritual. The powers of government were vested in the Council; but this provision was only intended by the Duke to blind the eyes of the nation, as he had previously secured a majority in his favour in the Council, and his two friends Salisbury and Warwick had already been appointed to fill the offices of Chancellor and Governor of Calais.

A declaration was next made to this effect, viz., that the Queen and the Duke of Somerset had imposed on the King's kindness and condescension, and had administered badly in his name. Also that they had laid a false accusation against the Duke of Gloucester, who was declared in this Parliament to have been a true and loyal subject.

The alienations of crown lands of this reign were now revoked, and an attempt was made to justify the late rebellion, under the plea that the King required to be set free from his thralldom. All the blame was cast on Somerset and his party, whose concealment of the Duke of York's letter had been the cause of the late commotions. This letter, so maliciously withheld from the knowledge of the King by the Duke of Somerset, Thomas Thorp, Baron of the Exchequer, and William Joseph, Esquire, their confidant, was intended, they said, to promote the peace and welfare of the

kingdom; for therein they had merely required, as good and loyal subjects, that the King would be pleased not to listen to the misrepresentations of their enemies, until, by their presence, they might be enabled to confute them. Further, they had humbly craved permission to approach their sovereign, in order to exhibit the causes of their appearing in arms, by which they purposed only to show their fidelity to his person, and to promote his security and honour. The suppression of this letter furnished them with a pretext in Parliament to justify their subsequent conduct, as well as for the battle which had ensued, in the result of which they were triumphant. A general pardon was granted by them to all who had committed crimes and offences previous to the first day of this session.

The Yorkists, having established their authority, decided that King Henry should be permitted to maintain his dignity; yet they suffered him to enjoy but the name of King. They dared not take his life, lest by this act they should provoke the anger of the people, who were strongly attached to him, for his peaceful and holy life and for his clemency. The Duke of York, therefore, as well as the Duke of Clarence and the Earls of Warwick and Oxford made a great show of favour and condescension to the King, calling themselves his best friends. They even took oath on the 24th of July in the most solemn manner, and swore allegiance to their King, promising to defend his person and maintain his authority; and this oath was ordered to be enacted in the Parliamentary Roll, and also incorporated in the "Book of the Council" to be left on record.\* Nor would the Duke of York allow it to appear that King Henry acted by compulsion. For this reason a petition had

\* This "Book of the Council" referred to no longer exists, and probably with it have perished many important records of the reign of Henry VI.



been several times presented to the King during his illness, and while residing at Hertford, praying him to nominate a Protector, being himself incapacitated for paying attention to affairs of state. This monarch at length appointed the Duke of York to fill that high office until removed by Parliament, or the young Prince should be of age to govern.

This was the second time that York was made Protector, and it lasted but a brief period.

The illness of King Henry at this time was not so severe as in the preceding year. The condition of apathy into which he had fallen was not mental only, but also bodily, being obliged to be assisted from one room to another by two of his attendants.

1455. On the 5th of June this year the Dean of Salisbury, named Kemer, a man approved of as expert and notable in "the craft of medicine," was, by order of Parliament, sent "to wait upon the King at Windsor, "he being (as the doctor was well aware) labouring "under sickness and infirmities."

Henry was, notwithstanding all this, still capable of attending to public affairs at times, as the proceedings of the period show; many things being referred to him by the Council. He also declared his son, the young Edward, to be Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall, and passed an act of resumption of all grants made since the first year of his reign.

Parliament was prorogued on the 13th of December to the 14th of January following, partly on account of the departure of the Duke of York, who was compelled to repair into the west, to quell the riots and rebellion which were giving rise to murders and various crimes in that part of the kingdom. While the "Protectorate" lasted, the King was obliged to approve of the conduct of the Duke, however despotic, and to commit the sole direction of affairs into his hands.

The Earl of Salisbury at this time surrendered the King's Great Seal of silver, and two others also, one of gold, and the other of silver. On the 7th of March, 1455, these three seals were by the King placed in the charge of Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, who took the oath of Chancellor.\* 1455. In the late Parliament the Duke of York had caused a bill to be passed, granting to Queen Margaret for life an annual pension of £1,000, to be drawn from the rights and imposts of the customs of the port of Southampton, and from several manors and heritages in the counties of Northampton, Southampton, and Oxfordshire. The Protector at the same time committed the care of the King during his sickness, and of her infant son, to the Queen, and assigned their residence at Hertford. Margaret was not in a position to resist this arrangement, and she seemed to be absorbed in her duty and solicitude as a wife and mother; but ere long she found means to repair with her husband and child to Greenwich, where she speedily assembled her friends around her.

During these times the election of members for the House of Commons, even for counties, was much influenced by the great men of the day. Thus we find the Duke of York, while in the exercise of chief authority, meeting by appointment the Duke of Norfolk at Bury St. Edmunds, passed there a day with this staunch adherent of his cause, and they together determined on the persons whom they chose to be returned as knights of the shire for the county of Norfolk. A schedule of the intention of the Duke, with the names of those chosen, was forwarded to Sir John Paston by the 18th of October this year, 1455,

\* Baker; Holinshed; Sandford; Carte; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Milles's Catalogue; Rot. Parl.; Stow; Sir H. Nicolas' *Proceedings of Privy Council*; Paston Letters; Hallam; Pol. Vergil; Howel; Daniel and Trussel; Wethamstede; Lingard.

by the Earl of Oxford. This noble Earl had ever been faithfully a Lancastrian, but he had just married the daughter and heir of Sir John Howard, knight, and the lady's possessions were at Winch, in Norfolk, from which place the above letter was dated. The Earl had joined the party of the Duke of York (who had not yet advanced his claims to the crown), and he, therefore, resolved to second his intentions. When he became, however, acquainted with the Duke's ambition and treasonable purpose, Oxford reverted to his former allegiance.\*

1455.  
Paston  
Letters;  
Holinshed.

During this season, when the Yorkists openly triumphed, they ventured even to accuse some of the friends of the House of Lancaster with being guilty of numerous outrages and offences. They openly charged Lord Scales, Sir Thomas Todenham, Sir Miles Stapylton, and John Heydon, of being confederate together and causing riots, so that, but for the care and loyalty of the Yorkists, much evil would have arisen amongst the liege subjects of the King during their late stay at Norwich.

The Duke of York and his party contrived to put aside from the Council all those "whom the King loved or the Queen favoured," and substituted others more disposed to their own views. All public offices were supplied in like manner, until the three Richards (York, Salisbury, and Warwick), like the famed triumvirate of old, governed all things according to their own will and pleasure. Some writers affirm that it was in order to exercise their despotic rule, and to be able to deprive King Henry of his kingdom, or his life, when they pleased, that they removed his former counsellors and substituted others. However this might be, justice was duly administered and no bribery allowed; the only complaint was made by the

\* Paston Letters.

Abbot of Westminster, on account of the removal from the sanctuary of Westminster of John Holland, Duke of Exeter, whom they had dismissed to the Castle of Pomfret. They also released from sanctuary Sir William Oldhall, a follower of Wickliff.\*

The meek Henry listened to the various arguments of the Yorkists in excuse for their proceedings. He affected to believe them, and even acquitted them of disloyalty, pardoned their offences, and received from his peers their renewed oaths of fealty.

These lords, however, upon the same day that they had assured their captive monarch of their allegiance, quarrelled amongst themselves. Some high words passed between the Earl of Warwick and Lord Cromwell in the King's presence, each seeking to excuse his own conduct relative to the battle of St. Alban's; at length, on Warwick accusing Lord Cromwell of being the first instigator of the late rebellion, so much anger was excited, that, fearing some danger to himself, Cromwell made an appeal to the Earl of Shrewsbury, who, for his protection, lodged him in the Hospital of St. James's, beside the Mews.†

The spirit of contention was spreading through the metropolis; civil commotions disturbed the peace of the city. The lawless inhabitants of St. Martin's exhibited at this time more boldness and audacity than they had done before. In a body they issued forth on one occasion, and assaulted and wounded several of the citizens, and then withdrew into the Sanctuary. The Mayor and Aldermen, heading the citizens, forced open the gates of St. Martin's, and secured the ring-leaders. The Dean complained of breach of privilege; and the King sent for the Mayor to come to him, in

1455.

\* Pol. Vergil; Baker; Holinshed; Sandford; Paston Letters; Stow; Rymer; Lingard.

† Stow; Rot. Parl.; Carte; Paston Letters; Lingard.

Hertfordshire; but more respect was afterwards shown to the citizens, who detained their prisoners until a further investigation of the affair. Another serious affray occurred in the following year, between the citizens and the foreigners residing in London, when the men of the Sanctuary joined in the plunder of the unfortunate strangers.\*

It would be difficult to exhibit faithfully the convulsed and agitated state of society in England during this brief season, the Protectorate of York.

After the battle of St. Alban's continual quarrels arose between the two parties, the first being that between Warwick and Cromwell before the King. From this time the Yorkists, ever apprehensive of some danger to themselves, wore armour in the streets, and carried offensive weapons in their barges. It was in vain that the King forbade this hostile array. The fierce spirit of the two factions was so easily excited, that even upon an idle rumour they drew their swords, and were ready to shed each other's blood. Gradually the same state of public feeling and excitement spread throughout the kingdom, and lawlessness and anarchy became general. The nobles, thirsting for each other's possessions, and setting no bounds to their ambition or to their private pique, seemed to be no longer amenable to justice or to the laws. The age of barbarism appeared to have returned.

The remote parts of England were no less troubled with frequent riots and depredations; and in the west, the ancient feud of Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, and William, Lord Bonville of Shute, still threatened to involve in its pitiless fury even the innocent, as victims of party rage. The affray between these two noblemen, which caused great consternation, occurred upon

1455.  
Holinshed;  
Paston  
Letters.

\* Paston Letters.

Cliftheath, near Exeter.\* The occasion of their quarrel was but trivial; some say a dog, others a couple of hounds; but no mediation of friends could appease the wrath of these noblemen, until a single combat had ensued at Cliftheath, and ultimately many were slain, or wounded, on both sides. Lord Bonville was victorious, and soon after came to Exeter to take shelter, when the citizens threw open their gates to receive him, at which the Earl of Devonshire took such displeasure, thinking that it was done out of disrespect to himself, that he constantly, from that time, endeavoured to be revenged.†

It is a painful task for the truthful historian to narrate the instances of summary vengeance too often taken by the turbulent leaders of factions. A melancholy record exhibits one of the results of this feud.

When the variance between Lord Bonville and the Earl of Devonshire had continued many days, and, as the chronicler adds, "much debate was like to grow thereby," on the 23rd of October, at night, the son of the Earl of Devonshire came, accompanied by sixty "men-at-arms," to Radford's Place, in Devonshire. Nicholas Radford, who was an eminent lawyer, lived at Poughill, near Kyrton. This infirm old man, an adherent of Bonville, was prevailed upon by some stratagem to open his gates to this party, who plundered his residence, and after various kinds of ill-treatment, barbarously murdered him. This conduct, directed by the son and heir of the Earl of Devonshire, shows the lawless violence of the times.‡

These outrages demanded the prompt attention of

\* Some date this affray in 1453. W. of Worcester tells us that Bonville was besieged in Taunton Castle by this earl, and that the Duke of York, with Lord Moleyns, William Herbert, and others took them by surprise, after which Bonville joined the Yorkists.

† Holinshed; Izaacke's Exeter; Worthies of Devon.

‡ Paston Letters; Carte.

the "Protector," who repaired immediately to the West, to put an end to the tumults and appease the two irascible noblemen, and to terminate their quarrel. In all these his endeavours at pacification the Duke of York was successful, but his absence from the metropolis greatly favoured the party of the Lancastrians, which was now beginning to recover some of its former influence.

The activity of Queen Margaret, when not engaged in warfare, is very remarkable. She was always indefatigable in visiting the places where she hoped to find succour, or in forming acquaintance with such persons as were likely to assist her cause. In her progress this year, the Queen honoured the city of Chester<sup>1455.</sup> with her presence; she was accompanied by many lords and ladies, and was graciously received and welcomed by the mayor and the citizens.†

It was on the 25th of November of this year that George Neville, the second son of the Earl of Salisbury, was elected and consecrated Bishop of Chester, being, at that time, not quite twenty years of age. Five years afterwards he was made Lord Chancellor.‡

The beauty and wit of Queen Margaret, aided by her intellectual qualities, rendered her condescensions agreeable to all classes of her subjects to whom she made herself known. She was fond of learning, and acquainted with all those accomplishments which in her age were deemed desirable for a woman to possess; and these, doubtless, contributed to endear her to the King, her husband, and gave her such great influence over his mind, which influence, we are told, was unbounded.

Henry the Sixth, himself a learned prince, found in

\* Some writers say that this progress of Queen Margaret was in 1453.

† Holinshed; Annals of Chester; Harl. MSS.; Lysons' Mag. Brit.; Henningay's Hist. of Chester.

‡ Izaacke's Chester.

his beloved consort an agreeable companion, and one who could assist and participate in his favourite studies. It may therefore be presumed that their frequent progresses through the country were peculiarly pleasing to King Henry, and no less gratifying to the Queen, had not the anxiety she had begun to feel for the safety of her crown, served to counterbalance her enjoyments. The style and manner in which King Henry addresses the Queen, and their confidence, which appears to have been mutual, is pleasing to dwell upon. The King writes, concerning the woods of Kenilworth (included with others in the dowry of Margaret), and which were entirely under her control, "Right dere and right  
"entirely best beloved wyf, we grete you hertly. And  
"forasmoche as We, of oure grace especiall, have  
"granted unto John Barham X oks for tymbre, to be  
"taken in your outwods of Kenelworth, of our yefte, We  
"therefore desire and praye you, that ye wol see that  
"the said John may have delyverance of the said oks,  
"after th' entent of oure saide grante, etc., etc.  
"Even, etc., the yere of oure reign, xxvii. (1449).  
"To our right dere wyf the Queen."\*

Queen Margaret went to visit her favourite city of Coventry in 1455, accompanied by King Henry and her little son. She arrived there on the Feast of the exaltation of the Holy Cross; and many curious and quaint pageants were exhibited at her reception. 1455.  
Lysons.

At the gate she was addressed by Isaiah and Jeremiah, as Empress and Queen; and they also congratulated her on the birth of her son. Also, at the church gate, King Edward the Confessor, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Margaret, each addressed the Queen and Prince in verse; and these lines, from their singularity, have been deemed worthy of recording. They run thus:—

\* Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou, edited by Cecil Monroe.  
VOL. II.

(*St. Edward.*) "Model of mekenes, dame Margarete, princess most excellent,  
 "I, King Edward, welknowe you with affection cordial,  
 "Testefying to your highnes mekely myne intent  
 "For the wele of the King and you, hertily pray I shall  
 "And for prince Edward my gostly chylde, who I love principal,  
 "Praying the, John Evangelist, my help therin to be  
 "On that condition right humbly I give this ring to thee."

(*John Evangelist.*) "Holy Edward, crowned king, brother in verginity,  
 "My power plainly I will prefer thy will to amplefy,  
 "Most excellent princes of wymen mortal, your bedeman will I be.  
 "I know your life so virtuous that God is pleased thereby  
 "The birth of you unto this reme shall cause great melody:  
 "The vertuous voice of prince Edward shall dayly well encrease,  
 "St. Edward his godfader, and I shall pray therefore doubtlesse."

(*St. Margaret*) "Most notable princes of wymen earthle, Dame Margarete, the  
 chefe myrth of this empyre,  
 "Ye be hertely welcome to this cyte.  
 "To the plesure of your highnesse I will set my desyre;  
 "Both nature and gentleness doth me require,  
 "Sith we be both of one name, to shew you kindness;  
 "Wherefore by my power ye shall have no distress.  
 "I shall pray to the Prince that is endlese,  
 "To sucour you with solas of his high grace;  
 "He will here my petition, this is doubtlesse,  
 "For I wrought all my life that, his will wase,  
 "Therefore lady, when you be in any dreadful case,  
 "Call on me boldly therefore I pray you,  
 "And trust in me feythfully, I will do that may pay you." \*

There was also a pageant of the nine worthies, in which "Hector welcomed her tenderly," and at the cross were "divers angels."

Joshua promised to fight for her as "knyghte for  
 "hys ladye," and David eulogized her many virtues. The conduit was "arraied" "with as many vergyns  
 "as might stande thereon," and a "grete dragon,  
 "breathing flames, and St. Margaret killing him" (as in her legend), at the same time assuring her namesake  
 "quean that, both nature and gentilness bound her  
 "to do all kindness to Margaret of Anjou."

The city of Coventry was at this time well worthy of royal notice. In the ancient records it is called the

\* Warton's Eng. Poetry.

"Prince's Chamber,"\* and it was chosen to be one of the first visited by the infant Edward. The notice of its fair sovereign also obtained for this city the appellation of the "Queen's Chamber," and that it was particularly favoured by Queen Margaret is evident, from its being likewise styled the "secret harbour," or "bower" of that Queen.

When Henry VI. came to Coventry in 1451, he constituted this city with the contiguous district into a separate county, independent of the county of Warwick. He also conferred many favours on Coventry at that time. He created the first sheriff, and presented a gown of cloth of gold to St. Michael's church, where he attended mass. Coventry was the resort of devotees, and had numerous splendid religious buildings, and its massive embattled walls were in high state of preservation. Its merchants, too, were spirited and enterprising, as well as rich and generous. The citizens of Coventry zealously supported King Henry in all the contests between the two Houses of York and Lancaster, and vainly did King Edward IV. seek to win over that city, when he came in 1465, and kept festival there. He could not shake the fidelity of the inhabitants to their beloved monarch.

The most beautiful buildings of Coventry were erected during the reign of Henry VI., and of these the body of St. Michael's Church and St. Mary's Hall are the most remarkable. Within the hall of St. Mary's were portrayed, on the splendid tapestry with which it was adorned, the portraits of King Henry and his consort, each with their attendants; and as the tapestry was made, and affixed there, during the

\* London was then called the "King's Chamber," or "Camera Regia," a title, Camden tells us, it obtained soon after the Conquest. Lydgate, writing of London, says, "The King's Chambre of custom, men the calle."



lifetime of these sovereigns, the portraits may be regarded as authentic.

1456.

The chief purpose of the Queen's visit to Coventry appears to have been to remove and guard the King from the machinations of the Yorkists.\* Queen Margaret also went to Bristol, in 1456, with many of the nobility, and was received there with much honour and well entertained.†

In this year she likewise revisited Chester, and by her courtesy and regal hospitality, gained the hearts of the people of that city.‡ While the Queen was at Chester King Henry remained at Shene, having as his only companion his half-brother the Earl of Pembroke, whilst the Earl of Richmond, his other brother, and Griffith were engaged in war in Wales.§

The Earl of Warwick was at Warwick about this time, and the Duke of Buckingham at Writtle. The Earl of Salisbury, who was Chancellor and Treasurer, was the only lord who was staying in London on the day of the commencement of the great Council. As for the Duke of York, though Calais and Guisnes were threatened with siege, and many fleets upon the seas; though Kentish men were again rebellious and "much in doing" amongst them; yet, says the writer of these "novelties," "my Lord of York is still at Sandall, and waiteth on the Queen, and she upon him." Their mutual suspicion made them watch each other's movements.

The Duke of York, after having established his authority as Protector, made no further attempts to

\* Hall; Lond. Chron.; Pennant; Fabyan; Henry; Smith's Costume of Brit.; Encyclopædia Britannica.

† Seyer's Memoirs of Bristol.

‡ Heningay's Chester.

§ The Earl of Richmond died in November of 1456. He had married, about the year 1455, Lady Margaret Beaufort, daughter of the Duke of Somerset, and their son was but an infant at his father's death. He afterwards conquered Richard III. and succeeded to the English throne.

advance himself, but gave himself up to a life of apparent security and indifference, which surprised even his enemies; and whilst he permitted the King and Queen to remain at liberty, he vainly imagined that they could not deprive him of the Protectorate.

Thinking it too dangerous to lay open claims to a crown which, for fifty-six years had been worn by the Lancastrians, he contentedly awaited a more favourable season for the consummation of his ambitious projects; meanwhile, seeking to secure the favour of the people, as the only certain means for its attainment. By a show of equity and moderation, the Duke sought to win the affections of the people, and to undermine the Queen's credit; yet the irresolution which he manifested at the same time, served to balance the power between the two parties; for, while it restrained him from openly asserting his claims to the crown, at so favourable a juncture, it no less permitted the Queen to preserve her influence by means of her superior energy and firmness of character.

Queen Margaret easily penetrated the design of her adversary, and was not slow in exerting herself to disappoint it. Her lofty and enterprising spirit was not discouraged by difficulty or danger, and she sought every opportunity to oppose the pretensions of the Duke. Displeased with the late proceedings, the Queen endeavoured to excite a spirit of resistance in the Lords of her party, representing to Humphry Duke of Buckingham, that these traitors had slain his son at St. Alban's, and to Henry, Duke of Somerset, who had succeeded his father in the dukedom, that it was these rebels who had also killed his father. Both these noblemen were attached to their King, and grieved at his adverse situation; and they reminded the Queen of the indignity done to her by the Yorkists, in depriving her husband, King Henry of all authority,

while they ruled themselves with despotic power; thus they sought to rouse her to opposition. Most of the Lancastrian Lords, being well aware of the intentions of the Duke of York, which only waited a fitting time for execution, were eager to oppose his attempts at the crown, and had resolved to take some steps against the usurper. Some writers say that the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, with other Lords, first went to Queen Margaret secretly, and acquainted her with their determination, representing to her that the Duke of York sought to deceive the King, and even, unawares, to kill him; and they urged her timely exertions to prevent these evil consequences, and required her to remove King Henry from these wicked counsellors. Upon this admonition, Queen Margaret, who was much affected, and alarmed for her own and her husband's safety, seized the opportunity, not many days after, to prevail upon the King, under pretence of seeking a more wholesome residence, to repair to Coventry.

This city was ever devoted to the interests of Queen Margaret; and afforded her a haven of refuge in all the political storms which threatened to destroy her peace, or her life. It was in this city that King Henry, perceiving his imminent peril at this time, assembled his friends and adherents, and took measures for his future safety. After mature deliberation it was resolved that the Duke of York should be deprived of his office as "Protector," and the Earl of Salisbury of his, as Chancellor. By command of the Queen a Council was called for this purpose, to assemble at Greenwich.\*

It was not to be expected that the Queen would suffer the Duke of York to retain very long his office,

\* Holinshed; Sandford; Baker; Stow; Milles's Catalogue; Rapin; Pol. Vergil; Lingard; Hume.

which gave him such great influence in the kingdom; and she soon found a pretext for his removal in the restoration of the King's health. During a temporary absence of the Duke, Queen Margaret caused the King to appear in Council, and there, after stating that, by the grace of God, he had been restored to health, and found himself again able to undertake the government of the kingdom, he demanded the Duke of York's resignation.

1456.  
Rapin.  
Hume;  
Lingard;  
Henry.

The members of Parliament who were present readily agreed to the dismissal of the Duke, either considering this demand was reasonable, or being secretly won over by the royalists.\*

The Duke of York was accordingly deprived of his office on the 25th of February, 1456, and the Earl of Salisbury displaced. These noblemen, as well as the Earl of Warwick, were summoned to appear before the Council, at Greenwich, but they did not obey the command, affirming "that no power could call them to account."† The unconcern of the Duke had arisen from the opinion of his security in his office of "Protector:" he was therefore thunderstruck on finding himself so suddenly, and unexpectedly, removed from his dignity; but, conscious that the power which had effected it was too strong to be overcome, he smothered his resentment, and appeared to acquiesce in the new arrangement. His friends followed his example; and, under the plea, that they had no employment at Court, they all, soon afterwards, withdrew into Yorkshire. Here frequent conferences were held by Salisbury and Warwick with the Duke of York; and Queen Margaret, fearing some treason, resolved to break their confederacy.‡ Queen Mar-

\* Stow; Pol. Vergil; Fabian; Rapin; Hume; Lingard; Henry; Nicolas's Acts of Privy Council. † Sandford; Baker; Lingard; Fabian.

‡ Pol. Vergil; Hume; Rapin; Henry; Lingard; Holinshed; Sir H. Nicolas's Proceedings of Council.

garet called to the royal Council the Dukes of Buckingham and Somerset, and Thomas Bouchiere, on the 11th of October, resigned the Chancellorship to Waynfleet, his personal friend. The gentle character of Henry VI. had preserved him many friends, who were unwilling to see him deprived of his authority. The sudden change, however, from the administration of the Yorkists to that of Queen Margaret, who governed again entirely according to her own will and pleasure, occasioned some commotions in London, where the majority favoured the Duke of York. So powerful, indeed, was this faction, that the Queen could not proceed against the Duke in that city, and even judged the person of the King unsafe in the capital.

1456.  
Paston  
Letters.

Some disturbances had arisen there on 15th May, between the citizens and some merchants of Lombardy, which she suspected had been raised by the Yorkists. It is indeed probable that the leaders of this party took some share in these turmoils, of which many false reports were circulated; viz., that Lord Beaumont was slain, the Earl of Warwick much hurt, that 1,000 men were killed, and six score knights and esquires wounded. Two of the Lombards were hanged, and peace was restored.

The King was at this time still at Shene,\* and the

\* It has been said that no trace can be found of Henry VI. having been at Shene; the following letter, however, shows that both King Henry and Queen Margaret did resort thither, at any rate for hunting:—

“By the Quene,

“Trusty and welbeloved, for as moche as we suppose that in short tyme, we shall come right negh unto my lord’s manoir of Shene, we desire and praye you hertly that ye will kepe ayeinst one resortinge thedre, for our disporte and recreation, two or iii of the gretest bukkes in my lord’s parc there, saving alwayes my lord’s owne commandment there in his presence. As we trust, etc. To my lord’s squier and ours, J. B., Keper of Shene Parke, or his depute there.”

There is no means of fixing the date of this letter.—*Letters of Queen Margaret*, edited by Cecil Monro.

Queen and Prince at Tutbury, in Staffordshire, or, as most of the historians say, at Coventry.\*

In this year there appears to have been a little respite from domestic feuds, but the alarm and mistrust was still general, and these were doubtless augmented by the frequent incursions of foreign enemies.

1457.  
Baker;  
Rapin.

A party of Bretons first landed on the coasts, and committed some depredations, but was repulsed. Then, the French, taking advantage of the divisions among the English nobility, made an attempt at Fulney, or Foy,† in Cornwall, and plundered this town and some others. This expedition was conducted by William, Lord Poinyers. Another, and a more considerable invasion, on the part of the French, was headed by Pierre de Brézé, whose forces amounted to 1,500 men, but after doing some injury at Sandwich, they were compelled to depart.‡

The French historians have furnished us with very minute details of this descent upon Sandwich, which they considered reflected much glory on their countrymen. They inform us, that the chief originator of this enterprise was the Queen of England. It may not be uninteresting to trace these details; for, in so doing, we become acquainted with the source of this movement, the Queen’s motives, and the great power of the Duke of York, at this early commencement of the civil contest.§

It was during the King’s inability to govern, owing to his indisposition, that the Duke of York obtained supreme authority, in the year 1454; when, taking advantage of his high position, he showed great favour to the family of Douglas, in opposition to the Scottish monarch James II., who, in conjunction with France, maintained the interests of Henry VI.

\* Stow; Holinshed; Rapin.

† Fowey.

‡ Monstrelet.

§ Baker; Howel; Stow; London Chron.; Monstrelet; Paston Letters.

The Earl of Douglas, in rebellion with his own sovereign, sought the protection and allegiance of the King of England.\* By the Yorkists he was freely admitted to the titles of an English subject, and a pension granted him for his services until he should recover his estates, of which King James had deprived him. This monarch was enraged at the reception of Douglas in this country; and, entering the northern counties, ravaged Northumberland with fire and sword, and levelled many castles with the ground.

Hearing of the recovery of King Henry, in 1455, that monarch intended to dismiss an embassy to England, but when the battle of St. Alban's restored the power of the Yorkists, he abandoned his purpose. No sooner, however, did the Lancastrians resume their authority, than the Scots negotiated a truce with this country, which was signed at Coventry in 1457, to be continued until July, 1459.†

1457.  
Pinkerton.

Queen Margaret on her part must have been anxious to form close ties with Scotland, and by every possible means to counteract the growing power of that party, whose rebellious spirit even threatened to desolate the kingdom. It is evident from the preceding circumstances how much the Duke of York must have incensed the Queen and her party by his astonishing boldness, in giving shelter to the Scottish chief, and by this act, exciting a warfare with the sister-kingdom, in opposition to the efforts of the royalists to preserve peace. We are told that Queen Margaret, perceiving the force of the tide against her, thought to make a diversion in her own favour, by means of a descent of the French on the English coast, hoping by their assistance to injure, if not to destroy, the faction of York.‡

\* Douglas continued in this allegiance until the reign of Richard III.

† Pinkerton.

‡ Daniel's Hist. of France; Monstrelet.

To accomplish her purpose, the Queen interposed the influence of her father, René of Anjou, and her uncle the Count of Maine, who together incited the King of France to this enterprise. It was confided to Pierre de Brézé, the Seneschal of Normandy, who was accompanied by the bailiff of Evreux, and many other lords and men-at-arms.

They sailed with a fleet equipped at Honfleur, consisting of 4000 soldiers. They set out on the 20th of August, and were driven into Nantes by stress of weather; thus they did not reach the coast of England until the 28th of August, of this year 1457. De Brézé landed two leagues from Sandwich, and dividing his troops into three bodies, each having a brave leader, he commanded them to attack the town on the land side, while he endeavoured to force the place by the port.

1457.  
Daniel;  
Monstrelet.

The English were totally unprepared for this assault. There were in this port three vessels of war, of the largest size, and several smaller ones, filled with troops, who resolved to fight desperately. A herald was sent to them by De Brézé, to inform them that if they fired a single cannon, or drew a bow, they should have no quarter; but that, if they ceased from hostilities, he would allow them to quit their vessels uninjured. These conditions were accepted. The Seneschal made his descent with great order and vigour; and the port was taken by Pierre de Louvaine. The resistance was greater on the land side, and many were slain; but the French, sword in hand, entered the town; and about the same time that the port was taken, a fierce and bloody combat ensued, the English defending their town with great courage; but at last they yielded, and the invaders hoisted their banners on the gates, under which they formed themselves in battle array, and for ten hours the bailiff of Evreux with some troops

guarded the city without, while the town was pillaged by those who had entered it.

The Seneschal upon this occasion justified the renown he had acquired. He forbade his followers, under pain of death, to touch the effects of the churches, to set fire to the houses, to attempt the honour of the women, or to kill any one in cold blood, all which commands were strictly obeyed. A moderation, so unusual in those times, obtained for this general the commendations, even of his enemies. The English hastened from all parts in great numbers to the aid of the town, and skirmishes were kept up for six hours; many were slain on both sides, but at last the French made a retreat. They effected this with much order, carrying off considerable booty and many prisoners, who were afterwards ransomed. In this attack 300 of the English were killed, but only thirty of the French troops, whose numbers amounted, according to Monstrelet, to between 1600 and 1800\* combatants.

Besides the Seneschal, all who shared in this enterprise gained great renown by it, and as a reward for their valour, twenty of them were honoured with knighthood.

This expedition produced, in part, the effect which the Queen had expected. To guard their coasts, the English removed from the frontiers of Scotland, but the terror of the arms of France was not enough to reunite the two powerful factions of York and Lancaster.†

Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, on the 2nd of April, in 1457, had the great seal delivered to him. Robert Neville, Bishop of Durham, died this year, who was a son of the Earl of Westmoreland; he had filled this office nineteen years. Laurence Booth was then consecrated on the 15th of September, and filled his

\* Other writers say 1500.

† Daniel; Carte; Monstrelet; Paston Letters; Davies's Eng. Chron.

1457.  
Paston  
Letters.

place as Bishop of Durham. He afterwards became Lord Chancellor. He built the gates of the College at Auckland at his own expense, and was, twenty years later, translated to York.\*

Several authors relate, that in this year, or in the beginning of 1458, the Earl of Devonshire was put to death in the Abbey of Abingdon by means of poison. He was at that time with Queen Margaret, and his life, it is said, was sacrificed to appease the malice between the young lords (whose fathers were slain at St. Alban's), and those who adhered to the Duke of York.†

Perceiving the small respect paid to her party by the Londoners, Queen Margaret persuaded the King to make a progress into Warwickshire, under pretence of benefiting his health, and affording him recreation. The King set out, amusing himself with hunting and hawking by the way, and the Queen was apparently occupied with nothing but these pastimes. Amidst these sports, however, and while they stayed at Coventry, Margaret did not forget her projects for displacing and getting rid of her enemies. She dismissed kind letters to the Duke of York and his friends, who had retired into the north, requiring their immediate presence at the court, then held at Coventry, to consult on a matter of great importance.

In giving this invitation to the rebellious lords, the Queen has been accused of having formed some design against them; and that, finding herself at the head of a feeble government, totally unable to take any vigorous measures by which to restore tranquillity to the kingdom, she allowed her fears, or her hatred, to prevail over the nobler feelings of her nature, and sought to get rid of her enemies by treacherous means.

\* Paston Letters; Antiquities of Durham; Carter's Cambridge.

† Holinshed; Stow; Davies's Eng. Chron.

1457.  
Davies's  
Chron.

1457.  
Baker;  
Lingard;  
Hume.



To effect this object, she is said to have removed the King to Coventry, where, it was probable, less favour would be shown to the rebellious lords than in the capital.\* It may be alleged as some excuse for this attempt, if indeed this charge be true (for it has not been explained), that the Duke of York was an enemy the more dangerous, inasmuch as his designs were not openly asserted; and the caution with which he proceeded, colouring his actions with a view to the public good, prevented any legal steps being taken against him. He had indeed become a formidable adversary, it being impossible to prove anything against him.

His intentions, however, though disguised from the public, could not be so easily concealed from Queen Margaret, who was so deeply interested in opposing him, and who possessed such talents and penetration.† The Duke of York was aware of this; and it argues much in the Queen's favour, that he set out without any apprehension of danger, accompanied by his two friends, Salisbury and Warwick, in order to obey her royal commands and repair to Coventry.

These partisans even flattered themselves that the King had at last discovered the mismanagement of his counsellors, and required their presence, to assist him in forming new arrangements; but they were quickly undeceived. On their way they were met by some secret messengers, who assured them that they would be unsafe in the city to which they were proceeding. This intelligence arrested the progress of these lords, who instantly concerted new plans; and they all separated. The Duke of York retired to his castle of Wigmore, in Wales; the Earl of Salisbury to Middleham, in Yorkshire; and the Earl of Warwick to Calais,

\* Holinshed; Sandford; Stow; Baker; Fabyan; Rapin; Hume; Daniel and Trussel.

† Rapin; Paston Letters.

of which town he had been appointed Governor after the battle of St. Alban's. The Queen, it is said, was much disappointed at having failed in the snare she had laid for her enemies; but she was consoled in having separated them, which, for a time, made their power less dangerous.\*

The Earl of Salisbury afterwards feigned sickness, to avoid putting himself in the power of the King and Queen.

The peace with foreign nations had been restored, but the intestine divisions continued. The prejudice against the Queen and her ministers increased. The young Duke of Somerset seemed to fill the same position which his father had so lately occupied, and with it shared the same ill-will of the nation; every failure or disappointment being attributed to the misconduct of the ministers.†

Amongst the many tumults and commotions which occurred throughout the land was a great affray in the north, which took place this year, 1457, between Sir Thomas Percy, Lord Egremont, and the sons of the Earl of Salisbury, in which many were wounded and slain. Lord Egremont was taken, and sentenced to pay large sums of money to the Earl of Salisbury, and meanwhile was committed to Newgate; but Lord Egremont soon after escaped with his brother, Sir Richard Percy, out of this prison in the night and went to the King. "The other prisoners took the leads of the gate, and defended it for a great while against the sheriffs and all their officers," so that they were compelled to call in more aid from the citizens to subdue them, in which they at last succeeded, and "laid them in irons."‡

\* Holinshed; Baker; Hall; Sandford; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Fabyan; Rapin; Hume; Lingard; Henry; Paston Letters; Daniel and Trussel.

† Rymer; Holinshed; Fabyan; Pinkerton; Rapin.

‡ Stow; Fabyan; Holinshed; London Chron.; Daniel and Trussel.

During this unhappy period the spirit of rebellion had prevailed in Ireland no less than in England. In this reign the Earl of Ormond, as Lord Lieutenant, was first employed against the Earl of Desmond, who affected the state of an independent prince in Ireland, and prevailed so far as to get Ormond removed from office.

John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, succeeded him, and united with Desmond in accusing the late Governor of many crimes; but the King refused to listen to these charges, and took no measures against the Earl, and hence, it is believed, arose the lasting attachments of the Butler family to the House of Lancaster.

The effect, however, of these turbulent and unprincipled factions was that the spirit of party prevailed, even in the King's Council and courts, and no business was allowed free progress or execution in law, when it touched any of the said two parties.

One of the most violent of Ormond's accusers was Thomas Fits-Thomas, the prior of Kilmainham, who having impeached him for treason the Earl appealed to arms, and a day was fixed for the combat which should decide their quarrel. Ormond was permitted to remove to the neighbourhood of Smithfield "for his breathing and more ease," and in order to prepare and train himself for the fight, while the pugnacious prior was engaged in this interval in learning "certain points of arms" from Philip Treherne, a fishmonger of London, who was paid by the King for giving these instructions. The parties met on the ground as appointed, but, at the moment of encounter, the King stopped the fight and took the quarrel into his own hands—it is said through the instance of Worthington.\*

At this period the doctrines of Wickliff had begun to be disseminated in England, and all, whose opinions

\* Moore's Ireland; Stow.

favoured the Reformer, were subjected to controversy. The persecutions of the Lollards in the previous reign had doubtless originated many of the contests and disagreements in the times of Henry VI., occasioned by the resentment of this party against the House of Lancaster. The strife produced by the political leaders in the kingdom was not a little augmented by the contentions in the Church, as if adding fuel to the flame.

A new doctrine had just emanated from the Papal See, viz., that the *Pope was the source of all power*, to whom all Bishops were subordinate, even as his delegates; and, at a time when the English clergy were seeking to maintain the liberty of the Church, one of the Bishops, more talented and more vain than the others, became a strenuous advocate and supporter of the Pope. This secular doctor of divinity had laboured many years to translate the Holy Scriptures into English, and was accused of having passed the bounds of Christian belief in certain articles, and of dissent from the established creed. These opinions, which were deemed heretical, Reginald Peacock\* came forward to maintain, and with much display of learning and eloquence he preached at St. Paul's Cross, in 1447, in support of the decision of His Holiness. In the year 1458 the ostentatious prelate was compelled to abjure, at St. Paul's Cross, before which his books were burnt, and he was sentenced to confinement for life. He was deprived of his bishopric, and a pension assigned him to live upon in an abbey.†

Reginald Peacock, Bishop of Chichester, is described as being of an ardent temperament, a logical mind, and a powerful imagination. He looked with contempt

\* A Welshman by birth, Reginald Peacock became a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, in 1417. He was a student of divinity, and distinguished for his talents. He was appointed to the See of Asaph in 1444, and consecrated by Archbishop Stafford.

† Holinshed; Lond. Chron.; Baker; Dr. Hook's Archbishops; Stow.

on the intellectual abilities of others, and liked to perplex them, sometimes speaking ironically, sometimes in earnest. Such a character might advance false doctrine, and he was proclaimed a heretic. He had at one time been befriended by the Duke of Gloucester, who was ever temperate in his line of conduct towards those who professed the doctrines of Wickliffe. The opinions of Peacock, and his vanity and sarcasm, soon raised him many enemies: all classes condemned him. By exalting the Pope, and thus disregarding the established laws of the land, he raised such indignation amongst the clergy, that he was summoned before the Primate to have his writings investigated; but Archbishop Stafford, having himself yielded to the new doctrine of papal supremacy, allowed Peacock to escape censure at this time. Bouchiere, however, afterwards acted with great severity towards him. He caused him to appear before him, William Waynflete being present and other bishops and prelates, at Lambeth, where they condemned his writings as heretical. We are told that this was a "party movement to deprive the Lancastrians of a spirited writer." One charge against him was that he sought to affect a change in the religion of England, by the introduction of Popery, or Ultramontaniam. Even more than this was inferred, from a letter addressed by Peacock to the Mayor of London, viz., that his design was not only to excite the people to a change of faith, but to raise an insurrection. Thus it became a political offence, and he was again cited to appear before a Council at Westminster, at which King Henry was present. This was towards the close of the year 1457, when such hostility was shown towards him, that he was compelled to withdraw before the temporal Bishops could proceed with their business. This was a full council and the Yorkists were powerful, and an attack on the unfor-

tunate prelate had been previously arranged. Certain doctors of divinity arrived, who demanded of the Archbishop copies of the works of the Bishop of Chichester, in order to examine them. Finally, being required to abjure, or to suffer the punishment of a heretic, Peacock decided on the former. The court adjourned until the next day, when doubtless some political feeling swelled the tide of inveterate anger which rose against this talented and apparently good man. On the 3rd of December the Archbishop, his assessors, and the twenty-four divines, were again sitting in Lambeth Chapel. The Bishop of Chichester was summoned, and repaired thither to abjure, in a positive form, the condemned conclusions. The court again "adjourned to meet on the following day, when a solemn assembly was to be held at St. Paul's."

"Here the Primate attended, his cross borne before him, and he appeared, accompanied by the Bishops of London, of Durham, and of Chichester. An immense crowd surrounded the Cathedral. From the great west door the bishops, in full pontificals, were seen to come forth; one by one each silently and sadly took the seat assigned to him at St. Paul's Cross. Before the cross a fire blazed. When the Archbishop was seated, he turned a silent look towards the Bishop of Chichester. Peacock was seen the next moment prostrate at the Primate's feet. His voice could not be distinctly heard; but his attitude notified to the spectators that he was making his public recantation. The Primate was motionless. Peacock rose from the ground and stood before the pyre. One by one his books were brought forth, the labour of years, containing some of the most powerful writings of the day; eleven quarto volumes and three folio volumes were handed by him to the

"public executioner, whose ruthless hands committed them to the flames.

"The only consolation was that they had been transcribed, and that transcriptions of them might be hereafter produced. But the ascending flames ignited the passions of the surrounding multitude. The assembled people were inflamed into fury against the man who exalted the Pope above the Church, and denounced the statutes, by which papal aggressions had been restrained. The bishops, the lords, the commons, the people all condemned Peacock. The infuriated mob rushed towards the unfortunate prelate, and sought to hurl him into the flames which were consuming his books. The Archbishop and the civil authorities interfered to preserve order. Peacock trembled, and, while looking on the martyrdom of his books, he was heard to say, 'My pride and presumption have brought upon me these troubles and reproaches.'"

The Primate was still unsatisfied. Peacock was deprived of his See of Chichester, and sent a prisoner first to Cambridge, then to Maidstone.

Finding that his moral degradation did not appease his enemies, Peacock resolved to resist them. He appealed to the Pope, in whose cause he had suffered; and was responded to by His Holiness. "Forth came fulminating from Rome three bulls, directed against the Primate of England, in vindication of the Bishop of Chichester." Bouchiere refused these bulls; and, in spite of the Pope, Peacock was degraded, and another appointed his successor, while he was placed in stricter confinement; and subsequently he ended his life in prison.

\* He was placed in a secret chamber with one attendant, and "allowed no books, but a breviary, a mass book, a psalter, a legend, and a bible; nothing to write with, no stuff to write upon." What a condition of restraint for such an intellectual man!

The severities exercised over his unfortunate prisoner exhibit in no favourable light the character of the offended Primate. His zeal for the Church seems to have made him forgetful of mercy and Christian charity.\*

The device of Queen Margaret had separated the Yorkists, but they still contrived to keep up a correspondence, and were no less united in their views than before. While the Duke sought to ingratiate himself with the people, he well knew that it was no easy matter to wrest the crown from a monarch who had so long held it by hereditary right; and neither party had so decided a superiority as to be sure of victory should they have recourse to arms.† An attempt was made at this time, by Queen Margaret, to effect a reconciliation between the two parties. She perceived the advantage which had been taken of their dissensions by the foreign powers, and that the blame of every unfortunate measure fell upon her, or her ministers, of which the Duke of York availed himself. Margaret, therefore, adopted the wise policy of composing their grievances, and of restoring unanimity amongst the nobility; and this was the more expedient, since the late untoward events appeared to favour the Duke of York's projects.

The task of restoring peace and unanimity to two powerful factions was found by no means easy; and the ingenuity of the Queen was called forth in procuring their obedience to her wishes. This was evinced by the summons being sent in the name of the King. Queen Margaret's former commands having failed to draw together the rebel chiefs, an express invitation was, by her means, dismissed from the

\* Birch's *Illus. Persons of Great Brit.*; Dr. Hook's *Archbishops*.

† Rapin; Holinshed.

King to the Duke of York, requiring him and all his friends to repair to London; and it was expected that these commands would be readily obeyed, the King being much beloved for his pure and innocent life, and his uprightness.

1458.  
Biondi;  
Stow.

Some historians say that the King, ignorant of, or being displeased at, the proceedings of Queen Margaret at Coventry, "as contrary to his good intention," upon his return to London called a Council; and, after representing the miserable condition to which the kingdom was reduced by intestine division, which had induced the Scots and the French to insult them, and to commit devastations on the borders, he spoke of the necessity of a reconciliation, and offered willingly to pardon and forget the injuries which he had himself received. It is added, that the Queen and the Duke of Somerset, each made a similar offer to the Duke of York, at the instances of the King.\* It seems improbable that King Henry took so active a part, yet if, influenced by his strong aversion to the shedding of blood, he really did by his persuasions effect this reconciliation, there can be little doubt that the Queen was previously disposed to unanimity, and equally sincere in *her* endeavours to promote it.

The letter of Henry, in his own handwriting, addressed to the Duke of York, after requiring his presence, and that of his friends, solemnly engaged that no injury should be offered them, and contained assurances that the King was perfectly sincere in his purpose of reconciliation.

Finding no plausible objection to make against this invitation, it was resolved by the Duke of York and his adherents to accept it; they were, however, still

\* Biondi; Sandford; Baker; Paston Letters; Stow; Rapin; Henry; Echard Hist. Eng.; Daniel and Trussel.

jealous of Queen Margaret, who, on her part, retained some mistrust of her enemies. Amidst these mutual suspicions it is not improbable, that each party hoped to obtain some advantage by the meeting, and it is even more likely still, that neither in their hearts resolved upon giving up entirely their former purposes.\* The Duke of York might, doubtless, be induced, by the moderation of character for which he was so remarkable, or by that timidity which withheld him from seizing on the crown when it was within his reach, to agree to this reconciliation. The Queen meanwhile was too penetrating to expect that the Duke would suddenly, or tamely give up his claims, yet might hope that kindness and conciliatory measures would delay the execution of his projects, until she might, by some fortunate circumstances, have recovered her popularity with the people.

To remove the possibility of any apprehensions, it was mutually agreed that the parties should come to the capital, with a certain number of their armed retainers; and the King even granted permission to the Earl of Warwick to bring with him from Calais eighty foreigners, in addition to his English followers.†

After all these preparatory arrangements, the Duke of York came to London on the 26th of January, 1458, attended by 400 of his adherents,‡ and lodged in his own residence, Baynard's Castle,§ still doubting the faith of the Queen. The Earl of Salisbury arrived on the 15th of January, bringing with him

1458.  
Fabyan;  
Pol. Vergil;  
London  
Chron.;  
Baker;  
Paston  
Letters;  
Lingard;  
Rapin;  
Hume.

\* Baker; Paston Letters; Holinshed; Pol. Vergil; Rapin.

† Paston Letters; Rapin; Pennant's London.

‡ Another writer tells us that the Duke of York came to London with only his own household, amounting to 140 horsemen.

§ Baynard's Castle had belonged to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who rebuilt it. Upon his death, Henry VI. granted it to Richard, Duke of York.



500 horsemen, and lodged in his own house, called the "Herbour." \*

The Duke of Somerset, who arrived on the last day of January, had 200 horse. Another writer says that Somerset and the Duke of Exeter, who had been lately released, came with 300 men, and lodged without Temple Bar. The Earl of Northumberland, Lord Egremont, and Lord Clifford came with 1,500 men, and lodged in Holborn. The Earl of Warwick, who arrived a month later, brought with him 600 men, in red jackets, with white ragged staves, embroidered behind and before. These lodged at Grey Friars.† The delay in the arrival of this earl was only caused by contrary winds; and we learn, from the Paston Letters, that the Duke of Exeter entertained great displeasure "that my Lord of Warwick "occupieth his office, and taketh the charge of the "keeping of the sea upon him."

The Duke of Buckingham also came, and with him his grandson Henry, Earl of Stafford. They entered the capital in the train of the King and Queen, who, with a great retinue, arrived in London on the 17th day of March. On entering the metropolis, they fixed their residence at the Bishop's palace, near St. Paul's, which at this period was surrounded by stone walls, afterwards hidden by dwelling-houses. It should be remarked also that this royal abode, chosen for this brief and momentous season, was situated at an equal distance from both the factions. When the Lancastrians, as well as the Yorkists, had assembled in London, the greatest precautions were taken to prevent any disorders; and as these

\* Other writers say, the Earl of Salisbury had but 400 horse, and four-score knights and esquires. By some it is asserted that the Queen and her son remained at Berkhamstead until the conference was ended.

† Pennant says that Warwick and his followers lodged in Warwick Lane.

would doubtless have arisen, had they occupied the same quarters, care was taken that they should lodge in different parts of the city; and it was further considered requisite, for the maintenance of order, that the Lord Mayor, Sir Godfrey Boleyn,\* should ride round the city every night, with a competent number of his trainbands, which amounted to 10,000 men.† To what an extent must the general suspicion have prevailed! Besides all this, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen kept a standing watch in arms day and night. The Lords who lodged within the city held a daily council at Blackfriars,‡ while those without, met in the Chapter House, at Westminster. The resolves of the Yorkists, were communicated to the Royalists by the Primate, and other prelates; and the proceedings of each day, were in the evening laid before the King, who, as umpire between the two parties, pronounced his award. Mediators were unanimously chosen, and finally a reconciliation was effected, on the 3rd of April; the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others of the clergy, having used the utmost diligence and activity to promote it.

Many arrangements were entered into by the opposing parties. The Earl of Warwick agreed to give to Lord Clifford 1,000 marks, "in good, and sufficient "assignment of debts."

Lord Egremont, and his brother Richard Percy (the sons of the Countess of Westmoreland), who, for certain trespasses and transgressions, had been condemned, at the sessions of York, to pay to the Earl of Salisbury 8,000 marks, to his son Thomas Neville 1,000 marks, and to the said Thomas and his wife

\* This Sir Godfrey (or Jeffrey) Bollen or Boleyn was the great-grandfather of Queen Anne Boleyn, second wife of Henry the Eighth.

† Baker says the number of the trainbands was 500; Lingard says 5000; Stow 2000.

‡ Stow tells us that these meetings were held in Warwick Lane.

2,000; also to John Neville, another son of the earl, 800 marks, were released from the payment of these sums, and from the custody in which they had been held by the late sheriffs of London; being, however, bound over to keep the peace towards the Earl and his family.

The Duke of York and the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick consented to bestow a yearly rent of £45 on the monastery of St. Alban's, for suffrages, obits to be kept up, and alms to be employed, for the souls of the late Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Clifford, and others, slain in the battle of St. Alban's; and it was determined, that both those who were dead, and those who had caused their death, should be reputed faithful subjects. The Duke of York also agreed to give to the Duchess of Somerset, and Henry her son, the sum of 5,000 marks, which were due to him from the King, for his services in Ireland.

At length all parties evinced their perfect satisfaction. They mutually agreed that, setting aside their several animosities, they would live together in unity and obedience to their sovereign, and that, to obviate complaints, the Duke of York, the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, as well as several others of their party, should take their seats in the Cabinet. All these articles being agreed upon, they were afterwards ratified under the Great Seal of England, and a public thanksgiving was appointed for the 5th of April, in token of the universal joy at this reconciliation.

Accordingly, on that day the King, Queen, and all the Lords, went in a solemn procession to St. Paul's. In proof of their amity, one of each party walked hand in hand, proceeding in couples after each other. Before the King walked Henry Beaufort, Duke of

Somerset, and Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury; next came John Holland, Duke of Exeter, and Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick; after King Henry followed the Duke of York, leading the Queen by the hand, who showed, by her great complacency, that she was at least sincere in her desire to please.\*

To the people this was a spectacle promising future peace and harmony; but these external forms could not avail to eradicate the passions of ambition and revenge which secretly influenced the two factions; and this important convention of the nobles of the land, was indeed, but a prelude to civil broils, and ceaseless warfare.

The following lines from the pen of Lydgate, commemorate this reconciliation between the Lords of the Yorkist faction and the King and his adherents:—

“ When Charyte ys chosen with stats to stonde,  
 “ Stedfast and styll, with oute distaunce,  
 “ Then wreth may be exilid out of thys lond,  
 “ And God oure gide to have governaunce;  
 “ Wysdom and welthe with all plesaunce,  
 “ May rightfulle reigne, and prosperite,  
 “ For love hath underleyde wrethfull vengeance,  
 “ Reioyse Englund the Lords accordid bee.

“ Reioyse and thonke God, and sorw no more,  
 “ For now shal encrease thi consolacone;  
 “ Our enemes quake for drede ful sore,  
 “ That pees ys made that was divisione,  
 “ Whiche ys to them grete confusione,  
 “ And to us joy and felicity;  
 “ God hold them longe in every seasoone,  
 “ That Englund may reioyce, the concord and unite.

“ Now ys sorw with shame fled yn to Fraunce,  
 “ As a felon that hath forsworne thys lond;  
 “ Love hath put owte malicius governaunce,  
 “ In every place both fre and bonde;  
 “ In Yorke, in Somersett, as ye undyr stonde,  
 “ In Warwikke also ys love and charite,  
 “ In Salisbury eke, and yn Northumberlond  
 “ That every man may reioyce the concord and unite.

\* Holinshed; Hall; Baker; Fabyan; Stow; Sandford; London Chron.; Pol. Vergil; Paston Letters; Howel; Pennant's London; Rapin.

" Egremond, and Clyfford, and other forseyd,  
 " Ben sett yn the same opynyone ;  
 " In every quarter love is thus leide,  
 " Grace and wisdom hath the dominacione,  
 " Awoke welth, and walk in thys regione,  
 " Rewnde abowte in towne and cite,  
 " And thonke them that brought it to thys conclusion ;  
 " Reioyse Englund the concord and unite.

" At Poules in London, with grete renowne,  
 " On oure Lady day, the pes was wrought ;  
 " The King, the queene, with Lords many one,  
 " To worshyppe that virgine as they oght,  
 " Went a procession, and sparyd right noght,  
 " In sight of alle the comonalty ;  
 " In tokyn that love was in hart and thought ;  
 " Reioice Englund, the concord and unite.

" There was by twene them lovely countenance,  
 " Whyche was grete joy to alle that there were,  
 " That long tyme hadd ben in variaunce,  
 " As frynds for ever they went yn fere,  
 " They went togedre, and made good chere ;  
 " O Fraunce and Bretagne, repent shall ye,  
 " For the bergeyne shall ye bye fulle dere ;  
 " Reioice Englund the concord and unite.

" Our sovereyn lord the kyng, God kepe alway,  
 " The queene and bisshope of Canterbury  
 " And other that have labored to thys love day,  
 " God preserve them we pray hertly ;  
 " And London for they fulle diligently ;  
 " Kept the pees in trobull and in adversite ;  
 " To brynge yn rest they labored ful treuly ;  
 " Reioice Englund the peas and unite.

" Off thre things, y preys thy worshypfull citee :  
 " The first, of trewe feythe that they owe to the kyng ;  
 " The secunde, of love of eache comonialte ;  
 " The thyrde, of good rule evermore keepyng ;  
 " The whyche God mayntene ever long-duryng,  
 " And save the maire and all the hole citee,  
 " And that ys amys brynge to amendyng,  
 " That Englund may reioice the pees and unite." \*

1458.  
 Stow ;  
 Fabyan.

In Whitsun week following, the Duke of Somerset, Sir Anthony Rivers, and four others, kept jousts before the Queen, in the Tower of London, against three of

\* Cottonian MS. ; Lydgate.

the Queen's esquires and others. In like manner they jousted at Greenwich the Sunday following.\*

After all the fair appearances of confidence and friendship on the part of both Yorkists and Lancastrians, the former soon began to evince their mistrust of the Royalists, and under various pretences, withdrew from court.

The Duke of York and the Earl of Salisbury repaired to York, and the Earl of Warwick went over to Calais. An accidental quarrel arose between the ships which bore this Earl and his followers to Calais, and some vessels belonging to Genoa and Lubeck ; the latter carried their complaints to the King, and Henry, having appointed commissioners to inquire into the affair, the Earl of Warwick was compelled to return to London, to answer to the charge.† During the Earl's stay in this city another quarrel arose, equally trivial in its commencement, but far more important in its results. The Earl had gone to the Council-chamber, and while detained there one of his people fell out with a servant belonging to the King, and wounded him ; upon which his comrades, to revenge the offence, seized upon whatever weapons were at hand, but the aggressor escaped, and they vented their fury on the rest of the Duke's followers.

Another affray happened in April this year, between the inhabitants of Fleet Street and the men of Court, in which the Queen's attorney lost his life. The governors of the courts of law, and many others, were upon this imprisoned by the King's orders.‡

The Queen's Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Shernborne, died on the 3rd of February in this year. He had married Jamina de Cherneys, a French woman, and one of Queen Margaret's maids of honour.

1458.

\* Stow ; Fabyan ; Holinshed.

† Baker ; Holinshed ; Rapin ; Henry ; Hall ; Lingard. ‡ Holinshed.

Sir Thomas was buried at Shernborne, in Norfolk, in the family sepulchre. The inscription on his tomb (now effaced) was as follows:—

*"Thome Sherneborne camerar. d'ne Margarete regine  
"Anglie, et Jamine uxor' ejus quo'da domicellarie  
"ejusd' regine."\**

The Earl of Warwick was also assaulted in his way from the Council to his barge upon the Thames; and he narrowly escaped the fury of the populace, several of his train being killed in this affray. Shortly after the Earl was informed that the King, or, as some say, the Queen, had issued orders for his arrest, and confinement in the Tower. Had he been taken, the Earl of Warwick would probably have lost his life; but he contrived to elude those who had been sent to apprehend him. He was persuaded that this tumult had been raised by the Queen's contrivance, who, as he thought, wished to get rid of him without being concerned in the affair; and he resolved to be revenged of this affront. The Earl repaired instantly to Warwick, to his father, the Earl of Salisbury, and they together proceeded into Yorkshire, to the Duke of York, to consult with him as to the measures to be adopted.†

It was thus that an accidental affray drew upon this unfortunate Queen all the burden of this Earl's resentment; and it seems even more than probable that she was altogether ignorant of the affair. It is, besides, not unlikely that the Court, having noticed that the Earl of Warwick's men had raised a tumult, had suddenly issued an order for the apprehension of their leader. The circumstances by no means lead to a conviction that Margaret had any share in the attack on this high-spirited lord, but only prove the danger

\* Gough's Sepulchral Monuments.

† Holinshed; Hall; Sandford; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Hume; Henry; Lingard; Daniel.

of want of confidence between a sovereign and her subjects. The haughty Warwick, having once entertained a deep-rooted mistrust of his royal mistress, no promises—no compliance, could afterwards eradicate it; on the contrary, every accidental circumstance was construed to the prejudice of the Queen.\*

When the Duke of York and his friends consulted together, they came to the conclusion that the late reconciliation was designed to ensnare them, in order that they might be more easily dispatched when they were separated, by some secret means, which would not excite suspicion. Indignant at the offence which they considered had been offered them, they spoke of it in sharp and bitter terms, saying, that "it was nothing less than the deceit and fury of a woman (meaning the Queen), who, thinking she might do whatever she pleased, sought to torment and utterly destroy all the nobility of the land." It is probable, that these lords did not regret being furnished with a pretext for having again recourse to arms; and declaring that they could no longer depend upon the assurances of the Court, they immediately prepared for war. The Earl of Warwick once more evinced his suspicion in the haste with which he embarked for Calais, fearing that this place would be seized by the Royalists.†

Resolved upon demanding satisfaction of the King for the affront offered to his son, the Earl of Salisbury set out from Middleham Castle with a sufficient escort to defend his person. While passing through Lancashire, either towards Coleshill, in Warwickshire, where King Henry was, or being in quest of the Duke of York, who, after his return from Ireland,

\* Even Rapin, who is always severe against Queen Margaret, acknowledges that it is difficult to decide if this were the act of the Queen, or merely accidental.

† Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Henry; Holinshed.

was staying at Ludlow, in Shropshire (for it is doubtful which was his object), news was brought him that the Queen, while at Eccleshall, in Staffordshire, had commanded Lord Audley to collect all the forces of that county, and of the adjoining ones of Salop and Chester, to oppose the Yorkists. This information arrested the progress of the Earl of Salisbury, and he determined to strengthen his party, before he encountered the Royalists. He raised a new army in Wales, and his forces were augmented to 4,000 or 5,000 men by the time he had arrived at Bloreheath, in Staffordshire.

Queen Margaret had at this time the advice and assistance of the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, and she had also kept a vigilant eye on her own affairs. It was her opinion that the Earl of Warwick had excited this new rebellion, purposely to establish the Duke of York upon the throne.

In appointing Lord Audley to the command of the forces, which she ordered to advance against the insurgents, the Queen was led to make this choice because this lord had most influence in the county through which the Earl of Salisbury had to pass. Queen Margaret also suspected that the Earl of Salisbury, in seeking a conference with the King, had no good intention towards his sovereign or herself, and therefore commissioned Lord Audley to apprehend him, should it be in his power.\*

The activity of the Queen, previous to the engagement at Bloreheath, was remarkable. After issuing her commands to Lord Audley to raise a new army in the King's name, she proceeded next to exert her personal influence in rousing the energy of her adhe-

\* Sandford; Hall; Holinshed; Stow; Fabyan; Baker; Wethamstede; Rot. Parl.; Pol. Vergil; W. of Worcester; Pennant; Hume; Henry; Lingard; Daniel.

rents. Her amiable manners, and artful and insinuating address, soon gained the affections of the people.

Margaret next went on a progress with the King, probably to awaken the public sympathy for him, and their zeal in his cause, through Warwick, Stafford, and Chester; but in the first of these counties was less successful than in the others, owing to the surprising influence which the Earl of Warwick maintained there. The magnificence in which this nobleman lived, added to his extreme gallantry, and the boldness and energy which he exhibited in his actions, gained him the hearts of all who approached him. He was besides extremely generous and hospitable, and the openness and sincerity of his character secured the friendship of those who surrounded him. His words were regarded by them as truth itself, and his gifts were no less certain proofs of his sincerity. At his table no less than 30,000 persons were daily maintained in his numerous castles and manors in England; and those who entered his service were more devoted to him than to their sovereign, or to the laws of their country. Stow tells us, that at his palace in Warwick Lane, London, "where he 'kept house,' six oxen were consumed at every breakfast; that every tavern was full of his meat; and every guest was allowed to carry off as much roasted or boiled as he could bear upon his long dagger."\*

To counteract the influence of this powerful lord was Queen Margaret's chief care, and to win, by her kindness and condescension, all the nobility and gentry of these midland counties. In her progress through Cheshire she was highly successful, and ingratiated herself everywhere, persuading the lords to espouse her cause. The more effectually to attach the lords and gentry to her, the Queen "kept open house" amongst them, and commanded the young Prince, her son, to

\* Stow; Pennant; Baker; Barante; Hume; Lingard.



distribute a profusion of collars of white embroidered swans to the commander of her forces, Lord Audley, and to all the gentry of Cheshire, to be worn by them in token of their attachment to herself, the King, and her son.

These white swans, the badge of the young Edward, were borne by all who fought for the Lancastrians in the memorable battle which ensued at Bloreheath. Similar badges were also sent by the Queen to many others of her adherents in different parts of England; for she had hopes that she might be able to unite a party strong and powerful enough to overcome her enemies.\* The two armies met on a plain called Bloreheath, near Drayton, in Staffordshire, on the 23rd of September, 1459. Lord Audley, in obedience to the Queen's commands, had drawn together his forces with the utmost expedition. These amounted to 10,000 men, twice the number of the forces of the Earl; but the latter, far from being intimidated, resolved to obtain by stratagem a victory which he could not hope to win by force.

Lord Audley having encamped on the banks of a small river, the Earl of Salisbury stationed his army on the opposite side, apparently to guard the pass and to prevent an attack. He then suddenly withdrew in the night, so ordering his march that, when daylight appeared, the rear of his army only could be discovered by the Royalists. This seemingly hasty retreat roused the ardour of the King's forces, and these, thinking they had but to pursue an army already taking flight, began to pass the river in great disorder; but, before they had accomplished their purpose of gaining the opposite bank, even while some were just landed, others

1459.  
Baker;  
Holinshed;  
Toplis;  
Lingard;  
Rapin.

\* Holinshed; Stow; Paston Letters; Pennant; Lysons' Cheshire; Magna Britannia; Baudier; Lingard; Ormerod's Chester; Fabyan; Daniel; Heningay's Hist. of Chester; Kennet's Hist. of Eng.

still in the water, and the rest preparing to pass it, the Earl of Salisbury suddenly turned back, and fell upon them. So sudden and unexpected was this movement, that the Lancastrians had scarcely time to draw up for battle. An obstinate fight was maintained for four or five hours, during which the Royalists were supported by fresh supplies continually crossing the river; but the confusion, inevitable in a battle fought in such a manner, occasioned their defeat. The loss of the Lancastrians was estimated at 2,400 men. Lord Audley and all the principal officers were slain.

Amongst those enumerated were Sir Thomas Dutton, Sir John Done, Sir Hugh Venables, Sir Richard Molineux, Sir William Troutbeck, Sir John Legh, of Booths, and Sir John Egerton, who were all left dead on the field of battle.\* Dudley, and many knights were made prisoners, amongst whom were Sir John and Sir Thomas Neville, knights, two sons of the Earl of Salisbury,† and Sir Thomas Harrington, Raufe Rokesby, Thomas Ashton, Robert Evereux, and others, who were all sent to Chester.‡ § The extent to which party animosity had reached at the period of this fatal battle has been strongly depicted in the words of the poet, who thus describes the death of these brave men, each having fallen by the hand of a relative:—

"There Dutton, Dutton kills; a Done doth kill a Done;  
"A Booth a Booth; and Leigh by Leigh is overthrown,  
"A Venables against a Venables doth stand,  
"And Troutbeck fighteth with a Troutbeck hand to hand;

\* To these should be added that of Sir Robert Booth of Denham, whose monumental brass fixes his decease on this day.

† These two sons of Salisbury were travelling with Sir Thomas Harrington into the North, but were taken. A message from the "March" men caused them to be set free.

‡ They were released from their prison in the castle of Chester by order of the King, and delivered by Sir John Mainwaring to Lord Stanley.

§ Hall; Sandford; Holinshed; Baker; Fabyan; Drayton's Poly-obien; Toplis; Pol. Vergil; Stow; Mag. Britannia; Pennant; Rapin; Hume; Henry; Daniel; Lingard; Ormerod's Chester; Chron. Lond.; Heningay's Chester; Kennet's Hist. of England.

"Then Molineux doth make a Molineux to die;  
 "And Egerton the strength of Egerton doth try.  
 "Oh Cheshire! wast thou mad of thine own native gore,  
 "So much until this day thou never shedd'st before!  
 "Above two thousand men upon the earth were thrown,  
 "Of whom the greater part were naturally thine own."

During the battle of Bloreheath Queen Margaret remained at Eccleshall, in Staffordshire, where, from the tower of the church in that town, she beheld this fierce encounter, so fatal to the Lancastrian cause.\* The King was staying at Coleshill. The quarrel between the two parties, at first confined to the higher classes, now began to occasion division and strife in almost every family in the kingdom: it found its way into the recesses of the convents, and even into the cottages of the poor. One party called the Duke of York a traitor, who was only spared through the clemency of the King; the other party, taking the side of the rebels, considered their chief had been injured, and, with his associates trampled under foot by the Court minions, and compelled to unsheath the sword for self-preservation.†

The unfortunate, yet faithful and high-spirited consort of King Henry, finding that she had failed in her purpose of apprehending the Earl of Salisbury, and that the battle was lost by her party, was yet not wanting in expedients, although disappointed, and thrown more than ever upon her own resources. Being convinced that nothing but superiority of numbers could avail her, she caused to be assembled a large army. These forces met at Coventry, where the King joined them, but would fain have been excused from again having recourse to arms.‡ He would gladly

\* A great stone was placed on the spot where the commander, Lord Audley, fell.

† Wethamstede; Cont. Croyland; Lingard; Holinshed.

‡ Stow; Holinshed; Pennant; Rapin.

have quelled the rebellion by means of a treaty, but the Queen, undaunted by the late failure, resolved to oppose the Duke of York to the utmost of her power in the field, as she had before done in the Cabinet.

After the defeat at Bloreheath, the Royalists, whose ardour was unabated, pressed onward to Ludlow, and in their way experienced many difficulties from the inclemency of the season, the bad roads, and want of accommodation; to which hardships King Henry submitted with cheerfulness, halting only on Sundays. He often spent his nights in the open fields; but the life of a soldier was far from agreeable to this monarch, who on all occasions advocated peace.

Queen Margaret was at this time most earnestly bent on the subjugation of the Yorkists. Some historians assure us that the Queen, being convinced that it was in vain for her to attempt to persuade the King her husband to second or approve her measures; (he, either through the feebleness of his understanding, or his pacific disposition, becoming unmanageable,) being disappointed in her projects for want of his concurrence, resolved at last to endeavour to place her son on the throne, seeking to prevail on King Henry to resign it in his favour. She had even engaged some lords to aid her in this attempt, and these noblemen actually moved the King to abdicate, but could not succeed in obtaining his consent.\*

The sagacity of the Queen enabled her to perceive that the Duke of York aimed at the crown; and, being persuaded of this, she earnestly sought to arouse the King to a sense of the danger he incurred from the pretensions of so formidable a rival. She reminded him of the preparations which were then making by the Duke, showing the necessity for action, as by his delay the Duke always became the aggressor. She

\* Stow; Baudier; Fabian.

conjured him, then, to march with the utmost expedition, and by a prompt and courageous attack to displace and confound the insurgents.\*

The arguments of Queen Margaret, although they induced the King to set out in quest of the rebels, did not prevail on him to assault them, until he had first made use of every pacific means to recall them to their allegiance.

The royal army consisted of 60,000 men, headed by the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter. They marched in the direction of Wales, but stopped short at Worcester, when King Henry dismissed Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury, to the rebels, who had encamped at Ludlow, with an offer of pardon, upon condition of their laying down their arms within six days.†

The Earl of Salisbury, after his victory at Bloreheath, had proceeded into Wales, where the Duke of York was employed in levying troops. These noblemen held a long conference. They perceived that the King and Queen had penetrated their design, and it was therefore no longer of use to dissemble. They resolved to make one more desperate effort to accomplish their purpose, or to lose their lives in the attempt. Uniting all their forces, they redoubled their exertions to assemble a large army, and dismissed a summons to the Earl of Warwick, who speedily joined them, bringing with him a part of his garrison from Calais, under the command of Sir John Blount and Sir Andrew Trollop, who had distinguished himself in the wars in France.‡ To the proposal of King Henry the Yorkists only replied by alleging that they could not rely on promises, which were evidently meant to ensnare

\* Baudier.

† Holinshed; Hall; Sandford; Baker; Stow; Green's Worcester; Rapin.

‡ Pennant says that Salisbury joined the Duke at Ludlow.

them, as had been seen in the late attempt on the Earl of Warwick; and that there was no trusting to the King's word, as long as the Queen had such predominant power; but that they were willing to submit to their sovereign, if he could devise means to ensure their safety.\*

Upon receiving this answer, the King commanded his forces to advance, with design to give them battle; he then obtained from the rebels a most submissive letter, beseeching him to remember that they had been compelled to adopt defensive measures, to protect themselves from their enemies; that it was evident they entertained no treasonable designs from their remaining in a distant part of the kingdom, where they had attempted nothing; that they wished only to obtain redress for the grievances of the people, which had been occasioned by the faults of the ministers. Finally, they prayed the King to consider them as loyal subjects, and receive them again into his favour.†

This address failed in its object. The Royalists, inspired with a contemptible opinion of the enemy's courage, from the humble manner in which they wrote, approached within half a mile of their camp, resolved to come to an engagement on the following day. The King's proclamation was meanwhile dispersed amongst the enemy, offering pardon to all who would lay down their arms; and this had a powerful effect. The troops of the Duke, thinking the King's pardon was offered on account of the superior numbers of the forces of the Royalists, lost no time in abandoning the apparently weaker side. Sir Andrew Trollop, and those who had accompanied him from Calais, who

\* Hall; Holinshed; Baker; Stow; Sandford; Rot. Parl.; Wethamsted; Pol. Vergil; Pennant; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Lingard; Green's Worcester.

† Stow; Holinshed; Rapin; Lingard; Phillips's Shrewsbury.

had long served the King with fidelity, but had been deceived by the fair speeches of their employers, now, for the first time, discovered the treasonable intentions of the Duke of York, who, to keep up the spirits of his men, had spread a report that King Henry died the day before, and even commanded mass to be chaunted for the repose of his soul.

This report reached the King, who, to refute it, immediately appeared in the midst of his troops, and harangued them with a martial air, and greater spirit and energy than he was ever known to exhibit on any other occasion.

This much gratified the Lancastrian lords and soldiers, and all who were eager to show their loyalty to their sovereign. The falsehood of the Duke of York being thus made apparent, Sir Andrew Trollop and his followers went over, in the night, to the King, and thus threw the Yorkists into the utmost confusion. Consternation and distrust spread through the camp, and the defection became so general, that the confederate lords, in great alarm, lest they should fall into the King's hands, fled precipitately into the heart of Wales. The Duke of York proceeded thence, with his son, the Earl of Rutland, to Ireland. The Earl of March, the eldest son of the Duke of York, and the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, proceeded into Devonshire, where, assisted by John Denham, Esq., they escaped from Exmouth to Guernsey, and thence to Calais. The remainder of the army submitted to the King's mercy; and all received a pardon, except a few, who were executed as a public example.\*

This bloodless victory was highly satisfactory to the merciful monarch; and the next day King Henry convoked a Parliament to meet at Coventry. After the

1459.  
Holinshed;  
Hume;  
Henry;  
Burly's  
Ireland;  
Lingard.

\* Baker; Sandford; Hall; Holinshed; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Moore's Ireland; Lond. Chron.; Rapin; Lingard; Fabyan; Hume; Henry; Daniel.

flight of his enemies, the King proceeded by long journeys into Wales, hoping to overtake the Duke of York; but the latter eluded his pursuers. The King then returned to Ludlow, from whence he dismissed his army, having first spoiled the Castle of Ludlow, and sent the Duchess of York, with two of her younger sons, to be kept in ward with the Duchess of Buckingham, her sister. The town of Ludlow, belonging to the Duke of York, was spoiled to the bare walls.

While staying at Ludlow, the King decided some old controversies, and received under his protection the people of those parts, who flocked around him, rejoicing in his success. Here also King Henry appointed some noblemen of approved loyalty to govern and defend the counties of Durham and York.

All the adherents of the House of York were ill-treated and plundered throughout the kingdom, which only served to inflame the animosity of the two parties. Those who had served the King were recompensed with the estates and spoils of the insurgents, according to their respective services and condition. Amongst these, Thomas de Roos was rewarded for his loyalty with an annuity of £40 per annum, out of the forfeited estate of the Earl of Salisbury.\*

1459.

From the time of the dispersion of the Yorkists, near Ludlow, the King regained his due authority; and the Lancastrians only were employed in public affairs, which were so conducted until the following summer. During this period the King, by the advice of his lords, caused the Yorkists to be proclaimed traitors, and treated with great severity.

\* Lingard; Allen's York; Hall; Stow; Baker; Holinshed; Paston Letters; Pol. Vergil; W. of Worcester; Baudier; Phillips's Shrewsbury; Fabyan.

1459.  
Pennant;  
Paston  
Letters.

A Parliament was held in the Chapter House of the Priory at Coventry, in 1459, which was subsequently called by the Yorkists, the "*Parliamentum diaboli-cum*," on account of the numerous attainders passed against this party.\*

These attainders, while they marked the spirit of the times, were both unwise and impolitic, as was the conduct of Queen Margaret afterwards, in her attempts to exterminate the party opposed to her. By this conduct the Duke of York was almost left without the choice of remaining as a subject with impunity.

Queen Margaret seems to have relied on the fidelity of the people of Coventry, and in all the seasons of her greatest alarm and anxiety she fled there. Her influence in this city was very great at the time the memorable Parliament alluded to was held there. The Queen's enemies styled this place her "secret arbour," and tell us the members were wholly devoted to her interests; and they subsequently charged her with having procured their election by illegal power.

The proceedings of this Parliament were marked by great severity, and formed a precedent to the House of York in their after-conduct. In the list of attainders in this Parliament we find, not only the Duke of York and his chief friends, but also his adherents, and some also amongst them who afterwards joined the Lancastrian cause. They were all declared guilty of high treason, and their heirs disinherited to the sixth degree,† and their estates confiscated.‡

\* Pol. Vergil; Pennant; Stow; Baudier; Paston Letters; Phillips's Shrewsbury; Daniel.

† Stow and others say to the ninth degree.

‡ A list of persons attainted in this Parliament :—  
Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, half brother to Henry VI.  
Cicely, daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland.

George Neville, sixth son of Richard, Earl of Salisbury, and brother of the Earl of Warwick, afterwards the Archbishop of York.

When King Henry was called upon to sign these acts of attainder, such was his anxiety for, and love of, mercy, that he caused a proviso to be added, by which he was enabled, at any time, and without the authority of Parliament, to pardon these noblemen, and to re-establish them in their former estates and dignities, should they sincerely implore his forgiveness and favour; nor would he give his consent to the confiscation of the property of the Lord Powis, and two others, who had craved his mercy the morning after their leaders had fled.\*† What the poet said of Cæsar, might with justice be applied to King Henry; viz., "that he was slow to punish, and sad when he was "constrained to be severe,"—

"Est piger ad pœnas princeps, ad præmia velox;  
"Cuique dolet, quoties cogitur esse ferox."‡

Richard, Duke of York, after being betrayed and defeated, was driven to take refuge in Ireland; where he was not, however, received as a fugitive, but as a chief, or Governor, owing to his former conduct in that country. The Duke was now even joyfully welcomed by the Irish. They not only treated him with great respect, but voluntarily offered him their ser-

1459.  
Burdy.

Lord Grey of Ruthin, afterwards Earl of Kent.

The Duke of York.

The Earl of March.

The Earl of Rutland.

The Earl of Warwick.

The Earl of Salisbury.

The Lord Powis.

Lord Clynton.

The Countess of Saer.

Sir Thomas Nevylle.

Sir John Nevylle.

Sir Thomas Harryngton.

Sir Thomas Parre.

Sir John Conyers.

Sir John Wenlock.

Sir William Oldhall.

Edward Bouchier, Esq.

Thomas Vaugh'n.

Thomas Colte.

Thomas Clay.

John Denham.

Thomas Thoryng.

John Oter.

\* The Bishop of Exeter and Lord Grey of Ruthin submitting themselves obtained the King's favour.

† Holinshed; Stow; Paston Letters; Allen's York; Encyclopædia Britannica; Rapin; Henry; Lingard; Phillips's Shrewsbury.

‡ Ovid.



vices, to live or die for him, as if he were their lawful sovereign, and they his faithful subjects. While the Duke had been in England, a period of eight years, a succession of deputies had been appointed by him to rule in Ireland. At the time of his return, Thomas, Earl of Kildare, was deputy, and the prevailing party was the Geraldines, by whom the safety of the Duke, and of his colleagues, was provided for. Such Acts of Parliament were also passed as almost declared the colony independent of the English Crown.

It was in vain that they were opposed by the Earl of Ormond, who earnestly maintained the King's cause; so much so, that some of the agents of this earl were executed for attempting an arrest on the royal warrant, as violators of the acts of the party of the Geraldines.\*

The friends of the Duke of York, who had fled to Calais for refuge, were welcomed there by Lord Fauconbridge. All the Yorkists who assembled at this place consulted together, each proposing some fresh expedient to effect their purpose, and they were none of them deficient in courage or inclination.†

At this very time, when the Irish were exhibiting all the warmth of affection for the Duke of York, he was formally attainted in the Parliament at Coventry, and all his adherents proclaimed rebels and traitors.‡

The attention of the English Government was at this period directed to a new object. Somerset had, by the Queen's means, been appointed Governor of Calais, the King giving him a grant of it previous to the late engagement. He was dismissed with some troops to take possession of the town; but, upon his approach, the garrison fired on him, and prevented his landing. He was thus compelled to withdraw to

1459.  
Stow;  
W. of Wor-  
cester;  
Paston  
Letters.

\* Stow; Hall; Holinshed; Leland; Burdy's Ireland; Moore's Ireland.

† Holinshed; Stow.

‡ Leland.

Guisnes, whence he made frequent sallies, but was unable to recover that town, which was strongly fortified; and in one of his conflicts, on St. George's day, he lost many of his followers, at a place called Newnham Brigge.\*

When informed of the difficulty which Somerset experienced in effecting his object, the Queen equipped a fleet to bear him succours, under the command of the Earl of Rivers and his son.

Another account is, that the Queen was so incensed at the opposition the Duke met with, that, in a great passion, she gave orders to prepare all the King's ships lying at Sandwich, to render him assistance. These, while they awaited a favourable opportunity to set sail, were surprised by Sir John Denham, a friend of the Earl of March, who, with some troops, had been dismissed by the Earl of Warwick. These forces, arriving at Sandwich by daybreak, Lord Rivers and his son, Sir Antony, and most of his officers, were surprised in their beds, and taken prisoners; and the rest were won over by Sir John Denham, who finally departed with the King's vessels to Calais, taking with him also Lord Rivers, his son, and officers. These ships were employed by Warwick to carry him over to Ireland, and there he desired to consult the Duke of York as to the means they should adopt for their own defence. When Lord Rivers was brought before the lords at Calais, "there were eight score torches, and "there my Lord of Salisbury rated him, calling him "knave's son, that he should be so rude to call him, "and these other lords, traitors, for," he said, "they "should be found the King's true liege men, when he "should be found a traitor." Lord Rivers was also "rated" by my Lords Warwick and March; but this

\* Holinshed; Hall; Sandford; Stow; Baker; Pol. Vergil; W. of Worcester; Paston Letters; Rapin; Lingard; Daniel.

was a show of great moderation on the part of these Yorkists, who, according to the cruel customs in these civil wars, might have ordered their prisoner for immediate execution.

1459.  
W. of Worcester.

After the Earl of Warwick's conference with the Duke of York, he returned to Calais. He met in his passage the new Admiral, the Duke of Exeter, who did not dare to arrest the Earl's progress, and Warwick reached Calais in safety. He brought with him his mother, the Countess of Salisbury, who, through fear, had fled to Ireland.\* The Duke of Somerset about this time returned from Guisnes, 500 men having been sent over to reconduct him to England.

1459.  
W. of Worcester.

Sir Simon Montford was appointed to guard the Cinque Ports, having some ships under his command, to prevent the approach of the Earl of Warwick; but all these precautions were unavailing. The Earl surprised Sir Simon before his vessels were ready, and having ransacked the town of Sandwich, he carried off Sir Simon and his officers to Calais, where they say the Earl of March, to revenge those who had suffered in his father's cause, had twelve of them beheaded.

1459.  
W. of Worcester.

In February this year, 1459, nine persons were apprehended in the metropolis who were Yorkists, one of them a lawyer, named Roger Neville, the rest tradesmen of the city of London. They were drawn, hanged, and beheaded; the offence for which they suffered being, that they were desirous of approaching Calais to aid the Earl of Warwick.†

A conspiracy was also discovered, the object of which was to besiege the Tower of London. The

\* Baker; Holinshed; Hall; Fabian; Stow; W. of Worcester; Rapin; Paston Letters; Pol. Vergil; Lingard; Daniel.

† Baker; Paston Letters; Leland; W. of Worcester; Daniel.

Duke of Exeter was implicated, and five of his family, and also Thomas Brount, knight, of Kent. They were all tried in July this year, 1459, at Guildhall, and convicted, and were then drawn to Tyburn and beheaded; also, soon afterwards, another person, named John Archer, who was engaged in the same plot.\*

1459.  
W. of Worcester.

It had been anticipated by the Queen and her ministers, that the interview between the Duke of York and the Earl of Warwick would be productive of a new rebellion; consequently, a Council was held on the subject, wherein it was determined that a diligent search should be made throughout the kingdom for all the friends and adherents of the Duke of York, and that such of them as should be found faithful to him, and most capable of rendering him assistance, should be executed. James Butler,† Earl of Wiltshire, Lord Scales, and others, were employed in the office of discovering those who had sided with the Yorkists, and they were authorised to punish the offenders according to law.

These severities, however, had a different effect from that which had been anticipated. The general discontent increased, and scarcely had these two lords begun to execute their commission, having condemned to death a few persons in some towns where the Duke's cause had been boldly espoused, than the inhabitants of Kent flew to arms, and the people, who had before eagerly flocked to the standard of Cade (an adventurer, with a feigned title), now exhibited great zeal and excitement in favour of one they called the rightful heir, and true descendant of the House of York.‡

\* W. of Worcester.

† James Butler was the son of the Earl of Ormond, and was created Earl of Wiltshire by Henry VI. during his father's lifetime. He had been ten years Deputy of Ireland, and became Lord High Treasurer of England.

‡ Stow; Paston Letters; Allen's York; Henry; Rapin.

1459. In 1459, Pope Pius II. sent into England a Legate, with a view to assist in the reconciliation of the rival parties of York and Lancaster; and also to prevail on King Henry VI. to join the forces of this nation in a crusade. The Legate employed on this occasion was Francesco de Copini, Bishop of Teramo, who, far from executing the purposes of his mission, fostered the dissensions of the rival parties, when he should have composed them; he joined the army of the Yorkists, and even proceeded to excommunicate the adherents of the Lancastrians.

This is stated by the Pope himself. Copini had arrived at Calais, when he received a letter from the leaders of the Yorkist party, Richard, Earl of Warwick, who was Captain of Calais, Edward, Earl of March, Richard, Earl of Salisbury, and William Neville, Lord Fauconbridge. The letter was dated from Calais, and had the seals, as well as the signs-manual, of all these persons attached to it.

They offered to Copini a vessel, to go speedily and urge upon King Henry the "honour and integrity of the intentions of these lords, both to him and to the country, confirmed by oath." They alluded to their having obtained possession of the King's fleet, which they had seized upon previously at Sandwich.

Copini much incensed the Pope by the perversion of his mission, and by the enormous bribes, in plate and money, which he had received. He was recalled by him, and put into prison, in the castle of St. Angelo.

The Legate made a full confession of his guilt. He was deprived of his bishopric, and changed his name from Francesco to Ignatius. Afterwards he became a monk in the Benedictine monastery of St. Paul, at Rome, and died in obscurity.

The Yorkist lords showed their sense of obligation to Copini by granting him the sum of £100 annually,

payable from the ports of Southampton; and this was granted until such time as he should obtain preferment in the church.\*

The impolitic scheme of Queen Margaret, for the extirpation of the Yorkists, had raised universal alarm in the minds of the people of Kent.

Their strong attachment to the Duke of York had been often manifested; and perceiving the method adopted in other counties, for the destruction of his party, they could but anticipate that their own ruin would follow. With this impression they made a timely appeal to the Lords at Calais, inviting them to make a descent on the coast of Kent, promising to join them, and risk their lives and fortunes in their cause. It may well be imagined that this offer was far from displeasing to the lords who received it; but, being unwilling to engage too hastily in this enterprise, they dismissed Lord Fauconbridge to ascertain the real disposition of the people.†

When Lord Fauconbridge arrived at Sandwich he found the inhabitants throughout Kent were sincere in their professions to the Lords at Calais, and earnestly desired to support the pretensions of the Yorkists. He sent immediately this intelligence to Calais, adding that nothing but the utmost despatch could save this county from the ruin which appeared inevitable; and that if prompt assistance be rendered to the inhabitants of Kent, those of other counties might be encouraged to join them.‡

The Lords of Calais could no longer hesitate; but previous to engaging in their new projects, they conveyed information of them to the Duke of York, in Ireland, and caused a public protestation to be made throughout Kent and the adjoining counties, to the

\* Ellis's Letters.

† Stow; Baker; Rapin; Henry; Daniel.

‡ Stow; Rapin; Lingard.

effect that their only motive for taking up arms was to free the poor from oppression, and to preserve their rights and privileges. They further added, that they doubted not that all worthy Englishmen would unite their efforts for so noble an enterprise. The Earls of Wiltshire and Shrewsbury and Lord Beaumont were charged by them with misguiding the King. They asserted, that the King of France had been written to, to besiege Calais; and that the people of Ireland had been commanded to expel the English. Finally, that the Yorkists were loyal subjects, which it was their intention soon to make manifest.

1460.  
Stow;  
London  
Chron.]

This declaration had so great an effect over the minds of the people, that when the Earls of Salisbury, Warwick, and March reached Sandwich, bringing with them 1500 men, they found there already assembled an army of 400\* strong, under the command of Lord Cobham.† With this additional army the Yorkists began their march towards London, and before they arrived at the metropolis their numbers were increased to 25,000 or, according to some writers, 40,000 men.

Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury (who was indebted for his exaltation to that See to the Duke of York), joined their party, as did the Bishops of Lincoln and London, and many barons. Also, the Pope's Legate had joined them. Besides these, William Grey, Bishop of Ely, and George Neville, Bishop of Exeter, brother of the Earl of Warwick, declared for them, and with some armed men met the warlike leaders with their army at Southwark, and conducted them to the city by London Bridge;‡ when they reached

\* Lingard says 600.

† Stow; Hall; London Chron.; Leland; Pol. Vergil; Allen's York; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Lingard; Daniel.

‡ One historian tells us that in this approach to the city, thirteen of the strongest of the Bishop's armed men were suffocated, having fallen on the bad roads, and being unable to rise through the weight of their armour, and the concourse of people.

the capital the gates were thrown open to receive them.

They entered the city on the 2nd of July, 1460. It appears that resistance was vain, for London was at that time "kept without watch, and nothing furnished like a town of war, and therefore of necessity open to the first assailants." They all proceeded to St. Paul's, and there, in the presence of the prelates who had espoused their cause, the Yorkists swore that they intended nothing contrary to the continuance of King Henry's authority.\*

1460.

\* Pol. Vergil; Sandford; Baker; W. of Worcester; Lingard; Maitland's London.

## CHAPTER II.

*(Queen Margaret.)*

" Oft have I heard that grief softens  
 " The mind,  
 " And makes it fearful and degenerate;  
 " Think therefore on revenge, and cease to weep."

SHAKESPEARE.

*(Queen Margaret.)*

" What are you made of? you'll not fight  
 " Nor fly:  
 " Now is it manhood, wisdom and defence  
 " To give the enemy way; and to secure us  
 " By what we can, which can no more but fly?"

[Alarm afar off.]

" If you be ta'en, we then should see the bottom  
 " Of all our fortunes; but if we haply 'scape,  
 " As well we may, if not through your neglect,  
 " We shall to London get, where you are lord,  
 " And where the breach now in our fortunes made  
 " May readily be stopped."—SHAKESPEARE.

The King and Queen at Coventry—Margaret's activity—She raises a new army—Edward, Earl of March, opposes her—The battle of Northampton—Buckingham and others slain—The Queen escapes to Durham—Respect paid to the King—Parliament meets—York's pretensions discussed—The Duke of York appointed successor to King Henry—A procession to St. Paul's—York becomes absolute—He attempts to ensnare the Queen—Margaret robbed near Chester—She goes to Wales and Scotland—Affairs in Scotland—The Queen returns to the North of England—She raises an army in Yorkshire, and is joined by the northern barons—Promises of plunder—The Queen goes southward with an army of 20,000—The Duke of York advances to meet her, and withdraws to Wakefield—Queen Margaret harangues her troops—Battle of Wakefield Green—Death of the Duke of York, and of his son—Earl of Salisbury beheaded—The Queen advances towards London—Battle of Mortimer's Cross—Owen Tudor beheaded—Warwick leads another army against the Queen—Battle of Bernard's Heath—Interview of the King, Queen, and Prince Edward—Lord Bonville and Sir Thomas Kiriell beheaded—The plunder of St. Alban's—The Queen applies to the Lord Mayor for provisions, and is refused—The Earl of March advances to London, and Queen Margaret retires to the North—The Earl of March enters London, and is proclaimed King.

QUEEN MARGARET, who was at Coventry, found herself a second time excluded from the capital, where she had vainly endeavoured to prevent the entrance of the rebels, by sending thither a considerable force, under the command of Lord Scales. So general was the disaffection in this city, that, even previous to the entrance of the insurgents, the Mayor had shut the gates upon Lord Scales, who, thus repulsed, threw himself into the Tower, and threatened to destroy the city with his cannon, should the enemy be allowed to enter. The citizens, however, were not intimidated by this menace, and boldly permitted the Yorkists to establish themselves in the capital.\*

The King and Queen were meanwhile collecting forces at Coventry with the utmost expedition. The Duke of Somerset, who had returned to England, and the Duke of Buckingham, took the command of this army, an office chiefly nominal, for Queen Margaret was herself in reality the general. No step could be taken, no measure adopted, but with her concurrence; and, although the King was present also in person, the Queen was the only real commander.† Eagerly did Margaret desire to come to an engagement, which her ardent mind inclined her to expect would decide the contest. How vain were these expectations! How unlike the judgment of riper years! At this time Margaret could not have been more than thirty-one years of age, when her masculine understanding and her courage led her to brave the fortunes of war, and even death itself, in her earnestness to recover by force of arms, that which by policy she could not preserve, viz., the peaceable possession of the throne.

The Queen would not listen to any parley; and the

\* Baker; Hall; Rapin; Henry; W. of Worcester; Maitland's London.

† Sandford; Hall; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Hume; Lingard; Female Worthies.



King, intent on his devotions, did not even receive the messengers sent by the enemy to seek an accommodation; the Duke of Buckingham also refused to admit them, even upon a second and a third application.\*

The Earl of March, a youth of about twenty years of age, set out from London, with 25,000 men, to oppose the Queen, who, as he had heard, was on her way to the metropolis; and he hoped to come to an engagement with her before she could collect a larger army. The Earl was accompanied by the Earl of Warwick and Lord Cobham, as lieutenants, whilst the Earl of Salisbury remained in the city with a great part of his forces. Lord Scales, taking advantage of the departure of these noblemen, caused his cannon to play against the city, and effected some mischief; but the vigilance of the Earl of Salisbury, in stopping his supplies, occasioned him great distress.†

Upon approaching the army of the Royalists, encamped near Northampton, the Earls of March and Warwick had dismissed the Bishop of Salisbury with proposals of accommodation. These offers, as we have seen, were not made known to the King; but the Court, esteeming them as mere professions, refused to listen to them, and both armies prepared for battle.

The Queen, in her eagerness to decide the quarrel by an engagement, had crossed a little river called Nen, or Nyne, which lay behind the plain upon which she had encamped, making haste to effect this passage lest the Yorkists should take advantage of it to avoid a battle: this circumstance was ultimately of great disadvantage to her.‡

The memorable battle of Northampton was fought

\* Baudier; Female Worthies; Stow; Wethamstede.

† Baker; Allen's York; Henry; Rapin.

‡ Sandford; Stow; Baudier; Pennant; Rapin; Lingard; Pol. Vergil.

on the 19th of July,\* 1460.† The Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham having the command of the royal forces, the Queen withdrew to a distance, to watch the encounter, and to issue her orders as circumstances should require. In the army of the Yorkists the right wing was commanded by the Earl of Warwick, the left by Lord Cobham, and the Earl of March fought in the centre. The King only remained inactive on this eventful day, which seemed to promise to establish him on the throne, or to dispossess him of it for ever. Retiring to his tent, within the precincts of the camp, he there patiently awaited the issue of the battle. Such respect had the pacific character of King Henry obtained for him amongst the Yorkists, that the lords of this party had proclaimed throughout their army, that great care should be taken not to injure the person of their sovereign. They also ordered that the common soldiers should be spared, and their leaders only sacrificed to their vengeance.

The engagement, which was commenced by the Yorkists, lasted two, or, as some say, five hours, with great fury and equal obstinacy on both sides, until Lord Grey, of Ruthin, who had headed part of the King's forces, suddenly deserted to the enemy. The Royalists, discouraged by this unexpected event, and fearing that others would follow this example, began to give way, and were finally routed with considerable loss. In their flight they were impeded by the river Nen, which occasioned a greater slaughter, besides that many were drowned in attempting to repass it. Amongst the slain were the Duke of Buckingham, the Lords Beaumont and Egremont, the Earl of Shrewsbury (son of

1460.  
Baker;  
Sandford;  
Toplis;  
Paston  
Letters;  
Stow;  
Pennant;  
Rapin;  
Henry;  
Hume;  
Lingard.

\* Toplis says on the 10th of July; also Allen's Hist. of York.

† Some tell us that the Bishop of Hereford, a white friar and the King's confessor, encouraged the Lancastrians to fight; and for this he was afterwards committed to the castle of Warwick, where he long remained a prisoner.

the great Lord Talbot, killed in the French war), and many others of high rank and merit. There were 10,000 men killed in this battle.\* The slaughter was chiefly of the nobility, and many prisoners were taken.†

Lord Beaumont was the first nobleman who bore in England the title of viscount, with which King Henry had distinguished him, in 1439, and he had ever proved his faithful adherent. The Duke of Buckingham had also been firm in the interests of his royal master. In 1454 he had prepared the "Stafford knots," to distinguish his party; in 1455, at St. Alban's, he had been wounded while fighting by the King's side, and in that encounter he had lost his eldest son, Lord Stafford. For a short time, in 1456, however, he joined the Yorkists, being offended by the Queen's removal of his two relatives from the offices of Chancellor and Treasurer; but he soon returned to the Lancastrian side, and joined the royal standard at Northampton, where he lost his life. His remains were interred in the church of Grey Friars, at Northampton.‡

The unfortunate issue of the battle of Northampton may be attributed to the treachery of Lord Grey of Ruthin, of whom we are assured that he was tempted to betray the trust reposed in him, through his love of lucre, which led him to negotiate, previous to this battle, with the Earl of March, who promised him the estates of Ampethill (belonging to Lord Fanhope, a partisan of King Henry, and to which Lord Grey pretended a title), on condition that he would desert the

\* Stow tells us, that "on the day of this battle, there was so great a rain that the King's ordnance of guns might not be shot."

† Hall says "10,000 tall Englishmen and their King were taken."

‡ Paston Letters; Stow; Hall; Toplis; Sandford; Baker; Pennant; Lingard; Milles's Catalogue; W. of Worcester; Pol. Vergil; Lond. Chron.; Hume; Henry; Fabian; Rapin; Morant; Magna Britannica; Phillips's Shrewsbury; Bridge's Northampton; Allen's York.

Lancastrians with his followers, a strong body of Welshmen. This account appears more credible, when we consider the mercenary disposition of Lord Grey, as exhibited in the Paston Letters. This Lord, who carefully regarded his own interests, survived through four stormy reigns, and contrived to preserve his property with the favour of King Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII.\*

Alas! for the unfortunate Queen, thus suddenly deprived of her once loyal adherent! yet many others supported her cause, and sought to retrieve the misfortune by a vigorous resistance, until, driven back, and discomfited, on the edge of a stream, swollen by the heavy rains, they had no escape from the flood, or the sword, but to end the contest by a precipitate flight. The bodies of those who were slain were buried in the hospital of St. John, or in the church of the convent, called the Abbey de la Pré, in the town of Northampton.

The Queen, the young Prince, and the Duke of Somerset, with others who had escaped the battle, rode away with the utmost expedition into Yorkshire, and thence to Durham; they were, indeed, in the utmost alarm, lest they should fall into the hands of their enemies. They still had hopes that they should be able to augment their forces, or to escape into Scotland, until a more favourable season for renewing the war.†

The King fell again into the power of the Yorkists, from whom, however, he received all the homage due to his rank, and even as much respect as he could have demanded in his most prosperous circumstances. This monarch, we are assured, if insensible to his change of fortune, received some consolation in his

\* Dugdale; Paston Letters.

† Baker; Pol. Vergil; W. of Worcester; Rapin.

reverses from the deference shown him.\* He seemed born to a life of calamity, and he must have deeply felt the loss of his steady friends, experienced generals, and near relatives, who, one by one, fell in this ruthless warfare. He had, at this time, to regret the Duke of Buckingham, the proudest of England's lords, who had been granted the precedence of all other dukes, those excepted of the blood-royal. He had been advanced to his dukedom by the King himself, and was by blood allied to this monarch. Far different were his fortunes to those of Lord Grey of Ruthin. His grandson, the only heir to his estates, being but four years of age, became a ward to the King, and was consigned, along with Humphrey, his brother, to the care of Anne, Duchess of Exeter, with an allowance of 500 marks annually for their maintenance.

The victorious lords conducted King Henry, in a kind of procession to Northampton, soon after the battle, and there stayed until he came to London, which city he entered on the 16th of August following, attended by a great many of the Yorkists, who had so lately been in arms against him. These lords, with triumph, conducted their submissive monarch through the capital, and lodged him in the Bishop's palace. From this time until the meeting of Parliament, which was called in the name of the King to meet at Westminster on the 7th of October, (for the acknowledged object of healing the dissensions of the two parties), the Yorkists continued to pay their court assiduously to their meek and passive King. In all public affairs, meanwhile, they took upon themselves to act in the King's name, and they prevailed upon Henry to sign whatever orders were agreeable to their own interests.\*

\* Baker; Toplis; Hall; Lond. Chron.; W. of Worcester; Hume; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Lingard; Rapin; Henry; Bridge's Northampton.

William Waynfleet, Bishop of Winchester, had been appointed High Chancellor in 1456, in the room of Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had held this office under the Yorkists. This Bishop was a learned and zealous prelate, eminent for his piety, amiability of temper, and his great compassion towards the poor. These distinguishing characteristics marked him as one of those beloved of the saintly monarch, who delighted in rest and peace and holy converse. With such a companion as this King Henry passed his time; and we find that even when compelled to approach the battle-field, and listen to the din of war, previous to the encounter at Northampton, this Bishop was with his beloved sovereign.\* The object of this prelate was to resign his chancellorship; not that he was less firm in his attachment to his royal master's interests, but that this had been imputed to him by Pope Pius II. To free him from this charge, the King addressed a letter to his Holiness, wherein he speaks of the bishop's services to him in the administration, and adds, that such had been his conduct as should preserve his character from censure.† It was on the 7th of July, 1460, that Waynfleet made this resignation to the King, in the presence of the Bishops of Hereford and Durham, and others, in King Henry's tent, then pitched in a field called "Hardingstone Field," near the Abbey of St. Mary "de Pratis," not far from Northampton. This great seal of silver was, by the King's orders, deposited in a chest, in his tent, the key of it being delivered to him.

The Yorkists, having again recovered their authority, through their success at Northampton, now furiously assaulted the Tower of London, which was besieged

1460.  
Baker;  
Sandford;  
Paston  
Letters.

\* Birch's Illust. Persons of Great Britain.

† Edward IV., when established on the throne, treated Waynfleet with consideration, notwithstanding his attachment to King Henry VI.

by the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Cobham, and Sir John Wenlock. This fortress had been held by the Lords Scales and Hungerford, having with them also the High Sheriff of Kent, and John Dalamara of the county of Berks, and others; but all their loyalty was unavailing—they were compelled to surrender to their besiegers. This they did, but conditionally, that they should depart free—a privilege, however, which was not accorded them by the new Governor, the Earl of Warwick; for it appears that Lord Scales, attempting to escape from the Tower, in order to reach the Sanctuary at Westminster, and having, as described by the chronicler, “explored the Thames by night, in “disguised apparel, was descried by a woman,” and was killed in a conflict by the sailors of the Earls of Warwick and March, beneath the wall of the Bishop of Winchester’s house, on the banks of the river. He was despoiled of his clothes, and left naked for many hours, lying on the earth in the cemetery, near the porch of the church of St. Mary of Overy, in Southwark. At length, on the same day, he was honourably interred by the Earls of Warwick, March, and others. Thomas Lord Scales was regarded as a nobleman of distinguished worth and great loyalty. He was sixty-two years of age.\*

The contest between the two parties seemed now to have terminated, the chief of the Lancastrians being killed, or imprisoned, Queen Margaret and her son having fled, and the weak King Henry being at the disposal of his enemies; but torrents of blood were yet to be shed before this fatal quarrel should be ended. This was owing chiefly to the political timidity of the Duke of York, and the courage and activity of the Queen. George Neville, Bishop of Exeter, was ap-

\* Stow; Baker; Sandford; W. of Worcester; Paston Letters; Maitland’s London.

pointed Chancellor on the 25th of July, and Lord Bouchiere, Treasurer.

At the meeting of Parliament on the 7th of October, 1460, the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the Earls of Northumberland and Devonshire, as well as others of the Lancastrian party, did not dare to appear. Only the Yorkists were present. The Earl of Warwick obtained from the King a grant of the government of Calais, and the Duke of Somerset was commanded to give up to him that of Guisnes. The Duke of York and his friends, viz., the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, Lords Clifford and Clinton, Sir Thomas Harrington, Sir John Wenlock, and others, were all declared good and loyal subjects. Also, in this Parliament, all the acts were repealed which had been passed at the last meeting at Coventry. The King was obliged to sanction all these measures with his authority, and indeed whatever the victors required. Almost all the archbishops, bishops, and abbots attended during this session.\*

The victory of the Yorkists at Northampton had once more called the Duke from Ireland, on which occasion the attachment of his adherents was eminently evinced in this country. They flocked around him in vast numbers, uttering violent professions of fidelity and of resolution.†

The friends of the Duke of York were anxiously desiring his presence in London to direct their future proceedings. Nor did the Duke fail to take advantage of this turn of fortune in his favour. He hastened to London, and entered the capital with sound of trumpets, an armed retinue of 500 horsemen, and a drawn sword was carried before him. It was the second day of the meeting of Parliament when the Duke arrived.

\* W. of Worcester; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Lingard; Henry.

† Leland.

1460.  
Holinshead;  
W. of Worcester;  
Hume; Rapin.

He alighted from his horse at Westminster, and proceeded directly to the House of Lords, placed himself under the canopy of state, and with his hand upon the throne stood for some minutes, as if expecting to be invited to take the seat. During this period of suspense the total silence of the house sufficiently convinced the Duke that the members were not all favourable to his purpose, and to add to the confusion he evinced, the Archbishop of Canterbury, advancing towards him, inquired "if he would not go and pay his respects to the King?" Upon this the Duke coloured deeply, and hastily replying, that "he knew no one to whom he owed that honour," withdrew instantly to his own house.

The Duke perceived that it was quite in vain to expect to be solicited to receive the crown, and resolved to throw aside the mask with which he had hitherto disguised his actions, and openly assert his claims. Accordingly, on the following morning, he sent in to Parliament a written statement of the grounds whereon he rested his pretensions, and these were debated, according to the several abilities and dispositions of the members, with great earnestness.\*

The Duke began by stating that he derived his descent from Henry III., by Lionel, third son of Edward III., Richard II. having resigned; Henry, Earl of Derby, who was the son of John of Ghent, the younger brother of Lionel, contrary to all right, inherited the crowns of England and France and the Lordship of Ireland, which lawfully belonged to Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, great grandson to the said Lionel, and thence by right, law, and custom descended to himself, being the lineal representative of Roger

\* Pol. Vergil; Leland; Baker; Allen's York; Moore's Ireland; Hume; Rapin; Henry; Lingard; London Chron.; Fabyar.

Mortimer. The following day the Duke required an immediate answer.

It was the first time that the Duke of York had publicly urged his claims to the crown. The people were not yet prepared to depose their beloved monarch. His inoffensive character had attached his subjects to him. His family had filled the throne for three generations. He had himself reigned thirty-nine years. Most of the Yorkists had received their honours, and some their estates, from him. The Duke of York had sworn fealty to King Henry when he succeeded to the inheritance of the Earl of March, from whom he derived his claims; he had done so when he was appointed to the government of Normandy, and again when made Lieutenant of Ireland. When he became Protector he had acknowledged him as his king; and he had, besides, frequently sworn on the Sacrament to be faithful to him. All this had induced many of his adherents to think that he did not, in reality, aim at the crown; and this also accounts for their apathy upon his first endeavours to attain his object, and for the murmurs of the people. The Lords resolved to wait on the King and receive his commands.

When these claims were made known to the King, he replied, "My father was king; his father was also king. I have worn the crown forty years from my cradle: you have all sworn fealty to me as your sovereign, and your fathers have done the like to my fathers. How then can my right be disputed?" To this he added, "therefore I say with King David, 'my lot is fallen in a fair ground, I have a goodly heritage: my help is from the Lord, which saveth the upright in heart.'"

It must be remembered that, in England, there was no Salic law, by which females were excluded from the succession, and Richard of York was descended by

1460.  
Lingard.



the female line from the second son of Edward III., while King Henry's rights and those of his father and grandfather came only from the third son; nevertheless the crown had been confirmed by Parliament to those Lancastrians more than sixty years, and the Duke was obliged to act with caution in gaining to his interests the members of that body, since he required their assistance to carry out his designs.\*

The Parliament, in favour of Henry, agreed that his grandfather, Henry IV., took possession of the throne without opposition. To this the Duke's friends replied, that the Earl of March, then alive, could not without danger dispute it with him, but that his silence ought not to be construed into consent. Secondly, it was said that Henry IV. obtained the crown by consent of Parliament; but, it was answered for the Duke, that he was not disposed to act without that power, but that Parliament, having once deviated from established custom in favour of the House of Lancaster, they had no less powerful inducements to render justice to the Duke of York. Thus much was said respecting the authority of Parliament without calling it in question; as it was intended that its power should be instrumental in raising the Duke of York to the throne. Thirdly, Richard II.'s resignation was next brought forward by the Lancastrians. Here the Yorkists expressed a doubt as to the power of a monarch while in the hands of his enemies, about to depose him, to determine the succession. It was also denied that it favoured the House of Lancaster, or even Henry IV. himself. Fourthly, it was asserted, that the Earl of Cambridge having been put to death for high treason, his posterity were thus rendered incapable of any inheritance. But, in reply, it

\* Lingard : Wethamstede ; Rapin ; Howel's Med. Hist. Angl. ; Milles's Catalogue.

was urged that the Duke of York had been acknowledged by this title, as well as that of Earl of March, not only by the King, but by all the nation, and that he had also been restored to all his rights and honorary distinctions. Fifthly, it was argued that the crown had remained in the Lancastrian line during a period of forty years. The Duke's friends reasoned that the crown was a natural right, and ought not to be set aside by any positive law. Sixthly, it was finally represented for the King, that having, during a reign of thirty-eight years, led so harmless and pacific a life that no person had conceived any offence against him, it would be cruel to deprive him of the crown. This argument had great influence over the minds of the ministers, so much were they prepossessed in favour of the King; but the Duke's friends again replied, that by leaving the crown to Henry no kindness was conferred upon him, owing to his inability to govern; but that it was rather bestowing it on the Queen and her ministers, who had already made such bad use of their power; nor did they deem it just, that the nation should suffer for the sake of the King, or an injustice be allowed from a charitable motive. Though all this was urged, the Council came to the decision, that the King should still wear the crown during his life, but that the Duke of York should be acknowledged his successor.

In all the proceedings of these Lords their attachment to King Henry appears to have been great, for, since the title of the Duke could not be defeated, they yet refused to proceed to the next step, namely, to dethrone their monarch.

An act of Parliament was then passed to this effect, that the Duke of York, notwithstanding his undoubted right to the crown, willingly agreed that King Henry should enjoy it during his life, and would readily

swear to obey him as his lawful sovereign; but that, should this agreement be in any way broken through by the King, the Duke of York, or his heirs, should immediately succeed to the throne; that the Duke should be proclaimed heir apparent and protector of the King's person, lands, and dominions. The Duke and his two sons, the Earls of March and Rutland, took oath not to molest the King, and to support him on the throne. The royal assent was obtained to this bill, which, besides declaring the Duke of York heir apparent, granted to him and his sons certain estates on that account, and made it high treason for any one who should make any attempts against his person.\*

It can hardly be imagined that the ambitious views of the Duke of York did not carry him beyond this arrangement, by which it might be a considerable time, if, indeed, he should ever be able to attain to the rank of sovereignty; but probably the very extraordinary moderation of Richard Duke of York disposed him to concede a point which he foresaw could only be gained by the sword; and he adopted a line of conduct very different from what might have been expected from him, considering that he had at this time a victorious army to support his title, which had been acknowledged to be just in the Council; so that it seemed but a little more effort was required on his part to secure the throne. Some persuasion only was necessary for him to get the crown awarded to him by Parliament, it being the custom of that House to decide in favour of the stronger party. It is evident, however, that its members were not overawed by the Duke's power, but felt at liberty to decide, according to their unbiased judgment; yet it is the more sur-

\* Baker; Sandford; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Leland; W. of Worcester; Lond. Chron.; Rapin; Henry; Allen's York; Hume; Lingard; Fabyan.

prising that the Duke did not make use of his advantage, since it must be remembered that, being older than Henry, he could hardly expect to outlive him.

The decision of Parliament was succeeded by a formal procession to St. Paul's, where the King appeared wearing his crown, attended by the Duke of York, as heir apparent. This happened on All Saints' Day, and on the Saturday following Richard Duke of York was proclaimed, with sound of trumpet, heir apparent to the crown, and "Protector" of the realm.\*

The agreement into which King Henry had entered was highly prejudicial to his family; especially to the young prince, his son; yet this monarch made no effort to alter the situation of affairs, but quietly submitted the management of public business to the care of the Duke of York and his party, with whose arrangements he appeared contented, while he was consoled under this species of servitude by occupying himself wholly in religious exercises.†

Two portentous omens were at this time noticed by the superstitious. While the Duke of York was declaring his title in the upper house, in the lower a crown, which was hanging in the middle of this building, being an ornament to a chandelier, without any wind or movement to occasion it, fell down, as did also another crown from the top of Dover castle; both indicating, as was thought, a change in the dynasty. Polydore Vergil says, "Such was the pleasure of God, that King Henry, a most holy man, should by so many calamities wherewithal he was continually afflicted, be deprived of this earthly kingdom, to enjoy forthwith the everlasting; for a good man can never be but good, though he suffer a thousand afflictions." ‡

\* Rot. Parl.; Stow; Fabyan; Lingard; Rapin.

† Rapin; Allen's York.

‡ Baker; Stow; Pol. Vergil.

The Duke of York, who had now become not only absolute master of the government, but also of the King's person, prevailed upon Henry to sign an order for the Queen to repair to him. Letters were despatched into Scotland requiring, in the name of the King, that Queen Margaret, the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, and all others of the English nobility in that kingdom, should speedily repair to the royal presence in London. By this manœuvre the Duke of York hoped to find a pretext to banish Margaret the kingdom, for he felt his own power would be insecure while the Queen's influence might clash with his interests. He well knew that, in the present posture of affairs, she dared not to obey this command of her husband, and venture into the midst of her enemies; and by thus rendering her criminal by her refusal, he hoped to justify his future proceedings against her. He thought he should have the good fortune to get rid of his rival, by raising an impediment to her return, and he vainly imagined that Margaret would be left without resource.

In this Richard of York had formed an erroneous estimate of the Queen's character. Her masculine spirit was not to be so easily intimidated by dangers and difficulties, and, far from being dismayed by her late misfortunes, she appears to have been, on the contrary, stimulated to the most active exertions.\*

The Queen had, after the defeat at Northampton, fled with Somerset and others, to Durham; but she secretly withdrew from that city, attended only by eight persons, bearing with her the young prince, her son, for whose safety she showed great anxiety. Margaret, when flying with this little escort from Eccleshall to Chester, narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by John Cleger, one of Lord Stanley's

\* Hall; Baker; Stow; Fabyan; Rapin; Hume; Henry.

1460.  
Rapin;  
Hume.

servants; and was also robbed of her jewels and apparel\* by her own attendants, but finally succeeded in reaching Wales, where Queen Margaret thought herself secure.

King Henry had been passing his time during the last session of Parliament at Eltham and Greenwich, in hunting, while his consort and son were, with the Duke of Exeter and a few trusty followers, enduring many adversities in Wales; although, for a brief period, protected by the valour of David-ap-Jevan-ap-Enion, governor of the fortress of Harlech,† in Merionethshire, where these fugitives had sought refuge.‡

The Duke of Somerset, it would appear, had gone to Dieppe, and with him the Lords Whittingham, John Ormond, Sir Andrew Trollop, and others of the garrison of Guisnes, having a safe conduct from the King of France. It was rumoured that Somerset purposed to join the Queen in Wales.

The Queen made but a short stay in Wales, where she had experienced many disasters, and afterwards sailed, with her son, to one of the ports of Scotland. It is deeply interesting to contemplate at this time the maternal solicitude of Queen Margaret; who, from the period of the disastrous issue of the late engagement, seemed to be no less occupied in the care of her son's personal safety than in maintaining the interests of her unfortunate husband.§

James II., King of Scotland, on hearing of the

\* Stow says this robbery was to the amount of 10,000 marks.

† There is still a tower in Harlech Castle called by the name of Margaret of Anjou, where she abode during this season of adversity.

‡ Paston Letters; Stow; Toplis; Fabyan; Allen's York; Hay's Biog.; Rapin; Hume; W. of Worcester; Henry; Lingard; Wraxall's Tour.; Lewis's Topographical Dictionary.

§ Paston Letter; W. of Worcester; Stow; Ridpath; Allen's York; Pennant's Wales; Toplis; Lingard; Rudland's Snowden; Rapin; Hume; Henry; Fabyan; Lewis's Top. Dict.

1460.  
Paston  
Letters.

1460.  
Stow;  
Pennant;  
Rudland;  
Lingard.

defeat of the Lancastrians, at Northampton, was instantly excited by this event to take up arms.

With a numerous army he laid siege to Roxburg castle, a fortress which had long been in the power of the English, and was at this time held by William Neville, Lord Fauconberg. While engaged upon this siege, the Scottish monarch was accidentally killed by the bursting of a cannon-ball, when in the flower of his age, and to the great grief of his widow, his army, and his people. His country was again exposed to a minority, and was from this period torn by divisions, and similar troubles to those which were occurring in England. Some consolation might have been felt by this people at first, while deploring the loss of their young and warlike monarch; when they beheld his spirited and energetic Queen, Mary of Gueldres, who, arriving immediately in the camp, with the infant heir, and showing him to the army, with tears in her eyes, conjured them, by the memory of their sovereign, and by the renown of Scottish valour, not to quit the siege until they had reduced this fortress. The eloquence of the Queen prevailed—the castle was taken, and levelled to the ground.

In the wars of the Roses, the party of the Lancastrians had ever been espoused by King James, from his personal relation to the families of Somerset and Gaunt; also because his ally, the King of France, lent his assistance to the English monarch, which is proved by his treaties whenever King Henry resumed his authority.

The death of King James was preceded a few days by that of Charles VII., of France, who was said to have starved himself to avoid the risk of being poisoned by his own son, Lewis XI., his successor.\*

\* Stow; Holinshed; Pinkerton; W. of Worcester; Rapin.

From Scotland, Queen Margaret returned to the north of England, where she employed every persuasion in her power to induce the Barons to aid her cause; and she succeeded in a short time in raising a new army in Yorkshire.

Upon the decision of Parliament, with respect to the succession of Richard Duke of York to the throne, Queen Margaret, whose maternal feelings were insulted, publicly expressed her displeasure at the injury done to her son by his exclusion from the throne of his forefathers, which she fully resolved and declared she would revenge, and also release her husband from his present thralldom. Her courage and natural abilities seconded this determination; for she was indeed gifted, not only with the accomplishments of her own sex, but richly endowed with the courage and talents of the other, without their failings.\*

This Queen's vigour and spirit supporting her small power, enabled her to maintain the interests of her son, and of those who still adhered to the House of Lancaster.

Unfurling her standard in the neighbourhood of York, there soon rallied around it the Earl of Northumberland, the Lords Clifford, Dacre, and Neville, and these were speedily joined by the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Devonshire, with their followers from those counties, who came by way of Bath, Cirencester, Evesham, and Coventry.

A Council was then held by these northern chieftains at York, in which the destruction of the Yorkists was determined upon.†

These northern barons could not but compassionate the helpless condition of their Queen; and when they

\* Hall; Sandford; W. of Worcester; Ridpath; Leland; Rapin; Hume; Female Worthies.

† Sandford; Hall; W. of Worcester; Lingard; Henry; Historical View of Northumberland.



beheld her affability and condescension, as well as the dexterity she displayed in winning their favour, for she spared no pains to insinuate herself by promises and assurances, their admiration of her talents inspired them with the resolution to endeavour to restore her to the throne.

The pride of these nobles, who regarded themselves as the most valiant in the kingdom, had been wounded by the disposal of the crown without their having been consulted, and their indignation at this stimulated them to revenge themselves. Thus their private pique came to the aid of the Queen's enterprise. Their desire of revenge also sufficiently accounts for the rapacity and thirst for plunder which marked the subsequent progress of these northern barons; they having promised the people, in order to allure them to join in the war, that they would permit them to plunder all the country south of the Trent. By these means an army of 18,000, or 20,000 men was collected with an expedition which surprised the friends of Queen Margaret, and no less astonished her enemies.\*

Almost all the northern barons joined this army, and thus powerfully supported, the Queen set out, bending her course to the south, and taking her son with her.

Information had been conveyed to the Duke of York of the Queen's attempts to raise an army, and although ignorant of her great success, he prepared immediately to oppose her, thinking that he could not be too speedy, as he well knew that her spirit and activity were the enemies he had most to apprehend.

Parliament having been adjourned in December, the Duke of York took with him the Earl of Salisbury and an army amounting to 4000, or 5000† men, and having

\* Hume; Baker; Stow; Henry; Historical Survey of Northumberland; Allen's York.

† One writer says 6000 men.

1460.  
W. of Worcester.

first committed the care of the King to his trusty friends, the Earls of Norfolk and Warwick, he marched from London towards York. As he proceeded, he obtained intelligence of the Queen's superior numbers, and considered it advisable to delay an engagement until his son, the Earl of March, whom he had commanded to follow him, with the rest of his forces, should join him. Upon reaching Wakefield, therefore, he withdrew to Sandal Castle, where he arrived on the 21st of December. Here he kept the Christmas Day, along with the Earl of Salisbury; while the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, and the rest of the Queen's forces, were lying at Pontefract. The castle of Sandal was strongly fortified, and the Duke of York thought himself secure, for he was convinced that the Queen could not force it.\*

Queen Margaret dared not, indeed, attack this castle, being unprovided with artillery; and she was much mortified to see her enemy thus sheltered from her assault, especially, as in her present circumstances, having the superiority in numbers, she had every reason to expect success, could she engage the Duke in battle. She could not feel equally certain that, after the delay which would give time for the arrival of the Earl of March, she should have as good a chance of success; she therefore did all she could to provoke her enemy, and entice him to come out and meet her in the field. She exerted all her ingenuity to effect her purpose; she placed some troops in ambush on each side of Wakefield Green, one of them commanded by Lord Clifford, the other by the Earl of Wiltshire, while the main body of her army was led on by the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter. Then, making her appearance before the walls of Sandal Castle, she sought, by various

\* Stow; Hall; W. of Worcester; Fabyan; Paston Letters; Leland; Allen's York; Rapin; Hume; Henry.



means, to provoke the Duke to battle; by turns she threatened and challenged him, and even taunted him with aspiring to wear a crown, when he had not even courage to fight a woman.\*

The Duke of York had hitherto been distinguished for prudence and sound judgment, and during the wars in France had obtained great credit for discretion and good conduct; but, unfortunately for himself on this occasion, he suffered his valour to get the better of his reason, or his animosity against the Queen to blind him, so as to make him commit an error, which was unpardonable in so great a general. Rapin says he was driven to it by the failure of provisions in the castle, and another historian confirms this. He tells us, that "while the troops of the Duke of York were "wandering through the country in search of provisions, "a dreadful battle took place;" however this may have been, the Duke sallied forth from his retreat, and on hearing the taunts of the Queen, exclaimed, "What, "shall it be said, that York was blocked up in his camp "by a woman, without daring to fight!"

Quite contrary to the advice of his friends, the Duke of York drew up his forces on Wakefield Green, relying on his own courage and experience to compensate for the deficiency of his numbers. This was exactly what the Queen desired; and, drawing up her army in order of battle, she was the first to begin the engagement.†

Upon this day the Queen is said to have harangued her troops in person, and the Chevalier Baudier has thus transmitted to us her speech:

"You bear this day, my loyal English, the justest "arms that ever appeared in any war, as being employed to restore liberty to your King, who is now a

\* Baker; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Female Worthies.

† Hall; Baker; Paston Letters; W. of Worcester; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Allen's York; Female Worthies; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Lingard.

"prisoner, and the succession of the crown to his son, "which a lawless tyrant has taken from him by "violence; for this reason, I ought not to doubt but "that you will behave yourselves valiantly, and that "each of you have already proposed to yourselves the "illustrious name which you are going to acquire, of "deliverers of your King, and protectors of the prince, "his son.

"If you have a woman for your general, and fight "under her command, the advantage you will receive "from thence is not inconsiderable; for, if the King "were here present in person, the booty would be the "only share you would have in the consequences of "the victory, whilst he would engross all the glory of "the success. The King being absent, you will now "have both, and the world will sooner give the "honour of the victory to your valour, than to my "conduct.

"I hope, however, you will see to-day that there is "no other difference between the generals of the two "armies, besides that of their sex. I see already in "your looks the courage which inspires your hearts, "and the resolution you have taken either to conquer "or die, and that none shall be able to reproach you "that, on so important an occasion, you have done less "than a woman, who puts herself at your head."

As Queen Margaret concluded her speech, the whole army set up a loud shout, and held up their arms in token of their willingness to serve her.

When the fight began, the Queen, who commanded in person, rode through all the battalions, animating and encouraging her soldiers to do their duty.\*

These were not deficient in valour, for, at the first onset, they attacked the Duke with such fury, that he instantly felt the superiority which the Royalists had

\* Baudier; Female Worthies; Biographie Universelle.

over him in point of numbers; and while he was thus hard pressed by the army in front, the troops, who had been placed in ambush, issuing forth, fell upon him in the rear so unexpectedly, that his forces were thrown into the utmost disorder, and in less than half an hour were completely routed. The Duke himself was killed while fighting with great valour, and his son, the Earl of Rutland, a boy of but twelve years of age, flying with his tutor from the field, was taken prisoner by Lord Clifford, who barbarously despatched him with his dagger, in spite of the earnest prayers of his tutor that his life might be spared. It has been said, probably in excuse for this cruel action, that the father of Lord Clifford had been slain in the battle of St. Albans, and his son had taken an oath not to leave one branch of the line of York standing. In this battle were killed Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir David Hall, Sir Hugh Hastings, Sir Thomas Neville, son of the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Harrington, Thomas Harrington, and others. Many of those who perished at this time, were young gentlemen of distinction, and heirs of noble families in the south of England.

The body of the Duke of York being afterwards discovered by Lord Clifford, he cut off the head, and, affixing it to his lance, with a paper crown placed on it, by way of derision, presented it thus to the Queen, saying, "Madam, your war is done; here is your 'king's ransom,' upon which we are told Queen Margaret commanded that it should be set up on the walls of York. The Earl of Salisbury was taken prisoner, and beheaded by martial law, with several others, persons of distinction, at Pontefract. At this place were interred, by the consent of the lords, the bodies of the Duke of York,\* the Earls of Salisbury

\* The remains of the Duke of York were afterwards removed to the collegiate church of Fotheringay.

and Rutland, and others, and their heads were placed over different parts of York.\*

Thus ended the battle of Wakefield Green,† fought on the 29th of December,‡ 1460; in this encounter 3,000§ Yorkists were slain; yet, this victory served only to accelerate the downfall of the Lancastrians. Some writers inform us that the Duke of York was taken alive, and was made the subject of derision by his conquerors; who, placing him on a molehill, with a garland on his head made of bulrushes (instead of a crown), knelt before him, crying, "Hail King without rule; hail King without heritage; hail Duke and Prince, without people, or possessions!" Having thus, with many angry words, vented their scorn and reproach, they cut off his head, and presented it to the Queen.||

The Duke of York was much lamented by his followers, and not without reason. His faults were such as only spring from qualities calculated to render him beloved and esteemed, and he doubtless deserved a better fate. His enemy, the Duke of Somerset, used to say of him, "That, if he had not learnt to 'play the king, by his Regency in France, he had 'never forgot to obey as a subject.'" The Duke lost his life in the fiftieth year of his age. He left three sons and three daughters; the former were Edward, Earl of March, George, and Richard; the latter were Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.¶

\* Stow; Baker; Sandford; Hall; Toplis; Leland; Allen's York; Wethamstede; W. of Worcester; Paston Letters; Milles's Catalogue; Rapin; Rot. Parl.; Pol. Vergil; Ridpath; London Chron.; Female Worthies; Hume; Habington; Watson's Halifax; Pennant; Burdy's Ireland; Henry; Lingard; Femmes Célèbres; Rudland's Journey to Snowden.

† This battle, we are also informed, was fought in the south fields, near Wakefield, by the bridge of nine arches.

‡ Some writers date this engagement the 24th, some the 31st, of December.

§ Lingard tells us 2000 only were slain.

|| Milles's Catalogue. ¶ Sandford; Allen's York; Hume; Holinshed.

1460.  
Sandford;  
Toplis;  
W. of Worcester;  
Ridpath;  
Rapin;  
Henry;  
Hume;  
Lingard.

Shakespeare has faithfully exhibited the character of the Duke of York, where he makes him to despise the inequality of the number of his forces, to those of the Queen, and to exclaim,—

"Five men to twenty, though the odds be great,  
 "I doubt not, uncle, of our victory.  
 "Many a battle have I won in France,  
 "When as the enemy hath been ten to one;  
 "Why should I not now have the like success?"

But this rash confidence cost him his castle and his life. On the spot where he fell, a stone memorial was erected, when his party were again in the ascendant, and continued there until the contests of the seventeenth century, which occasioned its removal.\*

This great victory at Wakefield, which may be said to have been achieved by the courage and perseverance of Queen Margaret, seemed to promise security to King Henry's crown, but its ultimate effects were the contrary. The defeat of their leader aroused the fiercest animosities of all the supporters of the House of York; it excited the energies of Edward, the son of the Duke of York, and aroused the pride and talents of the potent Warwick; in short, all the latent zeal of this party was, at once, called forth against their conquerors, and all became ambitious of wiping away the dishonour of the late encounter. A deadly retaliation ensued, which neither the talents of the Queen, or of her generals, or the sanctity and virtues of the King, could arrest. The contest, from this time, bore a decided character; the desire for revenge giving to the parties a firmness they had never before exhibited.†

Amidst the rejoicings of the Queen for her late victory, she, unhappily, did not exhibit those feelings of compassion for the vanquished, which ever adorn

\* Warner's Tour.; Lingard; Hist. and Antiquities of York.

† Lingard.

humanity; and, either yielding to her resentment against the Duke of York, or, possibly, in compliance with the wishes of Lord Clifford, she commanded the head of her great enemy, Richard of York, to be set up on the walls of York, and in ridicule of his pretensions, as it was said, "that York might overlook "the town of York."

The brutality of character of Lord Clifford has been already exhibited, and it seems far more probable that this act, commanded by the Queen, was granted to his suggestions rather than to gratify herself. In like manner, Queen Margaret might have conceded her own sentiments to the exigency of the times, in permitting the northern Barons to use the privilege of plundering the country south of the Trent; for this permission was indeed highly injurious to her interests; and we find the further progress of the army marked by fire and sword, to which the monasteries, churches, and private houses, were alike sacrificed.\*

Thus did the Queen, with her northern army, hasten on to make sure of the capital, without which neither party could be established.

While advancing towards London, she received information that the Earl of March was on his way to meet her; but, being ignorant of the number of his forces, she continued her route; sending only a detachment against him, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke.†

Edward, Earl of March, was at Gloucester, when he learnt the melancholy news of the fate of his father and brother. He went immediately to Shrewsbury, where the inhabitants were strongly attached to him, and desired their help to avenge his father's death. He increased his army to 23,000 men in these parts; and then set out in quest of the Queen. He had

\* Henry.

† Baker; Rapin; Hume.

been much dismayed by the defeat and death of his father, for whose assistance he had been then preparing, and he now resolved, not only to revenge himself, but to maintain the quarrel of his House, whatever it might cost him; indeed, there appeared no retreat; for, having once been driven to such desperate measures, nothing short of the extinction of one of the factions could give peace, and establish the authority of the other.

The Earl of March had been encouraged by the hope of aid from the Earl of Warwick, who had been left in London, by the Duke of York, for the defence of that city. When, as he proceeded on his march, Edward learnt that Queen Margaret was bending her course towards the capital, he altered his route, and made an attempt to get to London before her.

Finding, however, that some troops had been dismissed by Queen Margaret to oppose him, and that thus he had two enemies to encounter, between whom he must necessarily have passed, had he proceeded towards the metropolis, he suddenly changed his resolution, and, turning back, prepared to meet the Earl of Pembroke, who, by the Queen's orders, was advancing, accompanied by the Earls of Ormond and Wiltshire, with their forces, chiefly composed of Welsh and Irish.\*

At this time, when the son of the Duke of York was thus engaged, seeking to avenge his father's death, letters were addressed by King Henry (in this last year of his reign, as it proved) to the Earl of Arundel, the Lords Dacre, Delaware, Cobham, and Abergavenny; also to some of the sheriffs and justices of the peace, mayors, and private individuals in Kent, dated on the 28th of January, 1461. That Henry

\* Hall; Sandford; Baker; Stow; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Lingard; Henry; Phillips's Shrewsbury; Fosbroke's Gloucestershire.

was in the power of the Yorkists, is evidenced by the statements in these letters, "that the King had certain information that those misruled and outrageous people in the north parts of this realm had been coming towards these parts to the destruction there of you, and subversion of all our land; and the persons addressed were commanded to come to the King, in all possible haste, with as many followers as they could collect, he being about to proceed in person against his enemies."\*

These armies met on a small level plain, called Kingsland Field, near Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire, on Candlemas-day, the 2nd of February, 1461.

1461.  
Toplis;  
Paston  
Letters;  
Ridpath;  
Lingard.

The superiority of numbers was, upon this occasion, great on the side of the Yorkists; and the Earl of Pembroke was speedily defeated, with a loss of 2,800 men.† The disparity of numbers, although very great (and some say that the Earl of March had 60,000, others asserting he had 51,000 men, while Pembroke had but 8,000), was not the only cause of the success of the young heir of York. The historians relate that this engagement took place in the morning, when the sun appeared of such dazzling brightness, that the Earl of March is recorded to have beheld three suns, which again suddenly united into one; and this sight so animated the courage of the youthful Edward, that he rapidly dispersed his enemies.‡ It has been supposed that, on account of this circumstance, the Earl of March gave the sun in its full brightness for his cognizance. The Earl of Pembroke saved himself by flight; but Owen Tudor,

1461.  
Pennant.

\* Sir H. Nicolas's Proceedings of the Privy Council.

† One writer tells us that the loss was 3,800; others, 4,000.

‡ Lingard dates this battle the 1st of February, and says 4,000 royalists were slain; Toplis says also 4,000; Baker, 3,800; Stow, 3,800.

his father, being taken with some others, suffered death at Hereford, to revenge the like punishment inflicted upon the Earl of Salisbury and his friends after the battle of Wakefield Green. Owen Tudor was interred in the church of Grey Friars at Hereford.\*

The news of this defeat reached Queen Margaret, but did not arrest her progress. She was bent on entering the capital, and did not think her late victory complete, until she had released her husband from his captivity. This she resolved to effect, even though she might lose her life in the attempt. Accordingly, after the battle of Wakefield Green, she led on her victorious troops towards London. The progress of this great army, composed of Scots, Welsh, foreigners, as well as English, was, from this time, marked by rapine and destruction. Presuming on the license granted them, and having passed the river Trent, they spared neither towns nor churches. They destroyed the towns of Grantham, Stamford, Peterborough, Huntingdon, Royston, and others, all, indeed, in their way to the capital. They robbed the churches of all that was valuable, bearing away crosses, chalices, books, or ornaments; and thus indulging their licentiousness, they arrived at Dunstable and St. Alban's. At this last place no command, even from the King himself, could stay their ravages of the town, and of its venerable abbey.

The Abbey of St. Alban's had been, in stormy times, a place of refuge for the poor peasants, who even drove thither their cattle for safety, while the battle raged without its walls. All the woods and forests of the land provided its timber and game; and corn,

\* Sandford; Toplis; Hall; Milles's Catalogue; Willement; Baker; Paston Letters; Howel; W. of Worcester; Peck's Stanford; Stow; Pol Vergil; Pennant; Ridpath; Hume; Phillips's Shrewsbury; Lingard; Rapin; Henry.

wine, and other produce, in abundance, were supplied to the needy applicants by the hospitable monks. The first battle of St. Alban's, in 1455, had spread devastation, both in the town and country, around this noble sanctuary; but houses were rebuilt, and the lands had just recovered their fertility, when a second battle renewed all the horrors of the former one; once again the wounded and the dying tottered to its sheltering walls, and the continual tolling bell announced the last sad office and closing service rendered for each one of those departed.

More ruthless this second warfare was than the first, which had seemed like the contest of brothers or relatives struggling for their much-vaunted rights; but far more sanguinary and cruel was the vengeance of these northern lords, whose pride had urged them forward to rush upon their country's ruin.

The progress of this destructive army, headed by the Queen herself, was arrested by the appearance of new forces, led on by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with the Earls of Warwick and Arundel, Lord Bonville, and others, who came from London to oppose the Lancastrians.

It was the belief of Queen Margaret, that when she should appear before the capital, as the conqueror of the Duke of York, the gates would be thrown open to her, and that the inhabitants would, in their terror, drive out the Earl of Warwick. That this nobleman held the same opinion, there can be little doubt, since he preferred to go out of the city to meet the Queen; and, in doing so, he had his army considerably augmented by a body of the "trainbands" of London, which had been chiefly induced to join him through the alarm inspired by the ravages committed by the northern troops. They anticipated, doubtless, the imminent hazard of all their possessions, should these



"barbarians," as they called them, be admitted into the city.\*

The Earl of Warwick, taking with him the unfortunate King Henry, who seemed to be led about as a state prisoner, advanced to Bernard's Heath, near St. Alban's, where the two armies met, on Shrove Tuesday, the 17th of February, 1461.

1461.  
Toplis;  
Stow;  
Sandford;  
Henry;  
Lingard.

The Queen had with her the Prince, her son, the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset, the Earls of Northumberland, Devonshire, and Shrewsbury, the Lords Roos, Graycodnore, Fitzhughe, Graystoke, Wells, and Willoughby, with many others; the total number of her forces being 4,000 men. With this army Margaret entered St. Alban's, intending to pass the town; but they were arrested, near to the Cross in the market-place, by a body of archers, who dismissed such a volley of arrows, that they were speedily repulsed, with some loss, and compelled to return to the west end of the town, where again they had a sharp encounter; but at length, after great slaughter on both sides, they passed the town, and arrived at Bernard's Heath. Near the little town of Sunbridge, at a place named "No Man's Land," they met the army of the Yorkists, whose forces amounted to 4,000 or 5,000 men. Then came on a very severe and bloody conflict; and, owing to some negligence or treachery on the part of Lovelace, one of the commanders of the Earl's army, who quitted the field, the Queen gained the advantage, and finally defeated the Earl of Warwick, whose loss was estimated at 2,800 men.†

No person of distinction was killed in this engagement. Amongst the wounded, however, was Sir

\* Hall; Sandford; Baker; Lingard; Baudier; Rapin; Henry.

† Rapin and Toplis say, 2,300, W. of Worcester 2,000, Stow 1,916 were slain.

James Lutterel, who died on the following day; also Sir John Gray, Lord Ferrers, of Grosby, who only survived this battle a few days; he died on the 28th of February, 1461. This nobleman had been a zealous supporter of the Lancastrian cause. He had led on the cavalry in the late battle, in which he received his mortal wound. He was not only valiant, but young and handsome; and after losing his father, Sir Edward Gray, Lord Ferrers, in 1457, when he inherited the family estates, had married Elizabeth,\* the eldest daughter of Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers, by whom he had two sons. At the close of the battle, Sir John was conveyed to the village of Colney. As night drew on, the Yorkists escaped by flight from apparent destruction, leaving their King alone† in the tent of the Earl of Warwick. It was here that he was discovered by Queen Margaret, when a tender interview took place between King Henry, his consort, and the young Prince; the King embracing and kissing them "in most loving wise, and yielding "hearty thanks to Almighty God for the restoration "of his son."

Those who have called Queen Margaret an enemy of her husband, and of the English nation, must have formed this opinion from the political errors into which she had the misfortune to fall, owing to her youth, her inexperience, or her alliance to the royal family of France. Nothing has been transmitted to us by which we can entertain any doubt of the affection and fidelity of Queen Margaret to her husband.

We are informed that at the Queen's request, upon the occasion of their happy meeting, the King knighted

\* This lady, after the death of Sir John Gray, became the queen of Edward IV.

† W. of Worcester and some others say, the King was found in the camp with Lord Montague, his chamberlain.

his son, Edward, Prince of Wales (who was then seven years of age), as well as thirty noblemen and gentlemen,\* who had displayed great valour in the preceding battle.†

They afterwards proceeded to St. Alban's Abbey, where the Abbot welcomed them, and anthems were sung. A humble petition was offered to the King for the protection of this abbey, and the town, from the outrages of the soldiers. He at once granted this request; but, although proclamation was made to that effect, it was in vain; the northern soldiers declaring that they had been promised the spoils wherever they went south of the Trent, they presumed on their privilege, and continued their ravages.

King Henry also issued orders for the arrest of the Earl of March, but this command was as futile as the preceding one.‡

It is related that the King, with his accustomed kindness of heart, visited the young Lord Gray, who, at the village of Colney, was drawing near the close of his mortal career. Possibly he was clinging to life, as mostly is the case in youth, and Henry sought to afford him consolation in the approach of death, by directing his thoughts to the only refuge upon which he had based his own hopes. A contemporary writer tells us, also, that the dying lord received the honour of knighthood from his beloved monarch, who then conferred upon him the distinction for the sake of his two sons,§ Sir Thomas and Sir Richard; their father, Sir John, having been prevented by the intestine divi-

\* Among these were the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Roos.

† Hall; Sandford; Toplis; Stow; Fabyan; Baker; W. of Worcester; Milles's Catalogue; Morant; Lond. Chron.; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Hume; Pennant; Lingard; Henry: Femmes Célèbres.

‡ Baker; Rot. Parl.; Lingard.

§ Of one of these sons we learn that Sir Thomas was created, in 1471, Earl of Huntingdon, and in 1475 Marquis of Dorset.

sions in the country, from taking his seat in the House of Peers. Twelve persons, besides Sir John, were knighted at this time by the King,¶ at the village of Colney.

Several persons of distinction were beheaded after the late battle; although, as it is said, their lives had been granted by the King. Amongst those were Lord Bonville and Sir Thomas Kiriell, knight, who were seized and put to death in the presence of Prince Edward, at St. Alban's, upon Ash Wednesday; and it was reported this barbarity was in retaliation for the execution of Lord Hungerford, at Hereford.\*

Queen Margaret has been charged with this cruelty, and it is probable the Queen did, in the heat of victory, and in the spirit of retaliation, give this command. Barbarous as it may appear, we must pause at the consideration of her reprehensibleness, when we are called upon to do justice to the varied accounts of this period. Two questions arise; viz., were these orders given for the indulgence of her own private animosity, or for the gratification of some of the Lancastrian faction? Stow relates that Bonville was put to death through party violence, at the instance of the Queen, the Duke of Exeter, and the Earl of Devonshire.†

Many of our historians cast the odium of this transaction on the Queen only. They state that, when the flight of the Yorkists became general, the Lords about the King's person, perceiving the danger, withdrew themselves, "Lord Bonville, only coming in a complimentary manner to the King, and saying it grieved him to leave his majesty, but that necessity for the safeguard of his life enforced it, was importuned by the King to stay, and also Sir Thomas Kiriell, a knight

\* Paston Letters; W. of Worcester; Hall; Baker; Rapin; Toulmin; Hume; Morant; Henry; Lingard.

† Stow; Lyson's Mag. Brit.

"of Kent, he passing his royal word that their stay should be no danger to them." Upon this promise they stayed; but the Queen, hearing that the Commons had beheaded Baron Thorp, at Highgate,\* in revenge thereof caused both their heads to be struck off.†

Some, very powerful motive must have influenced the Queen to make her act thus—in contempt of the King's word, and in defiance of all good faith, to issue her command for the execution of these noblemen, and thus to sully the glory of her late victory. One suggestion only is supplied to us as the probable cause, and it is certain that private injuries are always most keenly felt and resented. It has been asserted that Lord Bonville, after the battle of Northampton, in which his party was triumphant, had the custody of the King's person, and possibly, by some indignity he had offered to the meek monarch, this nobleman had incurred the Queen's resentment. Whether this opinion be correct or no, it is probable that Lord Bonville suffered for his attachment to the Yorkists, whose party he espoused in 1449, when he was besieged at Taunton.‡ This lord was the last of an ancient Devonshire family, and it is remarkable, that the havoc of civil war annihilated three generations within the short space of two months. At Wakefield Lord Bonville had witnessed the death of his son, Sir William Bonville, and of his grandson, William, Lord Harrington,§ who were killed in battle in December, 1460, and in the following February the aged grandfather lost his life.

\* Thomas Thorp, one of the barons of the Exchequer, made an attempt to join the Queen, and for this purpose disguised himself in the habit of a monk, with his "crown shorn;" but he was discovered, sent to the Tower, and afterwards beheaded by the people at Haringay Park, Highgate, on 17th of February, 1461.

† Baker; Hall; Pennant; Fabyan; Stow.

‡ Toulmin.

§ This title he enjoyed in right of his wife, the heiress of Lord Harrington, of Harrington.

In these wars of the Roses, or, as they might be designated, of bloody retaliation, the law of life for life appears to have been strongly adhered to by the victors on either side; and this might be adduced as some excuse, if any could be made, for the hasty and cruel proceeding just related, which has even caused Queen Margaret to be designated by one writer, the "barbarous queen."

The astonishing success which had attended the arms of this Queen in the battles in which she commanded in person, has led some to believe that, had the King's forces always had her able direction, the Lancastrians might have been more fortunate.\*

The grand error of Queen Margaret, like that of the celebrated Carthaginian general of old, was delay, and to this, has been attributed her ultimate want of success. After so memorable a battle as that of Bernard's Heath, had she marched on, with her victorious army, to London, and demanded admittance, there is little doubt that she would have been welcomed. In this, however, she was even less faulty than Hannibal, as it did not originate in her own neglect; on the contrary, being indebted for her late victory to the exertions of a band of northern troops, (whose services she was utterly unable to recompense, and who had voluntarily attended her in this war, conditionally, that they should ravage the country south of the Trent), these soldiers now firmly insisted on the exercise of this privilege, and no prohibition, or intreaties could induce them to march forward. Thus the interests of the Queen were sacrificed to their rapacity, and so unruly became these northern soldiers, that the most peremptory orders could not deter them from their purpose. While presuming on their agreement, the prohibitions of the King and of the Queen were equally dis-

\* Baudier.

regarded by them, and they continued their plunder of St. Alban's and its Abbey, and, in defiance of all authority, ransacked and pillaged the country in the most horrible manner. Several days were passed by them in spreading devastation around, and they even extended their ravages as far as the gates of the metropolis. How little cause had the triumphant Queen to rejoice in her victory, on beholding the misconduct of her powerful adherents, and the vain efforts of the King to save his favoured Abbey from their destructive force!

In consequence of these continued depredations, the people of London, and the inhabitants of the counties around, who had been thus allowed time to recover from the consternation into which the defeat of the Earl of Warwick had thrown them, resolved to expose themselves to every peril, rather than to admit such cruel plunderers. They felt the necessity for the protection of their property, and many attached themselves to the Yorkist party.\* The terror with which the northern army had inspired their minds was highly injurious to the Queen; and the confusion and contentions of the Londoners must have been considerable. One writer describes it thus: "At this tyme during the troubelous season, great watches were kept daily and nightly, and divers opinions amongst the citizens; for the mayor and many of the chief commoners held to the Queen's party, and the commonalty was with York and his affinity." Thus when the Queen, finding herself distressed for provisions, owing to the licentiousness of her followers, sent to the Lord Mayor of London, requesting of him supplies; he, fearing to offend her at this moment, gave orders for several carts to be loaded with provisions; when,

\* Sandford; Baker; W. of Worcester; Ridpath; Paston Letters; Hume; Henry; Lingard.

however, they were about to convey them from the city, they were stopped by the populace, near Cripplegate; and the adverse party declared to the Lord Mayor, that they would not permit any succours to be conveyed to an army, whose avowed object was to plunder the country. Upon this, the mayor prevailed upon three ladies, the Duchess of Bedford, the Duchess of Buckingham, and Lady Scales, to go, accompanied by several prelates, to the Queen and her counsellors, then at Barnet, to intercede for him, excusing him for not using force with the citizens, in order to comply with her request, as he feared to excite their anger in such doubtful times, when it might not be easy to allay it. The ladies were successful in their embassy. They not only pacified the Queen, but prevailed in persuading her, that, if some of the lords of the council with a guard of 400 good soldiers, were sent to London to appease the tumult, by riding through the streets, some of the aldermen would then come out to meet her, and would introduce both the King and Queen quietly into the city.\*

Queen Margaret prudently and wisely concealed her displeasure at the indignity offered her by the citizens, and appeared to acquiesce in the plan proposed to her. While this negotiation was carried on, the Earl of March was advancing with rapid strides towards London. His purpose was to encourage the citizens to oppose the entrance of Queen Margaret; indeed, the news only of the Earl's approach caused the Lord Mayor to lengthen his treaty with the Queen, until her affairs became desperate.†

When the Queen was informed that the Earl of March was so near at hand, and that he had united his own army with the remains of that of the Earl of

1461.  
Rapin;  
Henry;  
Hume.

\* Biondi; Baker; Habington; Stow; W. of Worcester; Hall; Sandford; Rapin; Henry; Maitland's London; Lingard.

† Ibid.

Warwick, she determined upon retiring to the north. She thus wisely provided for a safe retreat, showing prudence, which is called "the better part of valour." Margaret was well aware that her army, with their present licentious habits, were not able to encounter the enemy with any reasonable hope of success, and foreseeing that she would be compelled to fight at a great disadvantage, at the very gates of the capital, where she could not anticipate a favourable reception from the people, she resigned it to her rival, whose favour there, seemed greater than her own. The Queen then hastily withdrew from St. Alban's to Dunstable, and thence to a remote part of the kingdom.\*

1461.  
Baker ;  
Lingard ;  
Henry ;  
Rapin.

Edward, Earl of March, now triumphantly entered the metropolis on the 28th February, 1461, overjoyed at his good fortune, and welcomed by the unanimous voice of the people.

His friends, perceiving how much the timidity and caution with which the Duke of York, his father, had acted, was prejudicial to his interests, advised him to consent to bolder measures, and even resolved, by a desperate effort, to establish him at once upon the throne. After several consultations, they determined to set aside the ordinary modes of proceeding, and, without waiting for the sanction of Parliament, to endeavour to obtain, first, the suffrages of the people, and then those of the nobility. They hoped, also, to justify this by the act of Parliament, which confirmed the agreement made between the King and the Duke of York. Without further delay, the Earl of Warwick, pursuant to this resolve, assembled his troops in St. John's Fields, and the people, who crowded thither, being drawn up in the form of a ring, the Earl, standing in the midst of them,

\* Sandford ; Hall ; Stow ; Biondi ; Ridpath ; W. of Worcester ; Hume ; Henry ; Rapin ; Lingard.

first read to them the agreement entered into between the King and the Duke of York, and the act of Parliament confirming it. He next proceeded to assert that Henry, having notoriously violated this agreement, thereby had forfeited the crown. Then, raising his voice, the Earl demanded of the people "if they would have Henry of Lancaster for their king?" and being answered in the negative, he further required of them to say "if, in compliance with the agreement they had just heard, they would receive Edward, son of the Duke of York, for their sovereign?" Upon which the people set up a loud shout in token of their consent. The news was quickly conveyed to the Earl of March, then at Baynard's Castle.\*

One point being thus gained, the Yorkists next convened an assembly of all the clergy, nobility, and gentry in London and its vicinity, and at their meeting the Earl of March, having set forth his title by birth, as well as by the agreement entered into by his father, demanded "that the crown should be adjudged to him." As no one had courage at such a moment to support the cause of the Lancastrians, a declaration was made, by the unanimous consent of all present, that "Henry VI. had forfeited the crown, to which Edward, Earl of March, had now an indisputable right."

The youthful Edward received the crown with modest protestations of his incompetence, and fears to undertake so great a responsibility; but when exhorted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Exeter and London, and the Earl of Warwick, he concluded with lively promises of promoting the happiness of his people.

\* Hall ; Sandford ; Baker ; Stow ; Biondi ; London Chron. ; Pol. Vergil ; Pennant ; Hume ; Rapin ; Henry ; Lingard.



Edward of York was, in his nineteenth year, both handsome and accomplished, which, as well as the fame of his late success, and the commiseration felt for the unfortunate fate of his father and brother, attracted the people to him, who had been estranged from the other party by the ravages they had committed.

The following day Edward assumed all the paraphernalia of royalty: he received the homage of the nobility assembled for this purpose at Baynard's Castle. The next day he went in procession to St. Paul's, and offered there; and appointed the solemn *Te Deum* to be sung. Then he was conveyed in royal state to Westminster, and there in the great hall took the king's seat, having the sceptre of St. Edward in his hand. He then returned by water to St. Paul's, and finally established himself in the Bishop of Exeter's palace, the usual residence of Henry VI. On the day after, being the 4th of March, he was proclaimed king, under the title of Edward IV.\*

Thus terminated the unhappy reign of Henry of Lancaster, whose life had always been spent in a private and uniform manner, having taken no share in the administration during the thirty-eight years and a half of his sovereignty. His personal character commanded respect, even from his enemies; and it has been truly observed, that "it would be unjust to ascribe the peculiar difficulties of his situation to his misconduct; since they arose from causes over which he had no control."

No one ever became king so soon after his birth, or lived so long after his deposition; he was crowned king

1461.  
W. of  
Worcester;  
Milles's  
Catalogue;  
Rapin;  
Henry;  
Lingard.

\* Biondi; Habington; Milles's Catalogue; Fabyan; Baker; W. of Worcester; Sandford; Stow's Survey; Leland's Coll.; Ridpath; Pol. Vergil; Pennant; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Lingard; Phillips's Shrewsbury.

at nine months old, and lived twelve years after he was deposed. He was thirty-nine years of age when de-throned, his son being then only seven years old.\*

\* Lingard; Baker; Stow; Rapin.

## CHAPTER III.

*(Queen Margaret.)*

"Great lords, wise men ne'er sit and wail their loss,  
 "But clearly seek how to redress their harms."—SHAKESPEARE.

*(King Henry.)*

"My crown is in my heart, not on my head;  
 "Not deck'd with diamonds and Indian stones,  
 "Nor to be seen: my crown is call'd content,—  
 "A crown it is, that seldom kings enjoy."—SHAKESPEARE.

*(King Henry.)*

"From Scotland am I stol'n, even of pure love,  
 "And thus disguis'd to greet my native land;  
 "No, Harry, Harry, 'tis no land of thine;  
 "Thy place is fill'd, thy sceptre wrung from thee;  
 "Thy balm wash'd off, wherewith thou wast anointed:  
 "No bending knee will call thee Caesar now,  
 "No humble suitors press to speak for right,  
 "No, not a man comes for redress to thee;  
 "For how can I help them, and not myself?"—SHAKESPEARE.

The Queen raises a large army in Yorkshire—She is opposed by King Edward and Warwick—The Yorkists defeated at Ferrybridge—Fitzwalter slain—Battle of Towton—King Edward returns to London—His coronation—The King and Queen fly with their son to Scotland—They are well received by the Scottish monarch, but obtain no succours—Queen Margaret's exertions—Incursions into England—King Henry repulsed at Durham—A defeat in Wales—Two earls are beheaded—King Edward's first Parliament—Somerset and others submit to Edward—Earl of Oxford beheaded—King Edward's manoeuvre—No effectual succours from France—Alnwick Castle taken—Queen Margaret goes to France, and returns with some troops—Some castles taken—The Queen is driven back—A shipwreck—Warwick regains the castles—Queen Margaret retires into Scotland.

It is not necessary to be an able politician to perceive that the monarch, who is competent and willing to hold the reins of government in his own hands, has the best

chance of success and prosperity, and his people the fairest opportunity for happiness.

The prince who delegates to one or more favoured individuals the duties and cares of his high station, that he may yield himself up to idleness and luxury, richly merits the consequent evils, viz., the loss of his people's esteem, the annoyance of popular discontents, and, as it has sometimes proved, the rebellion of the whole kingdom. Henry VI. may be called a truly unfortunate monarch, since we find that he experienced all these evils, being himself a good man. He was ever willing to promote the peace and happiness of his subjects; but nature had not gifted him with talents to rule, and ill health, added to a meek disposition, caused him to give up to each contending party. He was at this time no longer in the power of the victorious Yorkists—no longer did he succumb to their direful influence, and sign their deeds, so destructive of his own interests and happiness; yet was he far from the goal of peace to which he seemed to be ever looking. Restored to his natural and true position, by the side of his beloved and courageous Queen, yet was he again cast into a humiliating condition, and into no less unhappy and perilous circumstances. Deprived of his crown, and of his former semblance of royalty, and driven away from his capital, a new campaign seemed opened to the unhappy monarch, who, we are told, "could not endure the sight of blood." He was hastily carried northward with the stream of destructive warriors, who, not unlike their antecedents, the Goths and Vandals, had effectively removed all within their reach, that time had stamped both in art and nature as beautiful or good.

Queen Margaret had retired into Yorkshire, where she soon obtained a considerable increase to the number of her followers, owing to the licence in which she was

1461.  
 Stow;  
 Toplis;  
 Hume;  
 Lingard.

compelled to indulge her troops of plundering the country. Many also joined her standard, influenced by party animosity, and thus were the royal forces augmented to 60,000 men.

With this army the Queen might have advanced to offer her enemies battle; but the adventurous Edward hastened to oppose her. This young monarch, being well aware that although he had assumed the title of King, he held it but by a precarious tenure, set out speedily from London for the north, to arrest the progress of the Lancastrians; and as he advanced the people flocked to him from all the towns and villages throughout the kingdom.

The Earl of Warwick accompanied him, and when he reached Pomfret his army amounted to 49,000 \* men. From thence a body of soldiers was despatched, commanded by Lord Fitzwalter, † who obtained possession of the passage of Ferrybridge over the river Aire, which lay between the two armies. To dislodge them from this post the Lancastrians dismissed Lord Clifford, whose attack was so successful, that the Yorkists were driven across the river with great slaughter, and Fitzwalter and several distinguished officers were killed. ‡ On hearing of this defeat, the Earl of Warwick was greatly alarmed lest it might discourage his troops. He immediately informed King Edward of this event, and evinced by his emotion his fears for the results; yet he feared not for himself, but lest the disaster might damp the energies of his soldiers, when they were on the eve of a decisive battle. He gave orders

\* Some authors say King Edward's army amounted to 40,000 only, while by another statement it is 40,600.

† Some historians tell us, there was no Lord Fitzwalter at the time; but in the "Fragment," by Hearne, we find him called John Ratcliff, then Lord Fitzwalter.

‡ Baker; Habington; Pol. Vergil; W. of Worcester; Hearne's Fragment; Ridpath; Allen's York; Milles's Catalogue; Hall; Toplis; Paston Letters; Antiq. of York; Hume; Lingard; Baudier; Henry; Rapin.

for his horse to be brought him, and, stabbing it in the presence of the whole army, kissed the hilt of his sword, made in the form of a cross, and swore, that if all his followers took to flight, he alone would defend the cause in which he had engaged. Upon this, King Edward issued a proclamation, giving liberty to any who desired it to retire, promising also liberal rewards to all those who should do their duty; but denouncing the severest punishment against all who should betray signs of fear in the approaching conflict.

The Yorkists, as well as their leader King Edward, had unanimously resolved "not to cease from their exertions, until they had removed the dishonour of the fight at Wakefield;" and indeed the deadly retaliation exhibited in the ensuing engagement was proof of this. The war between the two Roses had now become one of extermination, no forgiveness being hoped for from either party; they thought not of their lives, and it was proclaimed that no prisoners should be taken. To conquer, or to die, was their aim at this crisis. It was an important crisis truly. Each party had employed the utmost efforts, and tried every expedient, to be successful in the fight to which they were looking, and each man nerved himself for the awful struggle.

Lord Falconbridge was dismissed by the Yorkists to recover the post which had been lost. He passed the river Aire, or Are, at Castleford, three miles from Ferrybridge, along with Sir William Blount and Robert Horne, intending to surprise Lord Clifford; but he retired in great haste towards the main body. In his retreat, however, he fell in unawares with a party of his enemies, and his helmet being off, either from heat or pain, he was shot in the throat with an arrow, as some say without a head, and was instantly killed.

This Lord Clifford was much hated for his barbarous

murder of the innocent Earl of Rutland, a boy of only twelve years of age (the youngest son of the late Duke of York); the piteous intercessions of this stripling might have awakened compassion in the roughest heart. For this and other cruel acts the Yorkists had surnamed Lord Clifford \* "the butcher." They now felt revenged for the defeat at Ferrybridge by his death.†

The King, Queen, and the young prince their son were staying at York. They were desirous of this engagement ‡ as their only means of success. The command of the Lancastrian forces had been bestowed on the Duke of Somerset; but the Queen, although absent from the field, was not idle; she had been, previous to this battle, employing all her address to confirm the loyalty of her adherents, and to arouse their courage.

When King Henry heard of the near approach of his enemies, he did not sally forth to meet them on account of Palm Sunday being on the morrow, a solemn feast day, and one, on which he preferred rather to pray than fight, in order that the day after he might be more successful in battle. Such was his faith! but his piety was not regarded. The soldiers liked not

\* This John, twelfth Lord Clifford, left two sons very young, who were living with their mother at Londesborough. Lady Clifford, to save her children from the vengeance of the Yorkists, sent Richard, the youngest, into the Netherlands; and placed Henry, the eldest, with a shepherd, who was the husband of one of her maids. This young nobleman was removed from Londesborough and conveyed into the mountains of Cumberland, where he continued to lead the life of a shepherd until he attained the age of thirty-two, having never learnt to read, when King Henry the Seventh, in his first Parliament, restored him to the estates and hereditary distinctions of his family.

† Baker; Milles's Catalogue; Rapin; Drake's Hist. of York; Allen's York; Toplis; Paston Letters; Antiquities of York; Hume; Lingard; W. of Worcester; Historical View of Northumberland.

‡ John de Wethamstede, the monk of St. Alban's, composed a poem in Latin, soon after the battle of Towton, giving an account of the wars of the Roses, especially as they related to St. Alban's monastery.—Wright's *Political Songs*.

tarrying, and we are told the saintly monarch was constrained to sound the alarm for this cruel massacre of friend and foe. Doubtless he then gladly withdrew from the scene of strife to the shelter of the battlements of York.\*

When the armies met face to face, the men shouted aloud—it was a portentous shout!—each party expecting to be victorious: for were they not equal, both in courage and resolution, all Englishmen, all alike proud of their power, and disdainful of their enemies?

Yet was their strength and power insufficient when one party resorted to artifice, and when the elements, intermingling in the fray, lent their assistance to end this direful conflict. Thus was the truth made manifest, that "the race is not to the swift, neither is the "battle to the strong."

Between the villages of Towton and Saxton, about ten miles from the city of York, on a "goodly plain," the two armies met; and on Palm Sunday, the 29th † of March, 1461, was the bloody battle fought, called by some the "Pharsalia" of England.‡ It has been considered the most sanguinary engagement ever fought in this land; and to augment the horrors, contemporary writers tell us, that the fight began "at four "of the clock at night, and continued all night till on "the morrow at afternoon." The commands of King Edward were, that no prisoners should be taken, but that all should indiscriminately be put to the sword,§ and this was responded to by a similar dreadful proclamation from the Lancastrians.

The right wing of King Edward's army was led on

\* Pol. Vergil.

† Toplis says it was the 28th March.

‡ This battle is sometimes called "Palm-Sunday Field."

§ Historians say that King Edward did not give this command from cruelty, but that his army should not be encumbered with prisoners.

1461.  
Toplis;  
Ridpath;  
Allen's  
York;  
Pinkerton;  
Sharon  
Turner;  
Lingard;  
Rapin.

by the Earl of Warwick; the left by Lord Falconbridge, in the absence of the Duke of Norfolk, who was sick; and the main body was commanded by the King, while the rear guard was entrusted to Sir John Wenlock and Sir John Denham, two valiant commanders.

At the commencement of this engagement the Yorkists obtained the advantage, owing to a heavy fall of snow, which, driving in the faces of the royal troops, almost blinded them. Lord Falconbridge, perceiving this circumstance, employed the following stratagem to turn it to his own advantage. He ordered some of his infantry to advance before the lines, and discharge a volley of arrows amidst the enemy, and then to retire. The Lancastrians were thus led to believe, that the army of the Yorkists was within their reach, and they exhausted all their arrows without doing any execution, as they fell short of the enemy. King Edward, then advancing, committed great slaughter. The dismayed Lancastrians had recourse to their swords, but their valour was quite unavailing.

The Earl of Northumberland and Sir Andrew Trollop, seeing the disadvantage, left the vanguard and urged on their men to the fight, hand to hand. Then, indeed, the battle became desperate, each man standing his ground until slain, or knocked down, and then another took his place. Needless were the orders to give no quarter; such was the extreme of hatred manifested by the two parties, that it called for nothing short of blood, or death. They continued fighting with great desperation, for an almost incredible length of time;\* for contemporary writers assert, that the battle commenced three hours before darkness came on, and that they fought all night, and

\* Some writers say they fought for four or five, others for ten hours.

until past midday. About noon, John, Duke of Norfolk, came, with a fresh band of "men of war," to the aid of King Edward, and completed the defeat of the royal forces, which were pursued to Tadcaster. Much courage was displayed by King Edward in this battle, and the conduct of Falconbridge greatly promoted the victory.

A graphical account of the conclusion of this direful conflict has been given by one of our historians, who says, "The Lancastrians gave way, and fled to York; but, seeking, in a tumultuous manner, to gain the bridge at Tadcaster, so many of them fell into the rivulet Cock,\* as to quite fill it up, and the Yorkists passed over their backs in pursuit of their brethren.

"This rivulet, and the river Wharfe, into which it empties itself hereabouts, were dyed with blood; nor is this surprising, so many falling a sacrifice at this time for their fathers' transgressions, and their wounds, being made by arrows, battle-axes, or swords, would bleed plentifully. The blood of the slain lay caked with the snow which covered the ground, and afterwards dissolving with it, ran down, in a most horrible manner, the furrows and ditches of the fields, for two or three miles' distance."

No one of note was taken prisoner, except the Earl of Devonshire, and he seemed to be saved when they were weary of killing. Many of the chief nobility lost their lives. There were slain three earls, ten lords, and a prodigious number of knights and gentlemen, of the Lancastrians. The following were amongst the most distinguished of those killed; the Earl of Westmoreland, and the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Andrew Trollop, Viscount Beaumont, the Lords Neville,

\* We are told that this rivulet is so narrow that a man may easily leap over it, its breadth being, in most places, less than four yards, which renders this account more credible, to those who may be inclined to doubt it.



Henry Stafford, of Buckingham, Scales, Willoughby, Wells, Dacre, and Malley; also Sir Ralph Grey, Sir Richard Fency, and Sir Harry Belingham. The total loss of the Lancastrians was estimated by a contemporary writer at 38,000 men; but King Edward, writing in confidence to his mother, told her that the loss sustained by his enemies in this battle was 28,000 men. The total loss on both sides has been variously computed by historians at 20,000, 33,000, 35,091, 36,776, and 38,000; this last being, however, as we are told, the statement of those who buried the dead. The prisoners and wounded amounted to 10,000. This was, indeed, "a sore-fought field!"

The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, who had fled from the dreadful conflict, conveyed immediately the fatal news of their defeat to the King and Queen at York. The Lancastrian army, but a short time before so powerful, had been, contrary to all expectations, completely routed. All hope was thus extinguished; and the King, Queen, and Prince Edward, all precipitately fled towards Scotland. They did not consider themselves safe while in England, and used their utmost efforts to escape, flying all night, lest they should be overtaken by the cavalry which King Edward had sent in pursuit of them. They first went to Newcastle, and proceeding thence on the second day of their flight, they arrived in safety on the borders of Scotland.

The royal fugitives were attended by the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset, the Lords Roos and Hungerford, the Lord Chief Justice Fortescue, and other lords and gentlemen of rank, who all submitted to this voluntary exile.\* It was not in vain that the Lan-

1461.  
Ridpath;  
Sharon  
Turner;  
Chalmer's  
Caledonia;  
W. of Worcester.

\* Drake's York; Baker; Makenzie's Newcastle-on-Tyne; Leland; W. of Worcester; Fabian; Sandford; Howel; Toplis; Paston Letters; Allen's

castrians had so hastily departed from York; for King Edward repaired thither on the morning after his victory, hoping to surprise his enemies, and secure the unfortunate Henry, but in this object he was disappointed. The Lords Montague and Barnes having besought the King's grace for the city of York, which he granted, the victorious monarch, with great solemnity, entered this city, and kept the feast of Easter there, being well received by the citizens, and many processions being made to his honour. Edward's first care was the removal of his father's head, and that of the Earl of Salisbury, from the city walls, and to order their interment with their bodies. In the spirit of retaliation, the victor commanded that several of his prisoners should be executed. Amongst these were Thomas Courtney Earl of Devonshire, the Earl of Kyme, Sir William Hill, and Sir Thomas Foulford, whose heads were cut off, and each of them affixed to a pole, and then fastened over the gates of York.\* It may be remembered that, in the commencement of the career of the Duke of York, the Earl of Devonshire had espoused the cause of the Yorkists, and had afterwards returned to his allegiance to King Henry. He seems, at last, to have suffered for his inconstancy.†

The Earl of Northumberland, who was a powerful baron, had a palace in the city of York, situated in Walmgate.

Modern antiquarians assure us that the body of this Earl was brought home by his retainers, and buried in the Church of St. Dionysius, or St. Dennis,

York; Hearne's Fragment; Pol. Vergil; Archæological Journal; Collinson's Somerset.

\* James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire, was also beheaded at Newcastle.

† This was the fifth Earl of Devon. His son, Thomas Courtney, was beheaded in 1461; and his brother, Henry Courtney, in 1466, was also beheaded at Salisbury.

in this northern capital, and that a large blue stone in the north aisle marks his burial place.

The villagers have a tradition, which points out the spot where Lord Dacre fell. It is called Towton Dale, or Tardingdale; and a road, running between two stone quarries, is said, with great probability, to have been the scene of the battle. From the same source is the following tradition, also verified by facts:—

"It is reported that the soldiers were buried in large mounds, on the field of battle, and that the Yorkists, either in affection, or in triumph, planted some rose trees on the tombs of their fallen countrymen. These mounds, through the lapse of four centuries, have worn nearly down to the level surface of the soil; but you may yet see a kind of circles in the field, above the quarry, already mentioned, and these circles are covered with patches and clusters of rose trees. The rose is white, and now and then, on the appearance of a pink spot on the flower, the rustic, happy in his legendary lore, traces the blood of Lancaster."\*

From the chronicles of those times we learn that those who fell in the desperate conflict at Towton, were at first interred in five pits. They were afterwards buried in the churchyard at Saxton, where a mean tomb has been erected to the memory of Lord Dacre. This flat marble stone, although now much

\* *Archæological Journal*; Hume.

It has been asserted by some historians that King Henry escaped, after the battle of Towton, to a place called Coroumber, in Yorkshire, which, they say, was closely besieged by Edward's soldiers under Sir Robert Ocle and Sir John Conyers. They add, that some of the Earl of Northumberland's esquires raised an army of 5 or 6000 men to fight with the besiegers, hoping that, in the meantime, Henry VI. might be fortunate enough to make his escape through a postern gate. It was rumoured, also, that Queen Margaret, her son, and the Duke of Somerset, were at this place, and not less than four thousand of the north countrymen were slain upon this occasion.

broken and defaced, still bears this imperfect inscription:—

"Hic jacet Ranulphus Ds. de Dakre et . . .  
 "miles et occisus erat in bello principe  
 "Henrico VI. Anno Dom. M, cccc, lxi, xxix  
 "die Martii, videlicet dominica, die  
 "palmarum. Cujus anime  
 "proprietur Deus. Amen."

The five pits in the field near to Saxton church, could not have contained, as we are told, the hundredth part of those who were slain, and many must have been buried in other parts of that field; indeed the ploughshare oft discovers some of their remains, and this has called forth the following lines from the poet's pen:—

"As oft as the ploughman turns the fields,  
 "Half-buried human bones the soil still yields,  
 "The dire remains of civil strife,  
 "An hundred thousand bereft of life  
 "This quarrel claims; and Tadcaster may boast  
 "That thirty thousand in her fields were lost."

The citizens of London at this period evinced their strong attachment to their unfortunate monarch. The following passage may be quoted in proof of this, from a letter written immediately after the battle of Towton. "We send no sooner unto you, because he had none certain until now, for unto this day London was as sorry as city might be."\*

From the city of York King Edward proceeded to Durham, where, having set things in order in the North, and committed the charge and governance there to the Earl of Warwick, whom he left behind him, he then returned in great triumph to London. On

\* Hall; Biondi; Sandford; Baker; Howel; Stow; Leland; Fabyan; Pol. Vergil; Habington; Rapin; W. of Worcester; Milles's Catalogue; Ridpath; Allen's York; Paston Letters; Toplis; Sharon Turner; Antiquities of York; Collinson's Somersetshire; Pennant.

1461.  
Baker;  
W. of Wor-  
cester;  
Stow;  
Paston  
Letters;  
Hearn's  
Chron.;  
Henry.

the 1st of June he reached the manor of Shene, where he remained until the 26th of June while preparations were making for his coronation. The day fixed for this ceremony was Sunday the 29th of June, 1461, being St. Peter's day. On the Thursday preceding he came from Shene to the Tower of London, whither he was conducted by the Mayor and Aldermen and 400 citizens, who met him on the road, on horseback, clad in splendid scarlet liveries. While at the Tower King Edward, in the most sumptuous manner, entertained the chief of the nobility and gentry who were favourable to the House of York; and on the morning of Saturday he made thirty-two new knights of the Bath, who being arrayed in blue gowns with hoods and tokens of white silk upon their shoulders, rode before the King the same afternoon, and thus "in goodly order" brought him to Westminster. On the following day, Sunday, King Edward was solemnly crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the accustomed ceremony and honours in the Abbey of Westminster.

The new monarch's attention was next turned to Scotland, whither he dismissed ambassadors to propose a truce with that kingdom, fearing that by the succours the Scots would in all probability afford to the fugitive Queen, they might enable her to attempt the recovery of the crown, and thus make the Lancastrians more formidable than ever.\*

1461.  
Chalmer's  
Caledonia;  
W. of Wor-  
cester.

Queen Margaret and her little escort had meanwhile arrived at Berwick, where they all embarked, excepting the Duke of Somerset, and finally reached Scotland in safety.† They first proceeded in four vessels

\* Sproti Chron.; Pol. Vergil; Fabyan; Baker; Stow; Hearne's Fragment; Paston Letters; W. of Worcester; Maitland's London; Sharon Turner; Ridpath; Lingard; Allen's York; Rapin; Henry; Hume.

† Baker; Hall; Sandford; Stow; Rapin; Pol. Vergil; Toplis; Paston Letters; Lingard; Pinkerton; Ridpath; Antiquities of York; W. of Worcester.

to Kirkcudbright, where they were honourably received.

Finding, while at this place, that the mental infirmities of her husband rendered it necessary for him to remain there, the Queen left him with four persons, and a boy, to attend upon him, while she proceeded with her son and her court to meet the Scottish Queen at Edinburgh. It was the 30th of August, 1461, when Queen Margaret left Kirkcudbright. The chief attendants on the exiled Queen were Lord Roos, and his son, John Ormond, William Talyboys, Sir John Fortescue, Sir Thomas Fynder, Sir Edmund Hampden, John Courtney and others, in number less than thirty. Lord Hungerford\* was also amongst the faithful adherents of Margaret. He had fled after the battle of Towton, with his royal mistress into Scotland; but as he soon afterwards accompanied the Duke of Somerset to France, it is probable that he was employed by the Queen, to bear some message to the French King. This monarch† had, even while at war with England, issued orders to all his ports that the Lancastrians should be well received, and many Englishmen presuming on this favourable reception, took refuge in France at this period.‡

While at Berwick, the unfortunate King and Queen had sent to request of James III. an honourable reception, and the royal protection during their stay in his dominions; and in return they had received a most gracious reply. The Scottish monarch, then but seven years of age, expressed great concern for the defeat of the Lancastrians, and regret, that he could not receive them under better circumstances; he concluded with

\* This nobleman was attainted by King Edward, and his estates were forfeited to the crown.

† This was Charles VII.

‡ Paston Letters; Fabyan; Pinkerton; W. of Worcester; Sharon Turner; Chalmer's Caledonia; Daniel; Collinson's Somersetshire.

assurances that, under whatever condition they might apply to him, they should receive every succour and protection which his kingdom could afford.\* This young monarch also testified his respect and attention by going out in person to welcome the Lancastrian exiles; and after showing them all kinds of honours, he finally lodged them in his own palace.

His mother, Mary of Gueldres, hastened to embrace, and sympathize in the sufferings of the unfortunate Margaret of Anjou. In her, she beheld a form beautiful and elegant as her own; she found her endowed with a genius as lofty and aspiring, and a temper so much resembling that which she herself possessed, that it was impossible for her to witness her distress without becoming her friend. She received her with every kindness, appointed for her and King Henry an honourable maintenance, and promised to assist them in the recovery of their kingdom.

Queen Margaret, notwithstanding all this show of courtesy, could not procure much help from the court of Scotland, to enable her to recover her crown. The Council, composed of the chief of the Scottish nobility, had the guardianship of the young king. Two parties had laid claim to the Regency; one of them headed by Mary of Gueldres, the other by the Earl of Angus; and the states, in order not to offend either of them, had selected two Regents from each, at the same time petitioning the Queen to be satisfied with the direction of her children's education. Under this arrangement both of these parties continued to subsist, and Queen Margaret, amidst these dissatisfactions, found the kingdom in such a state of agitation, that she could procure little attention to her solicitations.† She first

\* Sandford; Baker; Baudier; Pol. Vergil; Ridpath.

† Sandford; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Pinkerton; Ridpath; Baudier; Rapin; Hume; Carte; Stow.

pleaded her claims to their assistance, through the connexion between the House of Lancaster and the royal family of Scotland; but she obtained, in reply, only the expression of their good wishes. When, however, she offered to deliver up to them the town and fortress of Berwick,\* and to contract her son to the Princess Mary, the sister of their king, they lent a more willing ear to her proposals, and were finally prevailed upon to assist her.†

In order to secure the friendship and aid of the powerful George Douglas, Earl of Angus, the lands between the Trent and Humber, of the yearly value of 2000 marks sterling, were promised to him, to be erected into a dukedom. It was, however, agreed, that Angus should be at any time at liberty to make war upon England, at the Scottish king's command, and that he should not be amenable to the English Parliament, or courts of justice. This nobleman, who was tutor to the young King of Scots, was so flattered by the prospect of an English dukedom, that he readily engaged in the service of the Lancastrians, and was soon after enabled to render them a signal service.

When the Duke of Burgundy heard of the proposed marriage of Prince Edward and the daughter of the Scottish Queen, he dispatched the Lord of Gruthuse to break it off. He did this, as some affirm, on account of the enmity he bore to King René; but others tell us, with more probability, that he was equally attached to King Edward and to the King of Scotland, being uncle to Mary of Gueldres, and he did not wish to see them become irreconcilable. Through this interference the marriage was rather deferred than broken

\* This town and castle were surrendered on the 25th April, 1461, and the young King of Scots visited, on the 15th June, his new acquisition.

† Stow; Carte; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Pinkerton; Ridpath; Monstrelet; Daniel; Henry; Rapin; Hume; Lingard; W. of Worcester.

off; yet the Duke of Burgundy was eventually successful.\*

Queen Margaret had, by her exertions, to overcome not only the prejudices of the Scots, but the machinations of her enemies from the English court, therefore was her success the more extraordinary.

The Regents of Scotland had felt disposed to agree to the truce desired by King Edward IV., but the eloquence of the Lancastrian Queen overcame their scruples, in her favour, and the only effect which this embassy from England produced, was the prevention of any declaration in favour of the exiled family. Many individuals, nevertheless, of all ranks, espoused their cause, and it was not until the following year, that any truce was established between the kingdoms.†

In return for the surrender of Berwick, an object which had been often wished, and attempted by the Scots, since the invasion of Edward, a Scottish army entered England, and advancing to Carlisle, laid siege to the city, which was held by the Yorkists.

The English, under Lord Montague, raised the siege, and the Scots were defeated, with a loss of 6000 men, amongst whom was a brother of Lord Clifford.

King Henry, meanwhile, with some faithful adherents, advanced into the county of Durham, but he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, owing to the superior number of his enemies.‡

The Lancastrian Queen still retained possession of several castles in Northumberland; and when the negotiations with the Scots were ended, and they had promised to assist her, Queen Margaret's measures

\* Barante; Pinkerton; Ridpath; Lingard.

† W. of Worcester; Baker; Stow; Sharon Turner; Ridpath; Rapin; Hume; Henry; Lingard.

‡ Paston Letters; Pinkerton; Hallam; Rymer; Sharon Turner; Monstrelet; Lingard.

1461.  
Paston  
Letters;  
Lingard.

were promptly and vigorously taken. It cannot be doubted that the Queen had accompanied King Henry in his expedition to Durham, although no records furnish the details of this precise period, beyond the fact, that Laurence Booth, who, through the intercessions of Queen Margaret, had been appointed to the see of Durham, had taken part, in these times of trouble, with his royal patroness, and had thereby incurred the ire of the Yorkist King.

It was supposed that the Queen had nearly reached the city of York, when King Edward penned the following letter, which he addressed to his adherents:

"Right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well, and thank you of the great truth, love, and kindness shewed unto us at all times herebefore, and specially to the days and time of our great necessity, for the defence of our land and subjects; wherein ye appeared your said truth and devoure of such largesse\* as we will ever remember in the mightiest part of the affection of our heart; not holding doubted, but ascertained, that we shall be assured of the perfectness of your hearty perseverance in the same; letting you witt, that yesterday, and this day it come certainly to our knowledge, that on Thursday last past it was fully determined, concluded, and assented, in the Council of our great enemy, the King of Scots, in Edinburgh, between him and Margaret, late called Queen, under the form following:

"The same Margaret, in the name of Henry, late called King, our great traitor and rebel, hath granted unto the said King of Scots, to his heirs and successors, seven sherifwicks of our realm of England; his son Edward in marriage to the sister of the same King, and to be, for the same intent, for seven years under the keeping and governance of the Bishop of

\* Liberality.



"Saint Andrew's, to whom she hath granted the  
 "Archbishopric of Canterbury; to divers clerks of  
 "Scotland, divers bishoprics in this our realm, and  
 "the livelihood lands of the lords, gentles, and nobles  
 "thereof, to divers Scots and Frenchmen, having  
 "thereof petitions, by the said King Henry signed;  
 "and by the consequence and sequel, the obeisance of  
 "our said realm, and of our subjects thereof, as much  
 "as she may, under the domination and power of the  
 "same Scots and Frenchmen; whom she hath excited  
 "and provoked to show them of the greatest and  
 "largest cruelty and tyranny against our said subjects  
 "that they can, unto the execution of the end of her  
 "insatiable malice toward them; whereunto her joy  
 "and consolation is most disposed and applied.

"Over this, the said Margaret hath, inasmuch as  
 "she may, in the name of the said Henry, bounden  
 "the realm to be adjoined to the league of antient  
 "time made and renovelled\* betwixt France and  
 "Scotland.

"And to the observing and performing of all the  
 "promises for the party† of the said Henry, Margaret  
 "hath made solemn oath, the said Thursday, openly  
 "in the said council, upon the Four Evangelists; for  
 "the which the said Scots there also bodily made like  
 "oath to the said Henry and Margaret, to take whole  
 "and full party with them, against us and our  
 "subjects, to put them in divoire, to the execution  
 "of the said malice; and to the same intent to enter  
 "our land on Friday next coming; arreadying‡ their  
 "great ordnance to besiege our castle of Northam,  
 "authorised by the said Bishop, with the clergy of  
 "Scotland; the lords, gentlemen, and commonalty  
 "thereof, intending to accompany and bring the said  
 "Henry and Margaret into our said realm. The

\* Remodelled.

† On the part of.

‡ Making ready.

"which we purpose to resist with God's grace, and  
 "arready us thereto, and to the rebuke of the said  
 "malice, and of the great presumption and customable  
 "pride of the said Scots, grounded and established  
 "upon unrighturse covetise,\* that we trust in the  
 "Lord shall be the occasion of their fall and decline,  
 "if they persevere in their said purpose."

King Edward becomes more and more vehement as  
 he proceeds with this address, and in conclusion of  
 this appeal, he says—

"We, therefore, pray you to pray heartily to God for  
 "our good speed in our righturse cause and quarrel, and  
 "true intent in the defence and tuition of our said land  
 "and subjects; whereunto we will join our body,  
 "blood and life; and that you will joyfully courage†  
 "yourselves and our subjects of that our city, under  
 "the trust of God, and the mystery of His grace and  
 "might, wherein we establish our surety and progress,  
 "and trust thereunto, that ye shall hear such tidings  
 "of the resistance of our said enemies, as shall be in  
 "perpetual memory to their rebuke and confusion,  
 "and singular and assured comfort to you and all our  
 "said subjects."‡

Another letter was addressed by King Edward to  
 the King of Scots, in which he alludes to his reception  
 into Scotland; he says of the "traitors and rebels,  
 "Henry, late usurpant king of our said realm, Mar-  
 "garet his wife, and her son, and other our traitors  
 "and rebels," not being his liegemen, and exhorting  
 him to deliver them up unto him, without delay, if they  
 become not his lieges and subjects, and if it so be, to  
 certify the same.§

After this the heaviest punishments were denounced  
 by this monarch, against all those who should be found

\* Unrighteous covetousness.

† Stow; Halliwell's Letters.

‡ Embolden.

§ Halliwell's Letters.

favouring, or giving reception to King Henry, Queen Margaret, or any of their partizans.

1461.  
Sharon  
Turner.

The same ill success which attended the efforts of the Lancastrians in the north of England, pursued them in their ineffectual attempts in Wales during this year. A guard was set by Edward on the northern marches, lest any should desert and join King Henry in Scotland; for although victorious, his rival feared, that Margaret would return and excite the people to renew the war.\*

1461.

King Henry, while in adverse circumstances, took refuge at one time in Muncaster Castle, in Lancashire. There is a room there still bearing the name of "King Henry the Sixth's room," where he was concealed, when pursued by his enemies in 1461, probably when he fled from Durham. The possessor of the castle was Sir John Pennington, who gave the unfortunate monarch a secret reception. The King, upon his departure, addressed to Sir John many kind and courteous acknowledgments for his loyalty and hospitality, lamenting, at the same time, that he could present him with nothing more valuable, as a testimony of his goodwill, than the cup out of which he crossed himself. This he gave into the hands of Sir John, and accompanied the present with the following benediction, "The family shall prosper as long as they preserve it unbroken."

The superstition of the times caused it to be imagined, that it would carry good fortune to the descendants of this house, whence it was called the "luck of Muncaster." It was a curiously wrought glass cup, studded with gold and white enamel spots. The blessing attached to its security occasioned the family to consider it important for their prosperity, at the time of the usurpation, that the

\* Henry; Pol. Vergil.

"luck of Muncaster" be deposited in some place of security, and consequently it was buried, until, by the cessation of hostilities, this care was rendered no longer necessary.

It happened, however, unfortunately, that the person permitted to disinter this precious cup let the box fall in which it was enclosed; and this gave such alarm to the remaining members of the family, that they could not summon courage to open it, and quiet their apprehensions. It therefore remained (as tradition tells us) for more than forty years unopened; at the end of which period, one of the Penningtons, more courageous than his ancestors, unlocked this casket, and joyfully proclaimed the safety of the "luck of Muncaster."\*

King Edward had fortified the frontiers; he had built forts on those parts of the sea-coast which were most convenient for landing; particularly in the south of England. He also gained possession of all the castles and holds both in North and South Wales; and the Duke of Exeter, Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, and other noblemen, were defeated by King Edward's army, on the 13th of October, 1461, at Tatehill, near Carnarvon, and compelled to fly to the mountains. Many of the Lancastrians likewise went over to Edward.†

1461.

All England and Wales was at length in the possession of the young King; Harlech Castle only held out. This fortress had been kept by Richard Tunstall; and afterwards by Lord Herbert. The former held this castle previous to the Welsh chieftain, David ap Jevan, who protected the Queen, when she took refuge at Harlech, after the battle of Northampton.

\* Roby's Lancashire.

† Biondi; Paston Letters; Henry; Sharon Turner; Pol. Vergil.

After his defeat in Wales, Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, passed over into Ireland; where, in the following year, 1462, he endeavoured to procure some further assistance for his unfortunate half-brother, King Henry the Sixth.\*

This monarch, doubtless, on his departure from Muncaster Castle, found means to return to the Scottish court, where the Queen still remained, with some of her adherents; we learn that King Henry, with his attendants, resided at Edinburgh.

1461.

It was at this time that Sir John Fortescue, Lord Chief Justice of England from the year 1422, was made Lord Chancellor by his beloved sovereign. While at Edinburgh the King, Queen, and Prince Edward lodged at the Friar preacher's house, also Exeter, Somerset, and others. Not long after the Duke of Somerset, Lord Hungerford, and Robert Whittingham, with four or five esquires, came from Scotland into Normandy. It was rumoured that "they were like to be deemed prisoners;" indeed, the English refugees were exposed to numerous perils, for many fled to France, relying on the favourable reception of King Charles, at whose court Somerset and others had hoped to find an asylum. When these persons, however, reached Dieppe, they were immediately arrested by the officers of the new King, Louis XI., and were apprised of the death of Charles VII. Surprised and disappointed, and while in uncertainty concerning their fate, the following letter was addressed by Lord Hungerford to his royal mistress in Scotland:—

"TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND IN SCOTLAND.—  
"Madam, please it your good God, we have, since our  
"coming hither, written to your Highness thrice: the

\* Paston Letters; Barry's Itinerary of Wales.

"first we sent by Bruges, to be sent to you by the  
"first vessel that went into Scotland; the other two  
"letters we sent from Dieppe—the one, by the carvel  
"in which we came, and the other, in another vessel;  
"but, Madam, all was one thing, in substance, of  
"putting you in knowledge of the King your uncle's  
"death\* (whom God pardon), and how we stood  
"arrested, and do yet. But on Tuesday next we trust  
"and understand we shall up to the King,† your  
"cousin german. His commissaries, at the first of our  
"tarrying, took all our Letters and Writings, and bare  
"them up to the King; leaving my Lord of Somerset  
"in keeping at the castle of Arkes; and my Fellow  
"Whityngham and me (for we had safe conduct) in  
"the town of Dieppe; where we are yet. But on  
"Tuesday next we understand, that it pleaseth the  
"said King's Highness that we shall come to his  
"presence; and are charged to bring us up, Monsieur  
"de Cressell, now bailiff of Canse, and Monsieur de  
"la Mot.

"Madam, fear you not, but be of good comfort,  
"and beware that ye adventure not your person, ne  
"my Lord the Prince, by the sea, till ye have other  
"word from us; in less than your person cannot be  
"sure there, as ye are, and that extreme necessity  
"drive you thence. And for God's sake, let the  
"King's Highness be advised the same; for, as we be  
"informed, the Earl of March‡ is into Wales by land,  
"and hath sent his navy thither by sea. And,  
"Madam, think verily, we shall not sooner be de-  
"livered, but that we will come straight to you, with-  
"out Death take us by the way, the which we trust  
"he will not, till we see the King and you peaceable  
"again in your realm; the which we beseech God

\* Charles VII. of France.

† Lewis XI.

‡ This was King Edward IV.

"soon to see, and to send you that your Highness desireth.

1461.  
Paston  
Letters.

"Written at Dieppe, the 30th day of August, 1461.

"Your true subjects and liege men,

"HUNGERFORD.

"WHYTYNGHAM."

The suspicious position in which these lords suddenly found themselves prevented the efforts they intended making for the interests of their royal mistress at the court of France, whither they had been dismissed to obtain assistance for the Lancastrians.

1461.

Lord Wenlock and others, who had been sent over ambassadors to the French King, on the part of Edward, were awaiting a safe conduct at Calais. The treasurer of this town, with many soldiers, some joining them also from the Marches, were engaged in besieging the castle of Hammes, near Calais, "both parties making great war." \*

The Count of Charolois, who was related to the Duke of Somerset, interested himself in his favour, having a high esteem for him, on account of his preference for the Lancastrian party; and at his petition, the King of France gave the Duke his liberty, besides making him handsome presents of gold and silver. He was also conducted to Tours, and well received there.

After this, the Duke of Somerset, desiring to return to Scotland, was informed that King Edward had placed spies there, to watch his conduct, upon which he withdrew to Bruges, where he remained in privacy a considerable time. It was not until March in the following year that he returned to Scotland, as appears from the deposition of certain Frenchmen, taken prisoners at Sharringham, in Norfolk, who,

\* Daniel; Paston Letters.

being examined relative to Queen Margaret's affairs, stated that the Duke of Somerset was gone into Scotland from France, and that Lord Hungerford had, a few days before, passed before Sharringham in a carvel of Dieppe, on his way to Scotland, having however, but few followers.\*

The Scottish Queen, as it appears, entertained great hatred against the Duke of Somerset, because he had discovered an intrigue between her and the King of France, and she even employed Lord Halys to lie in wait for the Duke to kill him.†

On the 4th of November, 1461, King Edward held his first Parliament, when his title to the crown was confirmed. All the acts which had been made in the reigns of his predecessors against the House of York were repealed. Henry VI., after having reigned thirty-eight years, by the unanimous consent of the people, was, in this session, declared an usurper. An act of attainder and forfeiture was passed against King Henry, his Queen, and their son, the Prince of Wales; also against Henry, Duke of Somerset, the Earls of Northumberland and Devonshire; Lord Roos; Thomas Beaumont; Henry, Duke of Exeter; Jasper, Earl of Pembroke; the Earl of Wiltshire; John, Lord Clifford; the Lords Hungerford and Dacre; John Fortescue, Esq.; and many others, even, according to some authorities, to the number of one hundred and forty persons. This act, indeed, extended to almost every individual who had distinguished himself in the cause of the Lancastrians. In excuse for this severity it was alleged that the power of that House ought at once to be annihilated. Every Lancastrian, who had not perished in the struggle to support his sovereign on the field of battle, was adjudged to suffer all the

1461.  
Baker;  
Howel.

\* Monstrelet; Paston Letters; W. of Worcester; Daniel; Barante.  
† W. of Worcester.

penalties of treason, the loss of his honours, the forfeiture of his estates, and an ignominious death. Another motive probably led to this unexampled severity; it was the necessity of providing funds to satisfy the expectations and reward the services of those to whose exertions King Edward was indebted for the possession of the crown.

When this first Parliament of King Edward was held, the nobility of England consisted of only one Duke, four Earls, one Viscount, and twenty-nine Barons, such numbers having been slain in battle, put to death on the scaffold, or having fled from their native country to save their lives. During this session King Edward created his eldest brother, George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, and his youngest brother, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester. Lord Falconbridge he created Earl of Kent; and Henry Bouchier, the brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Earl of Essex. Also John, Lord Neville, the brother of the Earl of Warwick, he created first Viscount Lord Montague; \* likewise Lord Wenlock he created Baron Wenlock. Anthony Widville was summoned to this Parliament as Lord Scales. The Duke of Exeter had married King Edward's sister, who preferred to remain with her brother rather than to share the misfortunes of her husband: the Duke having followed King Henry into Scotland, his estates were bestowed at this time on his Duchess.

The new Earls of Kent and Essex, with the Lords Audley and Clinton, Sir John Howard, and others, were dismissed by King Edward, with forces amounting to 10,000, to scour the seas. They landed in Brittany, assailed the town of Conquet, and the isle of

\* This Lord Montague was rewarded with the earldom of Northumberland, although the late Earl had left one son.

1461-  
Stow;  
Sandford;  
Milles's  
Catalogue.

1461  
Paston  
Letters.

Bec, but were repulsed by the inhabitants, who, headed by the Sire de Kimerch and Rosmadec, Bertrand de Chaffault, and others, compelled them to retreat hastily to their vessels, after which they returned to England.\*

The vengeance of the Yorkists was still unsatisfied, even after so many bloody battles. Fresh victims were found after a diligent search, and every culprit was brought to a summary execution. Neither old nor young were spared. The first of these was the aged Earl of Oxford, who was both wise and valiant, and of an unimpeachable character. He was arrested by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, then Constable of England, and, without being allowed any trial, was sentenced to die, under pretence that he had corresponded with Queen Margaret. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 22nd of February, 1461; and at the same time, and under the same charge, viz., of having received letters from the Queen, were also executed on Tower Hill, Aubrey de Vere, the eldest son of the Earl of Oxford, Sir Thomas Tudenham,† Sir William Tyrrel, and Sir John Montgomery.‡ John Clopton was also arrested, but his life was spared. These and other cruelties distinguished the first year of the reign of King Edward IV., who rewarded his own adherents with the lands and effects of these victims.

The Earl of Oxford had disputed in Parliament the question concerning the precedence of the Barons temporal and spiritual, a bold attempt in those days, and judgment was given in favour of the Lords

\* Sandford; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Stow; Howel; Milles's Catalogue; Henry; Allen's York; Bridge's Northamptonshire; Collinson's Somersetshire; W. of Worcester; Sharon Turner; Paston Letters; Hallam; Monstrelet; Rapin; Hume; Lingard; Barrow; Roujoux, Ducs de Bretagne.

† Or Tiddingham.

‡ Or Walter Montgomery.

1461  
Stow;  
Paston  
Letters;  
Fabyan.



temporal, through his arguments.\* This Earl had accompanied King Henry V. in his wars in France. He left one son, named John de Vere, then only nine months old.

Another of King Henry's faithful adherents, Thomas de Roos, died this year, at Newcastle, after sharing the exile of his master, who had rewarded his services with an annuity of £40 for his life, out of the Earl of Salisbury's forfeited estate. The battle of Towton had caused the confiscation of his property. His eldest son Edmund joined the Lancastrians.†

At this time King Edward was at war with France, Brittany, the Low Countries, and Scotland; yet it was only respecting the last of these that he entertained any uneasiness. He justly expected that the Queen's active mind would invent some fresh enterprise, and if supported by the Scottish chieftains' valour and numbers, she would become truly formidable. To prevent this, he adopted the advice of the Earl of Douglas, who had long been a refugee in England, and enjoyed an annual pension there, and who at this time recommended him to enter into a negotiation with the Earl of Ross, Lord of the Isles.‡

This nobleman had revolted from King James, and he at once concluded a treaty with the English monarch. It was agreed that the Earl of Ross should lay waste the northern parts of Scotland with fire and sword; and, by this treaty, it was stipulated that he should, with all his vassals, become the liege subjects of Edward, and that if Scotland should be vanquished through

\* Baker; London Chron.; Stow; Milles's Catalogue; Hume; Paston Letters; Barrow; Henry; W. of Worcester; Fabyan; Monstrelet.

† Stow; Monast. Anglic.; Dugdale; Barrow; Leland's Collect.; Bridges's Northamptonshire.

‡ Douglas was afterwards taken prisoner by the Scots, and kept in confinement until his death, in 1488.

this alliance, the northern part should be assigned to Ross, and the remainder to Douglas.

Thus did King Edward seek to balance the influence of Henry VI. in Scotland, and by the invasion of the territories of King James to prevent his rendering him any effectual assistance. We are even told that Edward purchased the fealty of the Earl of Ross by the payment of an annual pension, and that he also, to amuse the Queen Dowager, Mary of Scotland, made her a deceitful offer of marriage. In April, 1462, the Earls of Warwick and Essex, Lord Wenlock, the Bishop of Durham, and others were sent on an embassy into Scotland, and at Dumfries met the Scottish Queen on this fruitless offer.\*

1462.  
Paston  
Letters.

King Edward addressed a letter from Stamford on the 8th of March, 1462, to Thomas Cooke, whom he calls "his trusty and well-beloved alderman of our city of London."

1462.

In this epistle he alludes to information he has received respecting the designs of his "great adversary" Harry, naming himself King of England, who through "the malicious counsel and excitation of Margaret his wife, naming herself Queen of England, have conspired, accorded, concluded, and determined with our outward enemies, as well of France, and Scotland, as of other divers countries, that our said outward enemies in great number shall in all haste to them possible enter this our realm of England, to make in the same such cruel, horrible, and mortal war, depopulation, robbery, and manslaughter as heretofore hath not been used among Christian people, and with all ways and means to them possible, to destroy utterly the people, the name, the tongue, and all the blood English of this our said realm; insomuch that in the

\* Pinkerton; Ridpath; Paston Letters; Barrow; Henry; Lingard; Hume; W. of Worcester; Rymer.

"said conspiracy, among other things, it is agreed and  
 "accorded by our said adversary Harry, moved thereto  
 "by the malicious and subtle suggestion and enticing  
 "of the said malicious woman Margaret his wife, that  
 "in case they shall and may perform this their mali-  
 "cious and cruel purpose (which God forfend!), that  
 "then his uncle Charles of Anjou with the Frenchmen  
 "shall have the nomination, rule, and governance of this  
 "our realm aforesaid." King Edward continues his  
 letter with stating, that "for the furtherance of their  
 "wicked intent, the said Harry and Margaret his wife,  
 "had granted to Louis de Valois, naming himself King  
 "of France, a renunciation and release of the right and  
 "title that the crown of England hath to the crown  
 "and realm of France, and also to the duchies and  
 "countries of Guienne; and besides hath granted to  
 "the same intent to the Scots not only the town and  
 "castle of Berwick, now by his deliverance occupied  
 "by the same Scots, and also a great part of our realm  
 "of England. Which things diligently considered, it  
 "appeareth that the said Harry and Margaret his wife,  
 "not only to us, but to all our realm and true liege  
 "people, have been mortal and cruel enemies." King  
 Edward continues, "We intending with all our might  
 "and power to resist our enemies, and in no wise to  
 "spare our own person, body, or goods, neither refuse  
 "any peril for the defence of our realm and of our true  
 "subjects; we desire and pray you, in the most especial  
 "wise, that you, immediately upon the receipt of these  
 "our letters assemble all the householders and in-  
 "habitants within your ward, as well citizens as  
 "foreigners,\* and declare unto them the malicious  
 "intent of our adversary and enemies, and exhort and  
 "pray them with such words of benevolence as shall

\* Strangers coming from the country. It is still customary in Norfolk for the country people to call the inhabitants of a distant village foreigners.

"be thought to you behoveful, that they, for the defence  
 "and surety of themselves and of all this land, and in  
 "the eschewing of the great and horrible mischiefs  
 "and inconveniences above rehearsed, will at this  
 "time, and in this great and urgent necessity, show  
 "effectually and indeed their good will, zeal, and affec-  
 "tion unto us, and to the common weal of this land  
 "and prosperity of themselves.

"Further, for the relief of the great charges that we  
 "must of necessity bear, they and every of them will  
 "grant unto us certain sums of money, to be given of  
 "their free will, and that they will not suffer wilfully  
 "all this realm and themselves to perish and utterly be  
 "destroyed; that trusting in the infinite goodness and  
 "righteousness of Almighty God, who hath declared for  
 "our right and title, that if our true and faithful subjects  
 "will at this time apply themselves benevolently to  
 "our desire in this behalf, that we shall so defend and  
 "preserve them from such perils and mischiefs, and all  
 "this land, that within a few days they shall have cause  
 "to think that they never herebefore better expended  
 "their money. Over this for your direction and more  
 "speedy execution of this matter, we send you certain  
 "instructions, praying you, that ye will effectually  
 "labour to the accomplishment of our desire in this  
 "behalf, and that ye fail not us, as ye desire the wel-  
 "fare and prosperity of us, yourselves, and all this  
 "land."\*

In this year, 1462, John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, <sup>1462.</sup>  
 was appointed by King Edward to fill the office of Lord <sup>Paston</sup>  
 Treasurer, as he had done in the reign of King Henry.† <sup>Letters.</sup>  
 It was about this time that the displeasure of the  
 Yorkist King was evinced against the Bishop of Dur-  
 ham; he seized his temporalities, which he retained for  
 two years; when restored to him, the Bishop deserted

\* Halliwell's Letters.

† Paston Letters.

the Lancastrian cause, and was employed by Edward, who rewarded his services by making him Lord High Chancellor of England, in 1473. Afterwards he was translated to York.\*

Queen Margaret had repeatedly applied to the Court of France for assistance, but had received no effectual succours.

1462.  
Hume.

Louis XI., who had lately succeeded his father King Charles upon the throne, was at this time exerting his political genius to subdue the independent spirit of his vassals; and in this attempt had raised so great an opposition throughout his kingdom, that he found himself unable to take any advantage of the divisions of the English nation. Nor was this monarch willing to afford Queen Margaret the assistance she required in money and troops, although he evinced great regard for her, and wished well to her cause. He even favoured the Lancastrians at the court of Rome, and in all the states of Europe, and promised this Queen an asylum in his dominions should she be obliged to quit her kingdom. This, however, he advised her not to leave, but at the utmost extremity.

This King of France never concluded any treaty with King Henry, saying that it would be time enough to do so when the King of England had subdued his enemies and resumed his authority. The offers of the Yorkists were alike refused by Louis, who declared "it was not a good quarrel," and that "the enterprise of a subject who wishes to dethrone his sovereign, is neither just, reasonable, nor worthy of support."†

At length, despairing of foreign aid, Queen Margaret resolved, in spite of fatigue or danger, to go in person to France, to solicit the assistance of her friends and

\* Dugdale's Monasticon.

The only act recorded of this bishop was that he built the gate of the college of Auckland, and adjoining edifices.

† Hume; Barante; Madlle. Lussan.

relatives. She left the King and Prince in Scotland, and sailed from Kirkcudbright, in Galloway, on the 16th of April (or, as some say, on the 28th of June), 1462, accompanied by the Duke of Somerset and a small retinue, in four vessels. They sailed between Wales and Ireland, and upon landing at Ecluse, in Brittany, the Queen was kindly and honourably received by the Duke of Brittany. Compassionating her condition, he afterwards sent her a present of 12,000 crowns, upon her arrival at Rouen, and even promised to furnish her with a squadron, in addition to those she might be able to collect with the help of her friends and relations.\*

The unfortunate Queen passed through Brittany, and thence proceeded to the city of Rouen. A register of this city gives the following account of the Queen's reception:—

"On Tuesday, the 13th of July, 1462, after canonical hours, and towards evening, the Queen Margaret of Anjou, wife of the King of England, Henry VI., arrived before the King our Lord, in this town of Rouen; and was received with much honour, by the gentlemen of the King's suite, the counsellors, and others of the four-and-twenty of the Council of this town, together with ten distinguished individuals of each quarter, who went forth to meet that Queen on horseback, and met her on the road between Grammont and Sotteville; and the reception was given, and the oath administered, in obedience to the letters and commands of the King, our Sire, by Germain Mancial, Knight, the Lieutenant-General of the bailiwick of Rouen, speaking on foot, by the side of his horse, to the

1462.  
Pinkerton;  
Chalmer's  
Caledonia;  
Roujoux;  
Lingard;  
Hume;  
Henry.

\* Carte; Paston Letters; Roujoux; Hume; Ridpath; W. of Worcester; Daniel; Henry; Lobineau; Pinkerton; Lingard; Tillet's *Recueil des Rois*; Wright's *History of Scotland*.

"said Queen; and answer was made, and thanks  
 "returned for the said Queen Margaret, by the Arch-  
 "bishop of Narbonne, Master Antoine Crespin; and  
 "this Queen was presented, and handed, and escorted  
 "to her dwelling, which was in the hotel of the  
 "'Golden Lion,' in face of the church of La Ronde,  
 "belonging to Regnault de Villene, barrister of  
 "Rouen."\*

The first application which Queen Margaret made was to her father, the King of Sicily; but René, although abounding in nominal dignities, was in great distress, and could not afford any succour to his daughter. He could only unite his earnest solicitations with those of the exiled Queen at the Court of France; and he endeavoured to prevail upon all true knights to avenge the wrongs of the English monarch.†

The unfortunate Queen had reason, at this period, to feel some regret for the loss of King Charles VII., her kind-hearted uncle, who had parted from her with such marked forebodings of misfortune, when she quitted her native country for England. How welcome would have been his generous sympathy upon her return to France in such adverse circumstances!

The death of King Charles had happened about a year before, and had been accelerated by the behaviour of his son, who he believed had entertained a design to poison him, and, yielding to the fear and grief to which this conviction gave rise, he obstinately refused all nourishment, and died at the age of sixty.

Charles VII. was one of the greatest monarchs who had reigned over France. He had a heart and

\* Collection Universelle des Mémoires particuliers relatif à l'Histoire de France. Jean de Troye, from a Register of the city of Rouen.

† Biondi; W. of Worcester; Daniel; Pinkerton; Ridpath; Roujoux's Ducs de Bretagne.

head equally well disposed; he was religious, honest, and upright, and selected good and great men to rule for him; he paid respect to and listened to their advice, which caused it to be said of him that he allowed himself to be governed. He loved his subjects, and taxed them but little. He easily forgave; but, when the offender happened to be one who approached his person, after granting his pardon, he would never see that person again. Few reigns have been productive of so many great men, both political and warlike: Charles attached to himself these by his beneficence and goodness. After the defeat of the English nothing would have been wanting to his happiness, had not the conduct of the Dauphin disturbed his peace, and weakened his mind by grief. The regrets and sorrow of his subjects for his loss, form his best eulogy.

The great events of the reign of Charles VII. seem to contradict the opinion of the mediocrity of the genius of this prince; who, driven from his throne at so early an age, and finding so many obstacles and difficulties, yet arrived at so much power, and recovered his regal authority. If he did not act himself, he, at least, had great discernment in the choice of those who served him.\*

The Princes of the blood under the late reign had been accustomed to rule, or to contend for rule, and they were ill-disposed to Charles VII., who was jealous of their power. These Princes saw the constitution verging to an absolute monarchy, in the direction of which they would have no share: the fear of such a calamity occasioned several attempts at rebellion during this reign, and gave rise to the war commonly called "du bien public."†

The death of King Charles was soon followed by

\* Daniel.

† Hallam's Middle Ages.

that of his consort, Mary of Anjou. She was distinguished by her virtue and prudence, but more especially by her moderation and patience under the rude trials to which her husband's infidelities subjected her. Such was her conduct that satire, so much in vogue in France, could not touch her reputation. She was exempt from the faults of the court of King Charles, and preserved the love of the people, the esteem of the courtiers, and even of Charles himself. It is related of Mary of Anjou, that, when some persons noticed the irregular conduct of that King, and even attributed it to a weakness that she did not resent his infidelities, the Queen replied: "He is my lord, and has all power over my actions, but I have none over his."\*

René of Anjou was tenderly attached to his sister, who, indeed, by her behaviour to her husband, showed herself to be a model for wives and princesses who in her sphere might find themselves in similar circumstances. Strongly united to her husband while living, she was no less inconsolable at his death, and in her widowhood wept daily at his tomb. The poor and unfortunate regarded her as a parent, and respect for her many virtues silenced the malignant.

On her return from a pilgrimage Mary was taken ill, and died in the Abbey of Chatellier, in Poitou, on the 29th of October, 1463.†

The son and successor of King Charles was not easily influenced by the claims of relationship, or alive to the intercessions of beauty in distress; he was naturally selfish and unfeeling; notwithstanding, he received the unhappy Queen at his court at Chinon, with apparent kindness. When Queen Margaret

\* Anquetil; Daniel; *Memoirs of Queens and Regents of France.*

† Moreri; Montstrelet; Monfaucon; Daniel; Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier; Anquetil.

urged her distressed condition, and with earnest entreaties besought him to assist her dethroned husband and her helpless son, she found him deaf to her arguments, and unwilling to grant her any supplies, until she promised to deliver up to him the town and castle of Calais, should she, by his means, be restored to the throne.

Upon this assurance, Louis engaged to lend Queen Margaret 20,000 crowns, and to furnish her with a small body of troops, amounting to 500 men-at-arms, who, with their usual attendants, comprised a force of 2,000 men. These were to be under the command of Pierre de Brézé, Grand Seneschal of Normandy.

The agreement, signed at Chinon, on the 23rd of June, 1462, was to this effect:—"Margaret, Queen of England, being empowered by the King of England, Henry VI., her husband, acknowledges the sum of twenty thousand livres, lent to her by the King Louis XI., to the restitution of which she obliges the town and citadel of Calais, promising that as soon as the king, her husband, shall recover it, he will appoint there as Captain, his brother Jasper, Count of Pembroke, or her cousin, Jean de Foix, Count of Caudale, who will engage to surrender the said town to King Louis XI., within one year, *as his own*, or pay to the said King Louis XI. *forty thousand pounds* (double the amount of the loan)."

1462.  
Pinkerton.

De Brézé had already been distinguished as a brave general, and had enjoyed the royal favour in the preceding reign. He had been made Governor of Rouen after the defeat of Somerset, but having incurred the displeasure of the present King, had been thrown into prison. Louis now gave him his liberty, on condition that he should engage in the service of King René, and conduct this expedition into England. It is said, that the French King hoped by these means to



get rid of him, having furnished him with forces so inadequate to the enterprise.\*

The crafty Louis, not thinking it to his interest to espouse the cause of the Lancastrians openly, permitted, notwithstanding, a secret treaty to be entered into between Queen Margaret and Pierre de Brézé, by which it was agreed "that, in consideration of the assistance he should bring to King Henry, her husband, the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and others, adjoining, should be made over to him and his heirs for ever, to hold them independently of the crown of England." This reward, which has been considered vastly disproportionate to any service the Count might be able to render, could never be fully bestowed upon him; it was therefore judged necessary that Brézé, in taking possession of these islands, should do it by surprise, making his act appear to the world as unpremeditated. Yet even then, the Count could never fully obtain possession of them, as will appear in the sequel.

It is not difficult to perceive by this treaty, and the secret part taken in it by Louis XI., the great importance of these islands at that period, nor can it be supposed that the Norman baron would have been permitted to hold his acquisitions independently of the French crown; and some have said, that it can scarcely be doubted that he acted under the guidance of the King of France. However this may have been, it is certain that Pierre de Brézé speedily assembled 2,000 veterans, which he had the greater facility in doing, having already been engaged in the wars of France. With this body of soldiers he passed

\* Daniel; Baudier; Ridpath; Pinkerton; Stow; Tillet's *Recueil des Rois*; Carte; Bodin; Collection des *Mémoires particuliers relatif à l'Histoire de France*; Barante; Leland; Monstrelet; Female Worthies; Trésor des Chartres.

over into England, where he rendered all the services in his power to the cause of Queen Margaret.

The Count, meanwhile, to secure the reward of his services, which indeed were great (for he did all it was possible for him to do, in the support of a sinking cause), sent a Norman gentleman named Surdeval, with a sufficient force, to take possession of Mount Orgueil Castle, the commander of which had received secret orders from the Queen to deliver it up. As it had been preconcerted, the French arrived in the night, when the garrison was unprepared for resistance, and the commander was taken in his bed, in order that to the world it might appear as a surprise, rather than a premeditated treachery.\*

While at the French Court, Queen Margaret had the mortification of beholding the ambassadors of King Edward, who were negotiating a truce, well received and frequently admitted to audience.

The Lancastrian Queen was doubtless an unwelcome visitor, and it was on this account that Louis XI. gave her some troops; he promised, however, further supplies, and gave orders that all the adherents of the House of Lancaster should be well received in his dominions.

After her tedious and almost fruitless application, which occupied this Queen at least five months, she at length set sail for England, in October,† 1462, having with her only the small forces granted her from France, and which were scarcely deserving the name of an army; indeed she seemed so poorly attended, that it was remarked she had scarcely a sufficient retinue for so great a Princess.

It must not here be omitted to state that during this visit of Queen Margaret to France, and while

\* Falle's Jersey; Warner's Hampshire; Pless's Jersey; Inglis's Channel Islands; Crutwell's Tour through Great Britain.

† Jean de Troye says it was November.

1462.  
W. of Worcester;  
Paston  
Letters;  
Pinkerton;  
Barrow.

staying at the court of Louis XI. at Chinon, she became sponsor to the only son of the ransomed poet, the Duke of Orleans, and his wife Mary of Cleves. The child was named Louis by the King of France, who stood godfather, and became long afterwards Louis XII.\*

1462.  
Ridpath;  
Henry;  
Lingard;  
W. of Worcester.

King Edward had guarded the seas, with the intention of waylaying the Queen, on her return from France, but she succeeded, after a rough passage, in landing at Tynemouth. Here Queen Margaret unfurled her standard, and invited the Scottish allies, and the friends of her family, to rally around her; and she was, at this time, once more cheered by a transitory gleam of hope in the success of her cause. She was, however, disappointed in her expectation that the people of Northumberland would declare for her; for they had heard that King Edward's army of 20,000 men, commanded by the Earl of Warwick, was approaching, so that finding the Queen had but few auxiliaries from the continent, they remained for the most part quiet. Thus Queen Margaret only succeeded in taking the castles of Bamborough, Dunstanburg and Alnwick. This last surrendered through the want of provisions. Some write that the castle of Warkworth was also taken. The care of Alnwick Castle was entrusted to the son of Pierre de Brézé, Lord Hungerford, Robert Whittingham, and others, having a garrison of three hundred men. During the time of these sieges the King was staying at Durham.†

When the Earl of Warwick arrived in the north with his army of 20,000, and intelligence was brought of King Edward's approach with an equal number, the Lancastrians separated; some to garrison the castles

\* Biondi; W. of Worcester; Tillet's *Recueil des Rois*; Duclos; Fabyan; Pinkerton; Ridpath; Monstrelet; Baker; Bodin; Rapin; Henry; Carte; Paston Letters; *Femmes Célèbres*; Philip de Comines; Hume; Barante; Daniel; Jean de Troye; Lingard; Barrow.

† Some writers say the Queen advanced as far as Durham.

they had just taken,\* whilst others, with the French auxiliaries, retired with the Queen on board their ships with great precipitation.

Within a few hours after their departure from Tynemouth, they encountered a severe storm. The Queen's vessel was separated from the other ships, and it was not without the utmost exertions that it was brought into the Tweed, and reached Berwick. The remainder of this little fleet had dispersed towards Bamborough, where the Frenchmen would have landed, but Lord Ogle and Sir John Manners, at the head of some troops, prevented them. Upon this they retired to the little isle of Lindisfarne, but were pursued thither by Lord Ogle and his followers, who completely defeated them, slew five hundred, and took the rest prisoners, Pierre de Brézé only excepted, who escaped in a fisherman's boat to Berwick. In this wreck Queen Margaret lost all the treasure which she had obtained from the King of France.

After these continued misfortunes the Queen gave up the care of defending her castles, now besieged by the Yorkists, to the Duke of Somerset, Pierre de Brézé, and others of her party, while she withdrew with her husband and son to Edinburgh; and there, for some time, they continued to reside. They seemed left almost alone, deprived of friends, of money, and even of hope.

The cause of the Red Rose appeared, indeed, to be desperate, but it was still supported by the courage and intrepidity of Queen Margaret.†

\* At one of these castles, viz. Bamborough, when the garrison was taken by the Queen's forces, Sir William Tunstall was taken, and in danger of being beheaded. His brother, Richard Tunstall, at this time bore arms for the Queen against him.

† Sandford; Baker; Ridpath; Henry; Lingard; Female Worthies; Fabyan; Biondi; Pinkerton; W. of Worcester; Stow; London Chron.; Barrow; *Historical View of Northumberland*; Rapin; Sharon Turner; Howel; Mackenzie's *Newcastle*; Monstrelet; Duclos; Paston Letters; Carte.

1462.  
Lingard;  
W. of Worcester.

King Edward had advanced as far as Newcastle, when, hearing of Queen Margaret's shipwreck, he returned to London. Another account is that the King was compelled to withdraw, being visited by the small-pox.

1463.  
Paston  
Letters.

The Earl of Warwick had been made commander of the forces of the Yorkists after the battle of Towton, and had received the title of Warden of the East and West Marches. This Earl divided his army into three bodies, and besieged at the same time the three castles of Bamborough, Dunstanburg, and Alnwick. The besieged made an obstinate resistance, and displayed much valour.\*

Bamborough Castle had been entrusted to the care of the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Roos, and Sir Ralph Percy, with a garrison of 300 men. Sir Richard Tunstall, and some others of less note, defended Dunstanburg Castle with 120 men. The Lords Montague, Ogle, Arundel, and many others, advanced against Bamborough with an army of 1,000 men, and besieged it; while the Earl of Worcester and Sir Ralph Grey, with 10,000, assailed the castle of Dunstanburg. Meanwhile the Earl of Kent, Lords Scales,† Powis, Cromwell, and Baron Greystock, with 10,000 men, assisted at the siege of Alnwick. This castle was held by the son of Brézé, with the Lords Hungerford and Whittingham.

The Earl of Warwick, taking up his residence at Warkworth Castle, three miles from Alnwick, daily superintended these sieges, sending provisions to the besiegers, and other supplies. The Duke of Norfolk had also been placed at Newcastle, to assist the Earl of Warwick, and send to him the ordnance.

\* Ridpath; Paston Letters; Fabryan; W. of Worcester; Stow; Hume; Lingard; Sharon Turner; Historical View of Northumberland.

† This Lord Scales was Anthony Widville. The new Earl of Kent was William Neville, Lord Fauconbridge.

This undertaking of the Earl of Warwick would appear gigantic, but it will be well to consider the relative position of these castles, which doubtless afforded great facilities for the enterprise.

The little town of Alnwick, which, from its boundary position, has ever been an important possession to the monarchs of either kingdom, was situated in the midst of green vales, overlooked by a castle of most picturesque appearance, beneath which the river Aln meandered towards the sea, which terminated the view to the east and south. Northward might be seen the Farn isles and the shipping, and upon a bold rock near the shore stood Bamborough Castle; to the south that of Dunstanburg, and above all appeared conspicuous the castle of Warkworth, and Coquet island. Lastly, at the south-west, lay the forest of Haydon. The vicinity of these castles to each other probably afforded the means of speedy communication, and renders less surprising the taking and retaking of them so rapidly in these civil wars. Northumberland thus became the scene of many memorable exploits, in which much skill and courage were exhibited.

The fortress of Bamborough surrendered on Christmas eve, three days later that of Dunstanburg, after making a gallant resistance. The conditions upon which the besieged surrendered were, that the Duke of Somerset, and Sir Richard Percy, with some others, should, upon taking the oath of fealty to King Edward, be pardoned and restored to their estates and honours; and that the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Roos, and the rest of the two garrisons should be permitted to withdraw into Scotland.‡

Alnwick Castle still held out. The Earl of War-

1462.  
Ridpath;  
Pinkerton;  
Lingard.

1463.  
Paston  
Letters.

\* Stow; Howel; Ridpath; Lingard; Carte; Paston Letters; W. of Worcester; Pinkerton; Sharon Turner; Monstrelet; Grose's Antiquities; Hist. View of Northumberland.

wick closely besieged it, assisted by Sir Ralph Grey, and many others. This was in January, 1463. An army of the adherents of Queen Margaret hastened to its assistance. It was valiantly defended for some time by Pierre de Brézé's son and his 300 Frenchmen. This general boldly sallied forth and attacked the camp of Warwick, but was repulsed. Soon after he was joined by George Douglas, Earl of Angus, who, at the request of Queen Margaret, had bravely undertaken to bring off the garrison. For this purpose he hastily collected a body of horse, amounting to 10,000 (or as some say, 13,000) and advanced, as if with intent to charge the English army, which had invested the castle; and while the latter prepared for battle, he brought up a party of his stoutest horse to the postern gate. The garrison, headed by Pierre de Brézé, bravely sallied forth to meet them; and then, every soldier mounting behind a trooper, or, as some tell us, upon a number of spare horses brought for them, they were all successfully carried off into Scotland, in sight of the whole English army, which, being inferior in numbers, was unable to resist them. Lord Hungerford and a few knights sallied from the castle, and, cutting a passage through the enemy, joined their partisans, and accompanied them in their retreat.

The small garrison remaining, left to its own guidance, capitulated; for Angus, having accomplished his design of freeing the besieged,\* abandoned the castle to the enemy, and the Earl of Warwick was well contented that, without shedding blood, he was thus enabled to get possession of the deserted castle.†

\* The Earl of Angus eagerly seized this opportunity of rendering a service to the exiled Queen, who had promised him a dukedom and lands in England.

† Biondi; Stow; W. of Worcester; Fabyan; Baker; Ridpath; Buchanan; Pinkerton; Lingard; Holinshed; Historical View of Northumberland; Grose's Antiquities; Daniel.

At the time of this memorable retreat, the Duke of Somerset, Sir Richard Percy, and others, were seen fighting on the side of King Edward.

This monarch, pleased to gain over these noblemen, who had hitherto been such firm allies of his rival, not only repealed their attainder, and restored their lands, but rewarded their services with many marks of favour. Somerset obtained an annual pension of 1,000 marks, and Percy was re-established in the possession of Bamborough and Dunstanburg. Alnwick was bestowed upon Sir John Ashley, to the great displeasure of Sir Ralph Grey, a partisan of the Yorkists, who, having once gained it for King Edward, hoped to be again put in possession of this castle.

The desertion of Somerset from the Lancastrians has been attributed to his dread of the resentment of Mary of Gueldres, the Scottish queen, he having incurred her displeasure. Many Lancastrians, despairing of the restoration of Henry the Sixth, followed the example of Somerset, and, throwing themselves on Edward's mercy,\* obtained his pardon.†

About this time the inhabitants of Lancashire and Cheshire assembled, to the number of 10,000 men, in support of the Lancastrian cause, but they were soon overcome, and several of them were beheaded at Chester.‡

The affairs of Queen Margaret had become desperate. Almost all the powerful friends of King Henry had been either slain in battle, put to death on the scaffold, or banished the kingdom. When the Yorkists had

\* King Edward, in a letter to his Chancellor, gives the account of the surrender of these castles in the North, and of the submission of Somerset and Percy. The King writes from the monastery at Durham.

† Baker; W. of Worcester; Sandford; Fabyan; Rot. Parl.; Rapin; Ridpath; Carte; Monstrelet; Sharon Turner; Henry; Lingard; Female Worthies.

‡ Paston Letters.

regained possession of the castles of Northumberland, the French auxiliaries capitulated, and gladly obtained permission to return to France.

After so many had espoused the cause of King Edward, the only remaining faithful adherents of the deposed monarch, and of his exiled family, were the Duke of Exeter and a small party, whose loyalty remained unshaken under the most adverse fortunes.\*

When the struggle between the two powers seemed to be over, and the unfortunate issue compelled the Lancastrians to seek refuge in France, Brézé also departed from England, and went to Jersey. There he took upon himself supreme authority, styling himself in all public acts set forth in his name: "Pierre de Brézé, Count de Mauleverier, &c., Lord of the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and the others adjoining, Counsellor and Chamberlain of our sovereign Lord the King of France," by which proclamation he showed his own dependence on the King of France, giving the inhabitants to understand that they must henceforth consider themselves as subjects of the same monarch, which greatly enraged them. Nay, it even seemed to them more intolerable to be thus betrayed to the French, than to have been conquered by arms. It was in vain that the Count sought to soothe their discontents. His promises of kind treatment and gentle sway, if they would but acknowledge him and transfer their allegiance to France, were all unavailing.

Brézé had obtained possession of the Castle of Mount Orgueil, but the stronghold did not carry with it the island, of which it was the defence. The six parishes adjacent to Mount Orgueil Castle yielded a reluctant obedience to the rule of the Norman chiefs; while the western half of this island, influenced by Philip de Carteret, Lord of St. Oûen, maintained its allegiance

\* Rapin; Henry; Monstrelet; Bodin; Daniel; Lingard.

to the King of England. Thus, during six years, Jersey continued to be a divided possession.

Philip de Carteret obtained the castle of Grosnez, and defended himself and his followers, setting the French at defiance; and frequent encounters occurred between the two parties. Those also who had submitted to the authority of Brézé were but ill affected towards him. Such was the condition of these islanders, at the time King Edward IV. obtained quiet possession of the English throne, and a scheme was immediately formed for the expulsion of the French and Normans.

Sir Richard Harliston, Vice Admiral of England, coming with his fleet into the Channel, Philip de Carteret made known to him the hard struggle he had had to preserve to the English a portion only of this island of Jersey; upon which, the Admiral, leaving his ships at Guernsey, hastened to the Manor of St. Oûen, in Jersey. There he held a private consultation with De Carteret, and they together planned a surprise for their enemies, which scheme they accomplished with prudence and skill.

The French were not aware that an English fleet was near, when Philip de Carteret with his followers invested the castle of Mount Orgueil in the night; meanwhile, the fleet sailed from Guernsey to assist them; and thus, in the morning, the Frenchmen found themselves surrounded both by sea and land. The besieged vigorously resisted for some time, but finding no hope of relief, (there being no communication with France,) and being greatly distressed, they capitulated. The castle and neighbouring country joyfully returned to the domination of England, and Jersey received a new charter, in which the services of the people were especially acknowledged.

Sir R. Harliston, for his reward, was appointed to be Governor of the island which he had been instrumental



in recovering; but how De Carteret, who had been most active in its preservation, was recompensed, is unknown. "He could not," however, "fail," as one writer says, "to procure that which always attends the doing of brave and worthy actions, viz., the public esteem, and the inward satisfaction of having faithfully and honourably acquitted himself to his King and country, following therein the example of his ancestors."

When the standard of England was raised upon Mount Orgueil Castle, it diffused such universal joy amongst the people that "it could not be expressed!" So obnoxious had the French Count become to the inhabitants of Jersey, that they had even ventured to burn him in effigy while in their island.

De Brézé had left Jersey before the siege. He was killed, not long after, at the battle of Montlebery, fighting for Louis XI. against the Burgundians.\* The French writers highly extol his valour, and say that he died the death of a hero.†

\* Falle's Jersey; Warner's Hampshire; Pless's Jersey; Inglis's Channel Islands.

† Bodin; Annals of Aquitaine.

## CHAPTER IV.

(Queen Margaret.)

"We will not from the helm to sit and weep,  
"But keep our course, though the rough winds say no,  
"From shelves and rocks that threaten us with wreck,  
"As good to chide the waves, as speak them fair."

SHAKESPEARE.

(Queen Margaret.)

"No, sirs! my regal claim, my rightful crown,  
"The honour'd title of your sovereign wife,  
"No bribe shall e'er incline me to lie down,  
"Nor force extort it, save but with my life."

ELTHAM'S Margaret of Anjou.

Successes of the Lancastrians—Queen Margaret at Durham—The plunder of the country—Battle of Hedgeley Moor—Defeat at Hexham—The King and Queen take to flight—Three lords put to death—Queen Margaret's adventure in the forest—She escapes to Bamborough, and to France—King Edward's treatment of the Lancastrian lords—Queen Margaret and her followers in Flanders—The reception of Margaret by the Duke of Burgundy and his son—Sir John Fortescue—Education of Prince Edward—Margaret settles in Lorraine—Attempts to console her—The distress and poverty of the Lancastrians—Margaret goes with her son to reside with her father—René's tastes for the arts, chivalry, and the tournament, and for the "belles lettres"—His life in Anjou and Provence, and his correspondence—The fêtes of René in Anjou and Provence—The Order of the Crescent—Suppressed by the Pope—René joins the King of France in his wars against the English—René at Angers, Saumur, and Baugé—His taste for building—The castle and town of Baugé—René's house at Saumur—The manor-house of Reculée and hermitage—The illness and death of Isabella of Lorraine—Her burial—The grief of René—His device—The children of René and Isabella—René joins in the war of Sforza, Duke of Milan—He is soon disgusted with the intrigues in the camp, and returns to France—His son, John, carries on the war for a time, and then withdraws also—René gives Lorraine to his son, John of Anjou—René marries Jeanne de Laval—They go to Provence—René's occupations—Alphonso makes war in Italy—The Duke of Calabria takes part with the Frégoses—René comes to Genoa—A battle with the Genoese—Death of Alphonso—Ferdinand, his son, succeeds him in Naples—The barons

cabal, and send for the Duke of Calabria—Pope Pius II. invests Ferdinand with Naples—This offends René—Battle of Sarno—The Duke of Calabria's expedition fails—Provence only remains from the adoption of Joanna I.—Louis XI. mounts the throne of France—Henry VI. has taken refuge in Wales—He is discovered, brought to London, and committed to the Tower.

1463.  
Rapin;  
Barrow.

THE courage of Queen Margaret was not overcome by the numerous disasters she had encountered. She passed the winter of 1463 in Scotland, and in the spring assembled all her English adherents, and allured to her standard many of the Scots, by the promise of reward and permission to plunder. The government of the Scots had, in effect, abandoned the cause of the Lancastrians, having concluded, in the preceding December, a truce with King Edward.

1464.  
Carte;  
Ridpath.

The interest which Queen Margaret had, notwithstanding, cultivated with some of the Scottish chieftains, enabled her, once again, to form a considerable army, with which she made a descent upon Northumberland, in the month of April, 1464. In this expedition the Queen was accompanied by her husband, but the young Prince was left at Berwick. He soon afterwards rejoined the army, and was present at the battle which ensued at Hexham.

Affairs began to assume a more favourable aspect. The Lancastrians speedily regained the three castles which they had so lately lost.\* The care of two of these castles, Bamborough and Alnwick, had been committed to Sir John Ashley, to the great disappointment of Sir Ralph Grey, whose personal resentment for this neglect instigated him to take by surprise the castle of Bamborough, which he garrisoned with Scotch troops, and then held it for Queen Margaret, who made him Governor of the fortress. Sir Ralph Grey also contrived to expel Sir John Ashley from

\* Stow; Carte; Ridpath; Baker; Henry; Hume; W. of Worcester.

Alnwick Castle; then was Dunstanburg easily gained over.

The courage of the Queen seemed to be aroused, more and more, in proportion to the difficulties of her situation, and the uncertainty of her success. As she advanced to Durham, her numbers were daily increasing; but many of those who joined her, preferred plunder to fighting, and Margaret well knew the little dependence she could place on such followers, who needed leaders to enforce discipline amongst them. At Durham she was joined by the Duke of Somerset, who, as soon as he had heard of the Queen's successes, suddenly and privately quitted North Wales, where he had been secreted, and hastened to her assistance with all his followers; which example was followed by Sir Ralph Percy, with his adherents.\*

This conduct of the Duke of Somerset was very reprehensible; he had been nobly treated by King Edward, and in return for his generosity in restoring his lands and dignity, he only took the earliest opportunity of deserting him. Ungrateful, indeed, he must have appeared to the Yorkists; but historians justly censure him for his submission to Edward, being himself descended from the House of Lancaster, whose interests he would have naturally espoused. Still it must be said for him, that he reproached himself for quitting his royal master, the unfortunate Henry, in the extremity of his distress.

This defection greatly alarmed King Edward. He dispatched Lord Montague, whom he had, the preceding year, appointed Warden of the Eastern Marches,†

\* Sandford; Biondi; Stow; W. of Worcester; Baker; Howel; Ridpath; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Henry; Barrow; Lingard; Paston Letters; Female Worthies; Carte; Fabian.

† He likewise gave him charge of his dominions in Scotland, viz., Berwick and Roxburg.

with all the forces he had ready, to oppose the Queen, while he remained to collect a large army, both by sea and land. He issued a proclamation, commanding every man, from the age of sixteen to sixty, throughout the kingdom, to be ready to march against his enemies, at a day's notice. At length, having assembled a powerful army, and having with him a splendid train of nobility, he set out from London, and arrived at York about the end of May.\*

Queen Margaret, meanwhile, traversed the north of England, plundering and ravaging wherever she went.

Lord Montague had advanced as far as Durham, where he halted for several days; and when he had received a reinforcement from King Edward, proceeded in quest of the Queen's army. He met a detachment of her forces, commanded by the Lords Roos and Hungerford, at Hedgeley Moor, near Wooler, on the 20th † of April, 1464. The Lancastrians, with only 500, defended themselves against this attack with great bravery, but were, at last, defeated. The courageous Sir Ralph Percy was killed. His last words were, "I have saved the bird in my bosom," in allusion to his loyalty to King Henry. A stone pillar, having the Percy arms rudely cut upon it, marks the spot where this action took place. Roos and Hungerford escaped to the Queen.

Much elated at his success, Montague resolved to have the honour to himself of Queen Margaret's defeat, before King Edward could possibly join him. He, therefore, boldly advanced to attack her, with an army of 4,000 men. The Lancastrians, who had but 500 men, commanded by the Duke of Somerset, encamped on a plain called the Linnels, ‡ on the south bank of

\* Sandford; Stow; Ridpath; Baker; Henry; Rapin; Allen's York.

† Toplis and others say it was on the 25th of April.

‡ Or Lennolds, where the line of entrenchment is still visible.

1464.  
Allen's  
York;  
Carte.

1464.  
Toplis;  
Hume;  
Lingard;  
Henry;  
Carte.

the Devil's Water,\* near Hexham, where they awaited the approach of their enemies. These soldiers were emboldened by the presence of King Henry, whose only hope of restoration to the throne depended, as they well knew, on the success of this battle; therefore, when the contest began, they fought desperately.

This engagement took place on the 15th of May, 1464. The Queen's forces were taken by surprise by Lord Montague, who, marching by night, attacked them in their trenches, before they knew of his approach, and a long and bloody battle ensued. The skill and bravery of Montague enabled him, at last, to gain a complete victory. King Henry owed his safety to the fleetness of his steed.† He fled to the Castle of Harlech, in Wales, which fortress was still held by Davydd ap Jevan ap Eynion, who, in defiance of repeated acts of attainder, refused to yield to King Edward.

The Duke of Somerset was taken prisoner as he fled from the field of battle, and was immediately beheaded at Hexham. The Lords Roos and Hungerford, whose personal bravery and unwavering attachment to their unfortunate monarch deserved a better fate, were discovered, the following day, in a wood, and were executed, with many of their followers, at Newcastle.

On account of the illustrious dignity of his family, Lord Hungerford's body was, by permission, removed to Salisbury, and there interred in the north aisle of the cathedral. The Duke of Somerset was buried in the Abbey, at Hexham. From this Duke, as it is supposed, the name of Duxfield was given to a field near the scene of action.

\* This has been contracted into Dilswater by some writers.

† Biondi; Stow; Toplis; Howel; Wright's Hist. of Hexham; Holinshed; Ridpath; Hutchinson's Durham; Gent.'s Magazine; Carte; Rymer; Rapin; Hume; Lingard; Femmes Célèbres; Allen's York; Paston Letters; Henry;

1464.  
Stow;  
Toplis;  
Allen's  
York;  
Hume;  
Henry;  
Lingard;  
Sharon  
Turner;  
Rymer.

1464.  
Holinshed.

The prisoners taken and beheaded with the Duke were the Lords Basse, Molens, Wentworth, Hussey, and Sir John Findern, knight. There were also others decapitated; viz., Edward Fyssh, knight, Bluke Jukes, John Bryce, and Thomas Hunt; and, within a short period afterwards, other executions followed, at York and other places. The victims were twenty-five in number, who, having escaped from the field of battle, had secreted themselves, but were discovered by the Yorkists. Of these were Sir Richard Tunstall and William Taylbois, Earl of Kyme, who was apprehended at Riddesdale, brought to Newcastle, and beheaded. Sir Humphrey Neville was taken in Holderness, and lost his head at York, as did also John Botler, knight, and others.

Nothing but utter extermination appeared to be the purpose of the victors. Unhappily, they found but too plausible an excuse for this in the previous example of the Lancastrians.

King Edward bestowed all the estates of his victims on his own followers.\*

After the battle of Hexham, Queen Margaret had immediately separated herself from the King, her husband, in order that she might be better able to conceal herself in England, while she awaited an opportunity to embark for the continent, as she feared any longer to trust the Scots.

Once more a fugitive with her son, without resource, and apparently in worse circumstances than those in which she had ever before been placed, she was com-

Sharon Turner; Barrow; Historical View of Northumberland; Fabyan; Pol. Vergil.

\* Lingard; Holinshed; Biondi; Toplis; Stow; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Sandford; Milles's Catalogue; W. of Worcester; Ridpath; Bridge's Northamptonshire; Rapin; Carte; Collinson's Somersetshire; Monstrelet; Barante; Paston Letters; Barrow; Allen's York; Historical View of Northumberland; Sharon Turner; Henry; Hume; Fabyan.

pelled to seek shelter and concealment in the adjacent forest. Her adventures that night were so romantic as to raise the tone of history, and while they form an interesting digression from all the honours of the battle-field, they exhibit the energetic character of Queen Margaret, whose noblest phase appeared in this her greatest peril.

The dark recesses of Hexham forest, and the rocky banks of the river Devil, had been the retreat of a ruffian horde, who, during this period of civil strife, found a plea for their abandoned life in neglected laws, and the example of their superiors. A band of these ruffians met the Queen while she was wandering, with her little son, in the darkness of the night, and unawed by her rank, and untouched by pity for her sex or situation, they seized her, stripped her of her jewels, and would have treated her with greater indignity, had not a quarrel arisen amongst the banditti about the division of their spoil. From words they proceeded to blows, which afforded the unhappy Queen, (who trembled for her life, and that of her son,) an opportunity to escape. She pursued her flight across the forest, carrying her child in her arms. She wandered on, although oppressed with fatigue and hunger, and almost overcome with terror and anxiety, when another robber crossed her path, with his sword drawn; but the great soul of Queen Margaret would never succumb under any accumulation of misfortunes. In this moment of exigence she approached the man, assuming an air of confidence, and presenting her son, she exclaimed, "Here, my friend, I entrust to your care the safety of your King's son." Impulse is often unerring; the Queen's confidence was not misplaced. The robber, who had been outlawed for adhering to the House of Lancaster, still retained a humane and generous spirit, which had not been destroyed by his licentious course

of life. The unexpected appeal to his feelings, joined to the sight of his Queen and his Prince in distress, and the beauty and dignity of the unhappy Margaret, completely softened his heart. He instantly accepted the sacred trust reposed in him; he swore to refrain from injury, and assured her of his protection and fidelity. He assisted the Queen to a secure but wretched asylum, where she remained concealed with her son. This place of refuge obtained the name of the "Queen's Cave." Its roof was supported by a pillar of rude stone work, which, according to tradition, formed part of a wall, and divided the cave longitudinally, to accommodate the Queen and her son. This cave has been described by an author who, in 1822, visited it, as follows:—"The Queen's Cave lies beneath the southern bank of the little river, exactly opposite the farm-house on the Black Hill. Its situation is extremely secluded. An idea of the Queen's accommodation in this wretched retreat may be conceived from its present extent, which does not exceed 31 feet in length, and 14 feet in breadth, while the height will scarcely allow of a person standing upright." After remaining in this melancholy seclusion in the forest for some time, the robber conducted her in safety to a village on the sea-coast. She was then received for a time by Sir Ralph Grey into Bamborough Castle, and thence sailed for the continent.\*

Many indeed were the victims to party resentment, yet we are told that the Earls of Montague and Warwick were empowered to receive rebels to mercy, upon their submission. They were also permitted to reward, out of the estates of the rebels, such as might serve King Edward faithfully in reducing the northern castles, which were still in the hands of the Lancastrians.

\* Ridpath; Toplis; Biondi; Barante; Rapin; Carte; Raleigh; Henry; Lingard; Hume; Barrow; Female Worthies; Wright's Hist. of Hexham.

King Edward, at this time, made an extraordinary grant to the citizens of York; by which it would appear that they had greatly favoured this monarch's cause. The patent, dated at York the 10th of June, 1464, expresses the King's concern for the sufferings and hardships the city had undergone during these wars, and for the poverty which they had occasioned, on account of which he not only relinquished his usual demands upon that city, but assigned it for the twelve succeeding years, an annual rent of £40, to be paid from the Customs of Hull.\*

The fortunate Montague met the King on Trinity Sunday at York, who rewarded him with the earldom of Northumberland, and the estates and honours belonging to Sir Ralph Percy. He then dismissed him, with his brother the Earl of Warwick, and the Lords Scroop and Fauconbridge, to recover the places which still remained in the possession of the Lancastrians. They quickly regained the castles of Dunstanburg and Alnwick. That of Bamborough, where Queen Margaret and many of the Lancastrian adherents had taken refuge with Sir Ralph Grey, was closely besieged. This fortress was strong enough to defend itself, and the siege continued until July, but a wall accidentally falling on the commander, placed the life of Sir Ralph Grey in great danger, and his adherents finding themselves left to their own discretion, immediately surrendered the castle, on condition of pardon from the King. They made no stipulation for the life of their commander, who only recovered from the severe contusions he had received to suffer the punishment of his desertion from Edward. He had no hopes of pardon. He was led into the presence of the incensed monarch, at Doncaster, and Lord Worcester, a ready minister of King Edward's cruel-

1464.  
Stow;  
Rymer;  
Rapin;  
Lingard;  
Hutchinson.

\* Ridpath; Baker; Carte; Allen's York.



ties, pronounced his sentence, which was speedily executed. His knightly spurs were struck off, the heralds in attendance took from him his coat of arms, which they reversed, and compelled him to wear them thus to the place of execution; they also broke his sword over his head. Thus disgraced, he was conducted to the end of the town, where the executioner terminated his earthly sufferings. This knight, and Sir Humphrey Neville, were the only exceptions to the general pardon which King Edward had offered to all those who had been in arms against him.

From Bamborough the Earl of Warwick advanced to Berwick. He took the town, and laid waste the adjacent country. He then burnt the towns of Jedburg, Lochmaban, and others, taking revenge of the Scottish borderers, to whom probably the late inroad into England was mainly attributable.\*

In the escape of the unfortunate Henry VI. from the battle of Hexham, he was so closely pursued, that three of his servants who accompanied him, and rode on his horses of state, were taken prisoners. They were dressed in gowns of blue velvet, and one of them carried King Henry's cap of state, called "Abacot,"† adorned with two rich crowns of gold, and ornamented with pearls, which was taken immediately to King Edward, and with which this monarch caused himself to be crowned with great solemnity at York.

Many writers affirm that King Henry, after the battle of Hexham, returned to Scotland, where he found a temporary asylum.‡ This report seemed to be pro-

\* Biondi; Stow; W. of Worcester; Carte; Rymer; Baker; Ridpath; Hutchinson's Durham; Fabyan; Rapin; Henry; Historical View of Northumberland.

† This word "Abacot," Spelman says, signified "a royal cap, ensigned with two crowns," which, doubtless, were those of England and France.

‡ Biondi; Baker; Holinshed; Fabyan; Grafton; Lingard; Pinkerton; Allen's York; Henry; Barrow.

bable, as the interval between the two last battles had been passed by him in that country. Subsequently, however, he went southward, and arrived in a part of the country called Craven, then but little known; or, as others affirm, at the castle of Harlech.

The Scots had hitherto shown much affection for the House of Lancaster, but the issue of the late battle of Hexham had rendered their cause more irretrievable, and had cooled the ardour and friendship of these allies.

The Earl of Warwick had, in the preceding year, with consummate art shaken the attachment of Mary of Gueldres to the interests of Henry by proposing her marriage with King Edward, and the Scottish Queen met that nobleman at Dumfries on the subject; she even advanced as far as Carlisle to hasten the negotiations, and at this place she was met by some of the chief nobility of England. Mary's doubtful reputation, however, and the ruin of King Henry's affairs, occasioned this match to be broken off, and the mortified Queen fell a victim to her feelings. She died in the flower of her age, on the 16th of November, 1463.\*

The English and Scotch ambassadors met at York, and concluded a truce for one year, which was afterwards prolonged to fifteen years. By this treaty, it was agreed that the Scots should abandon the cause of King Henry, and no longer afford protection to this monarch, to his Queen, his son, or to any of their followers. King Edward resigned the friendship of the Earl of Douglas in order to confirm this treaty.† Another truce was concluded by King Edward, which was also for one year; this was with Louis XI. The

\* Pinkerton; W. of Worcester; Lingard; Gent's Mag., 1641; Paston Letters.

† Douglas was afterwards seized by his countrymen, and thrown into prison, where he remained until his death in 1488.

Duke of Burgundy likewise renewed the truce of commerce with England and the Low Countries, and it was finally agreed that these several kings and rulers should lend no assistance to their respective enemies. This truce was to continue until the year 1467. The conclusion of this truce had been somewhat hindered by the Count of Charolois, who showed much favour to the party of Queen Margaret.\*

1461.

After these reverses Queen Margaret sailed, with her son Prince Edward, from Bamborough to Sluys in Flanders. The Queen was accompanied in her flight from England by Edmond Duke of Somerset, and his brother, John Beaufort, their elder brother having been beheaded at Hexham; also by the Duke of Exeter, Pierre de Brézé, Sir John Fortescue, Edmond Mundford, E. Hampden, Henry Roos, Thomas Ormonde, Robert Whittingham, knights; John Morton, Robert Mackeret, doctors, besides many other knights and gentlemen, and also some ladies; the number amounting to about two hundred. They all arrived at Sluys in safety.† From thence Queen Margaret proceeded with her son to Bruges, where she was honourably received.‡ Leaving Prince Edward at this place, she passed on to Lisle, where she was hospitably entertained by the Count of Charolois, who, being descended by his mother's side from the House of Lancaster, showed her real kindness.

From Lisle the Queen went to Bethune, to hold a conference with Philip "the Good," Duke of Burgundy, the father of the Count of Charolois, and the most magnificent prince of his age. Being at this

\* Pinkerton; W. of Worcester; Lingard; Ridpath; Paston Letters; Henry; Cane; Barrow.

† Biondi; W. of Worcester; Baker; Ridpath; Pinkerton; Lingard; Barante; Henry; Hume; Femmes Célèbres.

‡ Monstrelet; Baudier.

time at St. Pol, the Duke dismissed a party of horse to escort Queen Margaret thither, and to protect her against the excursions of the garrison of Calais. They safely lodged her near the Carmelites.

The Duke received her with much outward distinction and respect, generously overlooking the animosities which had existed between their families, in order to afford her all the succours she required in her present distress. When introduced to the Duke, Queen Margaret, in the most pathetic manner, related to him her misfortunes and the loss of her kingdom, and besought him to assist her in the recovery of her possessions; but, while the Duke sought to console the unhappy Queen, he refused to listen to her solicitations in favour of her husband. He gave her, however, a supply of money for her present expenses; it is said that he bestowed upon her 2,000 crowns of gold; and gave, at the same time, 1,000 to Pierre de Brézé (called the Lord of Varennes), who had shared her misfortunes, and 100 also to each of the ladies who had attended her. The Duke also furnished her with an escort to the duchy of Bar, in Lorraine, which belonged, at this time, to her brother, the Duke of Calabria. Queen Margaret regretted much that she had not earlier thrown herself upon the generosity of this noble Duke, thinking that her affairs might have been more prosperous.\*

At length she settled, with her son and her principal followers, in the Castle St. Michel, in Barrois, which, with the estate annexed to it, was bestowed upon her by her father, René of Anjou. From this period Queen Margaret remained for several years secluded from the world; yet she still watched with anxiety the course of events, sustained with the hope of one

\* W. of Worcester; Rot. Parl.; Monstrelet; Baudier; Rapin; Hume; Lingard; Female Worthies.

day being able to place her husband or her son on the English throne.\*

In her retirement she did not fail to exert all her influence with the friends of her family, to persuade them to assist her in some future effort to wrest the crown from Edward; and her active mind was, doubtless, forming continually new schemes to effect this object. She was also employed in the education of her son, a most promising boy, who had for his preceptor Sir John Fortescue, the greatest lawyer of that period, and who has been described as "the ornament of his honourable profession," and "as one of the most learned and best men of the age in which he flourished." Sir John had been made Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1442, and presided in that court many years with wisdom and integrity. His attachment to his sovereign had caused him to be attainted of high treason by King Edward, in 1461; and, after sharing the misfortunes of his master when he fled into Scotland, he was there made Lord Chancellor, an office, nevertheless, which he was unable to fulfil. He followed Queen Margaret to her retreat in France; and there sought to soothe and cheer her solitude, by assisting her with his counsels, and superintending the education of her son. It was for the instruction of the young Prince of Wales that he composed, during his exile, his excellent little treatise "*De laudibus legum Angliæ*."† The following passage shows the author's motives for undertaking this work, and his zeal as preceptor, and exhibits a good specimen of this excellent work, which blends religion and morality so admirably with the laws, in explaining them to the young prince, of whose habits it gives us some idea.

\* W. of Worcester; Pinkerton; Henry; Lingard; Hume.

† Pinkerton; Morant; Lingard; Henry.

"The Prince, shortly after growing to man's estate, applied himself wholly to feats of arms, much delighting to ride upon wild and unbroken horses, not sparing with spurs, to break their fierceness. He practised also sometimes with the pike, and sometimes with the sword, and other warlike weapons, after the manner and guise of warriors, according to the use of martial discipline, to assail and strike his companions, that attended upon his person; which thing, when a certain ancient knight, being Chancellor to the aforesaid King of England, saw, who also in the miserable time did there remain in exile, he spake thus to the Prince:

"Your singular towardness, most gracious Prince, maketh me right glad, when I behold how earnestly you do embrace martial feats; for, it is convenient for your grace to be thus delighted, not only, for that you are a soldier, but much rather, for that you shall be a king. For it is the office and duty of a king, to fight the battles of his people, and also rightly to judge them, as in the eighth chapter of the First Book of Kings, you are plainly taught. Wherefore I would wish your grace, to be, with as earnest zeal, given to the study of the laws, as you are to the knowledge of arms, because, that like as wars by force of chivalry are ended, even so judgments by the laws are determined. Which thing Justinian the Emperor, well, and wisely, and advisedly pondering, saith thus: It behoveth the imperial majesty, not only to be guarded with arms, but also to be armed with laws, to the end that he may be able rightly to execute, the government of both times, as well of war as of peace. Howbeit, for your most earnest endeavour to the study of the law, the exhortation of the chiefest law maker, Moses, sometime captain of the synagogue, ought

"to be of much more force with you, than the words  
 "of Justinian; whereas, in the seventh chapter of  
 "Deuteronomy, he doth, by the authority of God,  
 "strictly charge the kings of Israel to be readers  
 "of the law, all the days of their life; saying  
 "thus: When the king shall sit upon the princely  
 "seat of his kingdom, he shall write him out this  
 "law in a book, taking the copy there of the priests,  
 "the Levites; and he shall have it with him, and  
 "he shall read it all the days of his life, that he  
 "may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep  
 "His commandments and ordinances, written in this  
 "law. And Helynandus, expounding the same, saith  
 "thus: 'A prince, therefore, must not be ignorant of  
 "the law, neither is it tolerable that he, under the  
 "pretence of warfare, should be unskilful in the law.'  
 "And a little after, he is commanded, saith he, 'to  
 "receive the copy of the law of the priests, the  
 "Levites, that is to say, of Catholic and learned men.'  
 "Thus much he: for the book of Deuteronomy is  
 "the book of the laws, wherewith the kings of Israel  
 "were bound to rule and govern their subjects. This  
 "book doth Moses command kings to read, that  
 "they may learn to fear God and keep his com-  
 "mandments, which are written in the law."\*

It may be conjectured that it was at this time of  
 Queen Margaret's retirement from the world, when,  
 doubtless, she occasionally indulged in a melancholy  
 retrospect of the past, or dwelt with painful interest  
 on the condition of her meek and patient consort,  
 whose separation from her, and incarceration, must  
 have been a source of grief to her, that the little  
 volume called "*Le petit Bocace*" was written for her  
 diversion.

This rare manuscript was composed by George

\* Fortescue: *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*.

Chastelain, historiographer to the Dukes of Burgundy,  
 esteemed one of the best writers of his times; and  
 was written at Tours.\* It is in the form of dialogues  
 between Jehan Bocace and the Queen, introducing  
 subjects of moral and religious contemplation, calcu-  
 lated to dispose the mind to resignation under the  
 reverses of fortune.

"C'est cy le temple de Bocace  
 "Miroir pour tous tirans de la terre,  
 "Auquel la reyne d'Angleterre  
 "C'est venu plaindre a triste face."†

Queen Margaret obtained much consideration  
 amongst her own countrymen and kindred; but  
 when she received the news of the capture of King  
 Henry, she departed secretly to the court of King  
 René, her father, with whom she remained until,  
 through another revolution in her favour, she was  
 enabled once more to reappear in England. This  
 was her last attempt.‡

The scanty documents relating to the exile of this  
 Queen, and of her residence with the good King René,  
 afford but little information respecting her tastes and  
 occupations during this season of seclusion and melan-  
 choly. Neither do we learn how far she was able to  
 participate in the recreations of her respected parent, or  
 solace herself by the society of her friends and  
 kindred. By the latter she was always esteemed and  
 had much attention shown her. We may instance a  
 little note to be found in the archives of Milan, dated  
 Chartres, May 5th, 1467.

"Giovanni Pietro Panicherolla to the Duchess and  
 "Duke of Milan.

"The Marquis de Pont, son of the Duke John, has

\* MS. of the fifteenth century, dated 1498.

† MS. in the library of the late Lord Stuart de Rothsay.

‡ Sandford.

"quitted Nanci, in Lorraine, and is gone to visit his aunt, late Queen of England, who has also withdrawn into Lorraine, with a son of hers, aged thirteen, having no other place of refuge. She is subsequently to come and reside here at the court." \*

It was while in attendance on the Queen and Prince at St. Michel-in-Barrois, in Lorraine, that Sir John Fortescue wrote to the Earl of Ormond, then in Portugal. In his letter he does not speak of himself as Chancellor, but merely as one of the knights who were at that time with the Queen. Their means of living must have been much straitened, for Sir John speaks of their great poverty, and adds, "but yet the Queen susteyneth us in mete and drinke, so as we be not in extreme necessity." Another letter was also sent from Prince Edward to the same nobleman, urging him to intercede with the King of Portugal, to assist King Henry in the recovery of his kingdom, and subduing of his enemies.†

The tastes of Prince Edward, so different from those of his father, and his love of martial exploits, seem almost an inheritance from his maternal grandfather René, at whose court he probably found encouragement for his favourite amusements. Chivalry, although on the decline in Europe, was still maintained in its original character in the province of Anjou, by King René, of whom Bourdigné says, "his gentle and chivalrous heart delighted in knightly deeds"—that the young prince must have been stimulated by the picturesque observances of chivalry; and his tutor tells us that he grew up "in a warlike spirit, and was a gallant horseman, and expert in the use of the lance."

Queen Margaret, however, had resolved that her son should not only become a martial character, but receive

\* Sforza's Archives of Milan.

† *Archæological Journal*; Fosse's *Lives of the Judges*.

an education of a superior kind, and with this intent had placed him in his early childhood under the care of Sir John Fortescue, to whom no little honour was due for his diligent instructions in the free institutions of his native land. Much praise is also due to Queen Margaret for her choice of such a preceptor for her son; for although brought up in arbitrary doctrines, her enlightened mind had led her to desire that her son should be filled with noble and liberal sentiments. At this period of her seclusion from public life, the care of her son's education must have afforded no small satisfaction to the mind of the dejected Queen. When we consider how the fortitude of Margaret sustained in her breast the constant hope and desire for the restoration of her husband, or the future establishment of her son on the throne, her perseverance in renewing every possible friendly aid to this end, her grief at the King's imprisonment, and the extreme distress and ruin of her true and constant adherents, we should find it difficult to pronounce, as some writers have done, this period of our heroine's existence, which she passed with her father and her son at Angers, as the happiest of Queen Margaret's life.

The most considerable noblemen attached to the interests of the Lancastrians, amongst whom were the Duke of Somerset, his brother, the Duke of Exeter, and others, who had all escaped with Queen Margaret to the Low Countries, suffered great distress. Fearing that their rank being discovered, would cause them to be delivered up to King Edward, these noblemen endured, during their exile, all the extremities of want and poverty.

It is related that the Duke of Exeter, whose wife was sister to King Edward, was seen following the train of the Duke of Burgundy, bare-footed and bare-legged, and begging his bread from door to door. In



the most severe weather these unfortunate noblemen ran about as errand boys to the lowest classes of the people; but, when the Duke of Burgundy learnt their rank, he gave to each of them, a small pension, barely sufficient for their support.\*

Let us now turn for a brief space to the interesting, yet unfortunate events, of the life of this heroine's father, René of Anjou.

Contented at beholding his beloved daughter raised to one of the first thrones in Europe, and at the same time, feeling disgusted with war, upon beholding the ill success of all his efforts to secure the crown of Naples, René appeared from this period in a new character, and his life assumed a different aspect. We have hitherto beheld him only as a warrior, the very plaything of fortune, by turns a conqueror, a prisoner, a traveller, or a fugitive, as if in cruel expiation for a rapid exaltation; and only consoling himself amidst his misfortunes, by dispensing benefits around him, and by the consciousness that his glory was untarnished, and must ennoble him, even in reverses.

René at this season disposed himself for tranquillity; and we have now the more agreeable office of recording him from the year 1446 (for we are reverting somewhat to the past), when, as the philosopher, he was devoting himself to letters, to poetry, or to painting, reviving for his amusement the ancient chivalry, and leading the tournament.† For the first time in his life this prince found himself at peace; and being in quiet possession of Lorraine, Provence, and Anjou, he tasted of that repose which he had so dearly bought, and was content in the bosom of his family, and in conferring happiness on his subjects. In yielding to

\* Philip de Comines; Sandford; Rapin; Milles's Catalogue; Baker; Baudier; S. Turner; Henry; Barrow; Historical View of Northumberland.

† Moreri; Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont; Bodin.

his taste for chivalric fêtes, this Duke of Anjou enlivened his court, both in Anjou and in Provence; and, passing his time alternately in these beautiful provinces, he also relieved himself, after the cares of government, in cultivating the arts and belles-lettres in his hours of retirement, having previously so often experienced their salutary influence while under the pressure of misfortune and in imprisonment.\*

Banishing all ambitious thoughts, except that of making himself beloved, René determined that henceforth his abode should be in the fertile and charming country of Anjou, the place of his birth, and the cradle of his ancestors. In this favoured province, where nature lavishes her treasures, he enjoyed with transport the liberty of frequenting those spots where he had passed his childhood, and this good monarch created for himself a course of life analogous to his tastes. He called around him the *élite* amongst the Angevins, and invited to his court, gentlemen, literati, and artists, consecrating to pleasure all the hours which were not devoted by him to the arts or literature. These occupations and amusements of René obtain a peculiar interest with us, by their showing in a remarkable way the manners and customs of the age in which he lived.

René was engaged about this time of his life in a poetical correspondence with the gifted Charles, Duke of Orleans, and also with the Dukes of Bourbon, Burgundy, and Nevers. He painted landscapes, portraits or miniatures, and even was employed in drawing out plans for the gardens of his palace; still more than in all these, did he enjoy himself in the marvellous fêtes which he instituted, in which, without incurring danger, much honour might be acquired.†

In imitation of the Greeks and Romans, the Go-

\* Bodin; Moreri.

† Bodin.

vernors of the Middle Ages had introduced military games, the object of which, was the same as that of the ancients. These fêtes, or "Tournays," as they were called, afforded for several centuries infinite delight to the people of France; and, indeed, these combats appeared well calculated to sustain the spirit of the young cavaliers, and by exciting emulation and the love of glory, to prove the source of virtuous and great actions. The tastes and example of René contributed much to this passion for fêtes amongst the Angevins. He composed a treatise on the form and manner of the Tournays, which he embellished with several sketches by his own hand, representing the characters in the costume and attitudes which they should adopt in their different parts.\* To add example to precept, René announced the first of his military fêtes in 1446, called the "Emprise de la gueule du dragon," or the "pas de joûte."† To increase the *éclat* of their "Emprise," four gentlemen of Anjou chose for its announcement the time when Potou de Saintrailles, Dunois, Louis de Beauveau, and Jean de Cossa, followed by a multitude of other lords of the courts of Provence and Sicily, were preparing to visit their beloved monarch, with whom they had gained laurels in their youth. Ever zealous for renown, these brave chieftains seized with ardour the opportunity of again distinguishing themselves with him while partaking his pleasures. Thus were they seen to rush into the presence of René and Isabella at the moment when they were departing from their gothic palace at Angers, surrounded by a brilliant cortège of ladies of honour, officers, and pages, and were proceeding to the spot appointed by the champions for their amusement.

\* This manuscript was in the Royal Library.

† The entertaining of the "dragon's mouth, or the Pace of the Tilt," maintained by King René in favour of the ladies.

It was on the banks of the beautiful Loire, on a vast plain, enamelled by the varied flowers of spring, beneath some majestic trees, in short, amidst some of the most enchanting scenery of this province, that there assembled, on one of those smiling mornings, whose serenity is unclouded by a single speck, all the most illustrious which France at this time possessed and gloried in. Here were to be seen warriors grown hoary in the fight, and beside them, ladies resplendent in youth and beauty, adorned with flowers, golden diadems, and jewels.

These, mounted on white palfreys, covered with cloth of velvet, embroidered with gold, animated by their graceful movements and melodious voices, the scenery around. Near them, mounted on fiery coursers, was an assembly of young knights, equerries, or suitors, entertaining one another with the great exploits in the field of departed heroes, and seeking to attract the notice of the fair ones, by letting them read in their eyes, so full of fire, their desire of signalling themselves, or even more tender sentiments. It may well be imagined that there was a succession of enchantments on the banks of the Mayenne at Chinon, for, says the historian, "these illustrious knights were going to strive, for the acquisition of honour, to exercise themselves more and more in the noble deeds of arms, and testify their courage and valour to those they loved the best."

This last avowal of a gallantry quite chivalric, was by no means foreign at this moment to the prince who was looked upon as the hero of the tilt announced. The anonymous manuscript\* assures us that René presented himself there, with the intention of making known his devotion to the ladies in general: yet truth constrains us to mention here one of the first weak-

\* Notes written by René.

nesses of the heart, remarkable in the life of this monarch. *Malgré* his boundless affection for his Queen Isabella, and that conjugal fidelity which ever remained unshaken, René could not encounter, without experiencing for her the strongest interest; the noble daughter of Guy de Laval. This princess was scarcely thirteen years of age, but her beauty, graces, and mental qualifications were so much developed, that René was captivated by them, and sought, as one writer tells us, "to make his expertness shine, for the esteem with which it inspired the young and beautiful Jeanne de Laval." It must, however, be added, that this attachment had less the character of ardent passion than of those romantic affections "on which imagination feasts, and which each knight felt himself obliged to feign, if he did not actually feel it, by addressing his vows to an object, which was often ideal, under the name of 'lady of his thoughts.'

"Thus Isabella of Lorraine had nothing to cause her alarm, and indeed there was no indication that she noticed it, for she always treated the young Jeanne de Laval with marked esteem and distinction. It may also be said, *en passant*, that if René, during the rest of his life, was accused of more than one fault of this kind, he surrounded them with so much secrecy that he even veiled the real names of the objects of his tenderness from observation." In an age when his contemporary princes openly boasted of their triumphs over the fair sex, this conduct of René was the more remarkable.

"It was not by the brilliancy of his armour, or by the magnificence of his apparel, that René sought to distinguish himself in the eyes of Jeanne de Laval. Still afflicted by the loss of his mother and his son, and grieved at the departure of his daughter, Margaret of Anjou, he appeared in the lists, dressed in armour

"entirely black, his shield being sable, studded with silver spangles. His lance was black, and his horse was caparisoned in black, reaching down to the ground.

Of the other circumstances of the "Emprise de la gueule du dragon," we learn from the same author merely "that the King of Sicily went and touched the shields of the champions, and tilted so skilfully and so fortunately, that the honour and prize of the combat were publicly decreed to him."\*

On the superb plain near Saumur,† chosen for the celebration of this tournament, René had caused to be constructed a spacious palace of wood, decorated within and without with elegance and splendour. It was furnished with rich tapestry, and a prodigious number of silk and velvet cushions for the accommodation of the ladies, for whom especially this entertainment was given. In this royal pavilion, called by René, in imitation of those named by ancient novelists in chivalry, "le château de la joyeuse garde," several weeks passed in an uninterrupted succession of pleasures of all kinds. The Duke of Anjou held there a kind of plenary court, inventing daily new fêtes, cavalcades, banquets, and dances, to amuse his illustrious guests, while they awaited the complete assemblage of the brave champions called by honour to carry off the prize decreed by the Queen of Sicily, and which was announced three times in a loud voice by the *poursuivant d'armes*.

The following minute details have been given by one of the historians of Anjou of this interesting *pas d'armes*.

"On the day of the tournament King René set out from his castle for the place appointed for the tilts,

\* Villeneuve Bargemont; Bodin.

† It was between Razilly and Chinon. This fête was sometimes called "Emprise de la joyeuse garde."

"and in the following order was the procession : Two  
 "Turks dressed in damask of carnation and white, each  
 "leading a lion, tied with a huge chain of silver, marched  
 "first. Then followed drummers, fifers, and trum-  
 "peters of the King on horseback, all dressed in the  
 "livery of Anjou, carnation and white. Next came  
 "two kings-at-arms, carrying their books or charters  
 "of honour and nobility, in order to note down in them  
 "the high deeds and valorous combats which were  
 "going to be performed." After these came four judges  
 "of the camp, mounted on superb horses, whose cover-  
 "ings reached to the very ground, and were ornamented  
 "with richly-worked coats of arms. Two of these judges  
 "had been chosen from amongst the oldest and wisest  
 "knights, and the other two from the equerries, all  
 "skilful in combat. "The King's dwarf next appeared,  
 "mounted on a beautiful and well-caparisoned horse,  
 "bearing the shield and device chosen by René for this  
 "fête, the bottom of it was of gules, strewed with  
 "pansies 'au naturel.' Similar to the coats of arms  
 "were the banners, the head-gear, the coverings and  
 "caparisons of the horses of the knights, the equerries  
 "of the King, and all the champions. A very beau-  
 "tiful young lady, dressed magnificently, and mounted  
 "on a superb white palfrey then followed; she held  
 "in her hand a very rich scarf tied to the bridle of  
 "the horse on which King René was mounted. This  
 "lady's office was to conduct all the champions,  
 "when the time came for them to tilt against the  
 "assailants. The King was followed by Ferri, of  
 "Lorraine, the Lord of Beauvau, and his brother,  
 "Guy de Laval, Lenoncourt, Cossi, Plessis, and many  
 "other champions of renown.

"Arrived at the spot where the lists were esta-  
 "blished, in the order mentioned, they found a large  
 "tent erected, richly decorated, also scaffoldings for

"the judges, for the kings-at-arms, as well as for the  
 "ladies, adorned with tapestries and cushions with  
 "gold lace, which were placed round the lists, but  
 "separated the one from the other by spaces so as to  
 "allow the people to enjoy the brilliant spectacle.  
 "There was also a stage raised several steps, and a  
 "marble column placed on it, to which was appended  
 "the shield of the device. Those of the assailants who  
 "wished to tilt against the champions were obliged to  
 "come and touch the shield with the end of their lance,  
 "and at the foot of this column were the two lions  
 "chained, of which we have spoken.

"According to express agreement on the part of  
 "both champions and assailants, each of the vanquished  
 "was obliged to present a diamond, a ruby, or courser,  
 "or some other gift previously agreed upon.

"These prizes were intended for their mistresses, and  
 "we learn that, at this fête, there were no less than fifty-  
 "four diamonds and thirty-six rubies given to the ladies  
 "by those who were vanquished; besides these, there  
 "were two principal prizes given at the expense of  
 "King René, which were, by the command of the judges  
 "of the camp, presented to the conquerors by Jeanne  
 "de Laval. The first prize was a noble courser, and  
 "was gained by Florigny; the second was a clasp or  
 "box of gold, enriched with diamonds, and was decreed  
 "to Ferri of Lorraine."

Of those who assisted at this tournament were Mont-  
 morency, Brézé, Daillon du Ludé d'Harcourt, Tancar-  
 ville, de la Jaille, Jean de la Haye, Guillaume de la  
 Jumallière, Lord of Martigné, Briant, Florigny, and  
 Ferri de Vaudemont. Above all, the Duke of Alençon  
 was remarkable, wearing the Order of the Golden  
 Fleece, and still more distinguished by his fine form  
 and noble features, which gained for him the surname  
 of "la beau prince."

The chevaliers were also guided by Pontou de Saintrailles, the brave Gascon, who had already figured in the *pas d'armes* of Razilly. There were also present Charles of Bourbon, father-in-law to the Duke of Calabria, the Counts d'Evreux, d'Eu, and Charles d'Artois. Lastly should be mentioned the Count of Nevers, who, having vainly aspired to the hand of Margaret of Anjou, found himself, perhaps unconsciously, the rival of René, in addressing at this time his secret vows to the beautiful heroine of the fête, Jeanne de Laval.

"These tilts terminated fortunately without accident, which seldom happened. Afterwards the King, Queen, and all their brilliant assembly, returned to the castle of Saumur, where René continued for several, some say fifteen, days, his magnificent balls and entertainments.\*

"The helmet and cuirass were now laid aside by the brave knights, who, having signalled themselves before in the combat by their courage and agility, and by the rudeness and simplicity of their attire, on this occasion vied with one another in the richness and elegance of their apparel, and their gallantry towards the ladies. The gratification of these heroes in the series of amusements which King René had prepared for them was great, yet we may justly add, that it was equalled, even surpassed, by the satisfaction which the 'merry monarch,' as René has been styled, experienced himself on this occasion, in the presence of his family and court, and placed between his much-beloved Queen Isabella, and the fascinating Jeanne de Laval."

The joust, thus renewed upon the return of this excellent prince to his native province, became subse-

\* A picture representing this Tournament was painted by King René, who offered it to his brother-in-law, King Charles VII.

quently, in a degree, the expression of joy at his appearance amongst the Angevin nobility, who had retained a lively inclination for these ancient amusements of their own sovereigns.

It is easy to imagine how this monarch, brought up in hereditary ideas so worthy of him, would indulge in the chivalric spirit, and delight in and occupy himself in these noble games, which were not in his age regarded as vain amusements.

He did not, however, forget his duties as a sovereign. Always assiduous to render his people happy, he sought every means of ameliorating their condition, and he was well informed of all the events which concerned the interest of his subjects.\*

Soon after his arrival at Angers, a frightful drought desolated nearly all Provence. The harvests had been destroyed, the springs dried up, and the miserable inhabitants of Aix had to send to a great distance to have their corn ground, and were obliged to fetch water several leagues distant. René, touched with this calamity, immediately ordered his grand seneschal to exempt each city or village afflicted by this scourge, from taxation during a year. This rare example of humanity was more than once displayed, on similar occasions, by this prince, whose disinterestedness knew no bounds; and while we read of the regal pomp and luxury which was exhibited at the celebration of his attractive tournaments, we are reminded that the same monarch who commanded these expensive tilts, assisted in drying the tears of the distressed and indigent.†

In December, 1447, René was engaged in a holy tour to Provence, to collect the bones of saints. In July following, he assisted at the council held by the Archbishop of Tours. The termination of the year

\* Bodin; Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Bodin; Godard Faultrier.



1448 René passed in tranquillity at Angers. He then traversed Provence, resting at Aix, Marseilles, at Arles, and lastly at the château of Tarascon, where he announced another fête, three years after his former one in 1449.\*

This tournament at Tarascon has been described by the Seneschal of Anjou, Louis de Beauvau. At this epoch but few of the French nobility had acquired the knowledge of reading and writing; but, at the court of Anjou, on the contrary, most of the great people, imitating the example of their king, were men of letters, and several of them have left honourable traces of it.

The manuscript of Louis de Beauvau, relating to the tournament of Tarascon, is written in verse, and addressed to Louis of Luxembourg. A miniature etching placed at the head of his book represents the first scene of the fête. It exhibits a shepherdess seated in the middle of the landscape, "near a barn, having on a grey dress, and her head covered with a little red hood, such as the simple bourgeois usually wore; her lap was filled with white, blue and red flowers; her dog and her crook were near her; and at some distance, appended to a large tree, were two cuirasses, one black, the other white. In the middle distance was seen a flock of sheep in a fold."

"The tourney of Saumur had been quite of a military character. That of Tarascon was almost a fête champêtre. The knights appearing each in a shepherd's dress, which they wore over their armour. The prize was a bouquet, and a kiss from the shepherdess. We are not told the name of this lady, but the author gives us to understand that, *malgré* the simplicity of her attire, she was a person of high rank. Amongst the knights who figured on this occasion were Philippe de Lenoncourt, Tauneguy

\* Bodin; Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.

"Duchâtel, and Ferri de Lorraine. Louis de Beauvau appeared with great éclat; he was on a bay horse, armed in red, and on his shield were these words, in golden letters, 'les plus rouges y sont près.' After a violent and doubtful combat against Philibert de Laigle, he at last shivered to atoms the lance of his adversary. Philippe de Lenoncourt next entered the lists. Tauneguy Duchâtel, carrying with great mirth the lady of Pontève behind him, advanced against him. They attacked each other so vigorously that their lances both broke at the same instant, and Lenoncourt shivered two others also of his antagonist, who then yielded him the victory, and departed, with his courageous lady, who kept her seat throughout this terrible encounter."

"The fête being ended, the shepherdess mounted her horse, and to the sound of instruments, twice made the tour of the lists, accompanied by her two admirers, and preceded by the heralds and judges. She thus arrived at the house of Louis de Beauvau, who furnished her with a magnificent supper. She then went to the castle, preceded by a herald, who bore a white wand in one hand, and in the other the grand prize, which was a golden rod and a brilliant diamond. The poursuivant-at-arms demanded of the King, who was the victorious knight to whom he adjudged the prize? Guy de Laval and Louis de Beauvau had each of them broken three lances, the number prescribed for the grand prize, but Ferri of Lorraine had broken four, and it was awarded to him. This valiant knight accepted it, but only as an ornament for the head of the noble shepherdess."

This tournament, which was executed in true pastoral style and good taste, and which attracted numerous actors and spectators to Tarascon, lasted three

days only; and we learn from the poem of Louis de Beauvau that the handsome women of Provence saw with regret the conclusion of the "Emprise."\* This was René's last tournament.

The gratification experienced by this prince in these romantic entertainments, led him to seek "the exaltation of knighthood, and to found an Order to promote it still more for the 'honour of God and of the 'church,' and that 'all noble hearts should daily 'increase and augment their well doings,' in courtesy and fair behaviour, and likewise in valiancy and 'feats of arms.'"

So says Bourdigné, the historian of Anjou; but we do not learn whether the young prince, Edward, became a member of this "Order;" and it is probable he did not, as his arrival in France with the Queen, his mother, was about the time of the suppression of this Order by Pope Paul II.†

The chivalric fêtes were suspended in 1448, when René had to mourn for the loss of his two relatives, Marie Duchess of Calabria and Antoine de Vandemont; the former was an amiable princess, adored by her husband, family, and subjects. The latter had, before his death, entirely overcome the enmity which had previously existed between himself and René.‡ It was in the year 1448 that René, while at Angers, instituted the military Order of the Knights of the Crescent, which Pope Paul II. suppressed in 1464.§ The knights of this Order bore on the collar a Crescent, pendant, with the words inscribed, "Los en Croissant," afterwards familiar to King Charles VIII. of France.

The symbol of this Order, a crescent of gold, had "the word 'Loz' enamelled in letters of blue, which "formed, with the crescent on which it was written, a

\* Bodin; Godard Faultrier.

‡ Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Bourdigné.

§ Some say 1460.

"sort of rebus, signifying that one acquires 'Loz,' "that is, praise, by growing in virtue." The knights attached to this Crescent a tagged point of gold,\* enamelled in red, after each action in which they had distinguished themselves. Their costume was a cassock and a mantle† of white velvet, over which they wore a great cloak of crimson velvet; bordered with ermine for the princes, and with linen of two colours for the gentlemen. Under the right arm they wore the decoration of the Order of the Golden Crescent, suspended from a chain of the same metal, attached to the upper part of the sleeve.‡ St. Maurice became the patron of this new Order, and the south wing of the cathedral of Angers was covered with heraldry, for it became the chapel of these knights.§ The statutes of this Order commanded fraternity and mutual succour.

The knights swore by their "share of Paradise," and by "the redemption of their souls." Their chief was called Senator, and his office annual. It was first filled by Guy de Laval. The object of Pope Paul II., who was the enemy of René, in suppressing this Order, was to free the Neapolitan knights, who were members of the "Crescent," from their oaths, and to prevail on them to unite in the interests of Ferdinand of Arragon, against René of Anjou, who, nevertheless, continued to bear the badges of this Order even to the time of his death.§

The rupture of the truce between England and France, drew René of Anjou from his pleasing occupations, and, at the head of his veteran troops and the Provençal nobility, he came to the aid of the King

\* Aiguillette.

† Mantlet.

‡ Moreri; Bodin; Monfaucon; Dom Calmet; Villeneuve Bargemont: Selden's Title of Honour.

§ Godard Faultrier.

of France against the English. He was present at the taking of several cities, and when King Charles VII. entered in triumph the city of Rouen, René marched on his right hand, and the Count of Maine on his left. René has been described as "brilliant, mounted on a palfrey, with a horse-covering of azure velvet, interspersed with lily flowers of gold, and the cross of Jerusalem."

René was also in the battle of Fourmigni, and at the capture of Caen and Falaise. The valour and conduct of the Angevine prince in these wars, may have deserved eulogium, but his neutrality would have been doubtless very serviceable to the interests of his daughter, Queen Margaret, who, upon the loss of Normandy and Guienne, was, with her ministers, suspected of treachery; and throughout England great disorders arose owing to the discontents of the people.\*

When in Anjou, René inhabited by turns the castles of Angers, Saumur, and Baugé. He was popular and liberal, living without pomp, whether in town or country. He was fond of building, and when not thus occupied for himself, he employed himself about the houses of the poorest of his subjects, or for those who were encumbered by a numerous family.

A writer of his times says, that, to this taste of René for construction, we must attribute the numerous escutcheons on the houses of Anjou. They were placed upon the houses which René rebuilt or repaired, and this has rendered the name of the "Good Duke" so popular in Angers.†

Out of respect to his patron saint, René rebuilt the Château de Possonnière and the Chapelle de St. René.

\* Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier.

† Bodin; Bourdigné.

This reconstruction was in the middle of the fifteenth century. The charming ogival windows of the chapel were ornamented with coloured glass, and one of them represented the resurrection of St. René.\* The Castle of Baugé was also built by René, who was regarded as the founder of the town of Baugé.

In the midst of a forest a beautiful lodge had been erected, in former times, by Foulques Nerra, around which a small village had been formed. It became a bourg, and a little church was added. The name of this place was derived from the muddy soil (the resort of wild boars), whereon this place was built, and in René's time it became a handsome town, although without commerce or manufactures. René was greatly attached to this place, and also to Saumur, where he built a house in the Faubourg of the Bridges, called by the people the "Palace of the Queen of Sicily." The front of this dwelling was enriched with the armorial bearings of King René. These became in part effaced by time, but the shield long remained visible, bearing the decoration of the Order of the Knights of the Crescent. Round the escutcheon was a chaplet of large berries, in the midst of which were the words: "Devot lui suis." This was a device of this good king to testify his love for his Queen Isabella, and he afterwards assumed a new one, expressive of his grief for her loss. Not far from Angers, where his consort resided, René constructed the charming hermitage of La Baumette † (named by him from Saint Baume, so celebrated in Provence), and this he caused to be erected on a rock, watered by the Mayenne. It was to divert the attention of Isabella in her dangerous illness, that René undertook this work, and to accom-

\* Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† La Baumette (the Little Balna), a monument of conjugal piety, may still be seen; and at Saumur, "La maison de la Reine de Cecile," though defaced by time.

plish a vow he had made to re-establish it. About the same period, René, indulging his taste for architecture, built a little manor house in Reculée, as well as a hermitage, afterwards resorted to by Queen Margaret of Anjou, when she made the cession of her rights to Louis XI.\*

Isabella of Lorraine had been for some years subject to attacks of a disease, which, at this time, returned with increased violence. She had renounced the pleasures of a court whose ornament she had been, and had been living in Anjou, in the most profound solitude, no longer joining in the fêtes or the politics of the times, her only amusement being the education of her young grandchildren, and religious exercises. She adopted an extreme simplicity in her manner of living, in place of the magnificence formerly observed in her palace. She also put a stop to all superfluous expense, in order to augment, by her own economy, the money requisite for the King, her husband. René still preserved for his consort, after thirty-two years of marriage, the most tender affection; and the good understanding so visible in their union, contributed to increase the admiration with which his subjects regarded him. Often would he seek to delude himself on the subject of this incurable malady, which bore with it the marks of a decay which Isabella sought by every means to conceal from him; and at times he would try to escape from the cruel thoughts which haunted him, by hunting in the forests of Saumur, Beaufort, and Baugé; but these scenes were even less frequently the witness of his skill in these sports, than of his melancholy reveries, excited by the dangerous condition of his beloved Isabella. Then would restlessness and vague presentiments bring him back to her side, where, with new

\* Bodin; Godard Faultrier.

ardour, he would return to those pious reflections which had never been extinguished in his soul. At length, Isabella's strength visibly diminished from day to day, and she expired on the 28th of February, 1453.\* She was buried in the church of St. Maurice, at Angers, near the tomb of the second family of Anjou-Sicily.†

It is needless to dwell on the grief of King René when bereft of his beloved consort. In solitude, on the banks of the rivers, amongst the willows, and in the green meadows, he would indulge his sad thoughts: sometimes fixing his eyes on the water, he would give himself up to a placid reverie, perhaps beholding, in the now tranquil, now noisy wave, some image of his own chequered life. To those who sought to console him he only replied by an Italian device,‡ in imitation of a verse of Petrarch: "*Arco per tentare detendere piaga non sana,*" § "Relâcher l'arc ne guerit pas la plaie."

King René had, by Isabella of Lorraine, nine children: five sons and four daughters. Of these, five died in their infancy.|| Those who were distinguished in history were John, Duke of Calabria, the eldest son; Louis de Pont-à-Mousson, Duke of Bar; Yoland, Duchess of Lorraine; and Margaret, Queen of England.¶

To sooth his grief, and in remembrance of his love for his consort, René painted on the walls some vessels filled with fire, with these words: "*D'ardant desir;*"

\* Some date this event on the 22nd of February; others say the death of Isabella occurred in the year 1452.

† Moreri; Monfaucon; Godard Faultrier; Bodin; Villeneuve Barge-mont.

‡ This new device was a bow, of which the cord was loose, with the Italian saying, "To unstring the bow does not heal the wound."

§ Godard Faultrier; Bodin.

|| They were Charles, René, Nicholas, Isabella, and Anne.

¶ Moreri.

round this symbol he put a chaplet of pater-nosters, in which was expressed, in Italics, "*Devot lui suis.*"

In the year 1453, René of Anjou again took up arms, at the solicitation of François Sforza, Duke of Milan, and of the Florentines, his old allies, who were attacked, at this time, by the King of Arragon and the Republic of Venice. Sforza held out hopes to him of making war against Naples, when the contest on this side the Alps should be ended; and René again flattered himself with the hope of chasing Alphonso from Italy. He repassed the Alps, continually giving proofs of his talents and bravery; but was soon induced to abandon this enterprise. The intrigues of Alphonso in the Milanese camp, and amongst the Milanese, their unjust rivalry, and insufferable pretensions, quite disgusted him, and he returned into France, leaving behind him his son John to maintain the cause; but even he also became displeased, and withdrew from this war.

Some write that the Angevine Prince came to Geneva, with but two vessels, and so small were his forces, and mean the condition of his court, that contempt only was excited towards him, while doubts arose respecting his skill and capability of governing. This opinion was also adopted by some of the French: the Dauphin, (afterwards Louis XI.), had led on a body of infantry.

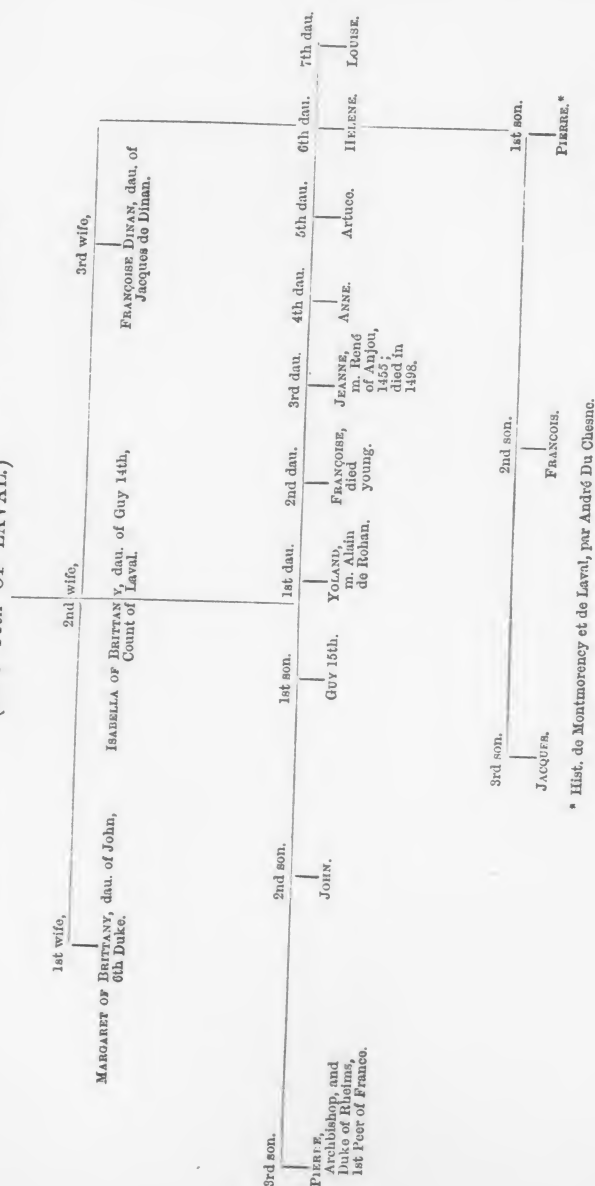
The French, who eagerly undertook this enterprise, advanced as far as Asti; but, at the expiration of three months, they all returned to their own country, apparently without any reason.

John, Duke of Calabria, was extremely chagrined to see himself thus abandoned, and especially by the King, but it is probable that he might have perceived the futility of these struggles for the kingdom of Naples.\*

\* Daniel; Mariana; Godard Faultrier; Moreri; Bodin.



# GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF LAVAL, (GUY 14th OF LAVAL,)



[To face p. 199, vol. ii.]

Upon his return from Italy René gave up the duchy of Lorraine to his son,\* and again returned to his beloved Anjou. He was more than ever disgusted with public affairs, and resigned himself to the arts, especially to that of miniature painting on vellum. Ennui still followed him amidst these peaceful occupations, and yielding to the susceptibility of his heart, he united himself in marriage with Jeanne de Laval, the same Princess who had been so much distinguished by him at the tournament in Anjou, eight years before.

René was at this time forty-seven years of age, and his second consort was twenty-two. Their marriage was celebrated in the Abbey of St. Nicholas, at Angers, on the 16th of September, 1455. The Cardinal of Foix, Archbishop of Arles, officiated.

Jeanne de Laval was the daughter of Guy, 14th Count of Laval, and of Isabella of Brittany, his second wife.

Guy de Laval succeeded Raoul de Montfort, his paternal grandfather, in the estates and titles of Montfort, and obtained such favour with King Charles VII., that he erected his barony of Laval into the seventeenth county, in July, 1429. This was granted with Margaret of Brittany, the daughter of John, sixth Duke of Brittany, and of Joanna of France, the sister of Charles VII. When this Princess died, Guy de Laval married Isabella of Brittany, elder sister of Louis III., Duke of Anjou.† The offspring of this union were three sons and seven daughters. Of these the third daughter was married to René of Anjou.

The articles of René's marriage were signed, 3rd

\* Some write, that John of Anjou reigned in Lorraine from the time of the death of his mother, Isabella of Lorraine.

† Guy de Laval became again a widower, and married Françoise de Dinan, Lady of Chateaubriant, only daughter of Jaques de Dinan.

September, 1455, by Louis de Beauvau, Guy de Laval, and the sire of Loué, in the presence of Anne de Laval, the grandmother of the bride, the Counts of Vendôme and Tancarville, the Lord of Loheac, Raoul de Bosket, and Olivier de Feschal.

The dower of Jeanne de Laval was valued at 40,000 crowns of gold, about 368,000 francs.\*

From the period of this second marriage the Angevine Prince appears to have renounced all projects of conquest. He conducted his new wife through Anjou, and into Provence, where they remained several months: René so regulating his time as to divide it between the administration of his States and the amusements afforded him by poetry, painting, and music.† But it seemed to be the destiny of René never to be allowed to taste of the quietude for which he so constantly longed.

Italy had enjoyed, for some time, the sweets of repose; but, in 1456, Alphonso, King of Arragon, again began to trouble it. He ravaged the territories of the Siennois, who were defended by the Venetians and the Duke of Milan, and they compelled him to make compensation for the injuries he had done, by the payment of a sum of money.

Two years elapsed, and Alphonso attacked Genoa by sea and land. The city was divided into two factions, the Fregoses and the Adornes. Of these Alphonso took part with the latter, while the former was supported by the Duke of Calabria, to whom succours were dismissed by the King of France; and King René came in sight of Genoa, with ten galleys, to the help of the commander, who had been acting on the defensive with great valour.

\* Monfaucon; Moreri; Bodin; Hist. de Montmorency et de Laval, par André Du Chesne; Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Godard Faultrier; Mariana; Daniel.

René's fleet consisted of 1,000 good soldiers, united with those of the King of France, amounting to 6,000 men, sent from Dauphiné, with other reinforcements from Savoy. A fierce battle ensued, but the Genoese, by a stratagem, obtained the victory, and the French were obliged to fly to their galleys, the Genoese pursuing them, and making great slaughter. The city was on the point of surrender, when Alphonso was attacked by a malignant fever, which in a few days terminated his life, in July, 1458. This Prince left no legitimate children, therefore his brother, Don John, King of Navarre, became his true heir; but Alphonso had bequeathed the kingdom of Naples to his natural son, Ferdinand, who took peaceable possession of the throne.\* The Neapolitan barons, however, began to cabal against his succession, and even intreated Don John to come to Naples; but this prince contented himself with the kingdom of Arragon and the island of Sicily, which his brother had left him, upon which the lords of Naples called in the Duke of Calabria, son of René of Anjou. This brave Prince was easily prevailed upon to undertake the invasion of Naples, and, accompanied by his relative, Ferry de Vaudemont, hastened into Italy.

Unfortunately, at this crisis, Pope Calixtus died; and his successor, Pope Pius II., declared for the Arragonese, and gave the investiture of Naples to Ferdinand, at which King René was so indignant that he forbade his people to obey the decrees which might issue from the Court of Rome.

Florence and Venice united with the Angevine prince; but Sforza continued in alliance with Ferdinand, thinking this the best safeguard for his own dynasty.

Orsini, Prince of Tarentum, the most powerful

\* Mariana; Daniel.

1461.  
Daniel.

vassal of the crown, and a large proportion of the Neapolitan nobles, besides Piccinino, the last of the great Condottieri, with whom were the veterans of the former wars, all joined in supporting the banner of Anjou. But in spite of this, the Duke of Calabria was destined to experience the fate of all his family, in their competition for the throne of Naples. He had at first brilliant success, and gained a battle near Sarno; but the Pope would never be reconciled to the House of Anjou, and this expedition failed through one of those defections so common amongst the Italians. The desertion of the Genoese, on whose enmity to the House of Arragon the Duke of Calabria had relied, was aggravated by this Prince's want of resources: this being perceived by the barons of his party, they all returned, one by one, to the allegiance of Ferdinand.\*

This was the last attempt made by the Angevine Princes for the possession of their Neapolitan dominions; and René was the last sovereign of Naples, of the race of Anjou.†

In conclusion, says Bodin, "it behoves us to destroy a calumny, by refuting a great error which has escaped Villaret in his History of France. This author says, 'that at the time of the expedition of Charles VII., in 1461, against the town of Genoa, in which René of Anjou commanded a thousand gens d'armes, whom he had embarked at Marseilles, this Prince remained during the action on board his galleys; and that, seeing his troops beaten and in confusion, enraged to find that his gens d'armes had not gained a victory, which he had not had the courage to dispute at their head, he commanded that his vessels

\* Hallam's Mid. Ages; Eccles. Hist.; Moreri; Universal Hist.; Monfaucon; Mariana; Daniel.

† Bodin; Villaret; Mezerai; Universal Hist.

"should set sail from the coast, thus abandoning those unfortunate French to the discretion of the conqueror. This action, equally cowardly and barbarous, covers the memory of King René with an indelible shame.' Happily, this act, affirmed on such slight evidence by Villaret, and contradicted by the well-known character of the Prince, is found only in one single contemporary historian, Jean Simonetta, who, in reporting it in the life of Ludovic Sforza, sworn enemy of René, still gives it only as a popular report, to which he dared not attach credit. How then could a French historian admit, without examination, so odious a calumny, one which tends to tarnish the glory of a prince whose life was distinguished by so many acts of bravery and humanity."\*

By the adoption of Queen Joanna I., the only advantage derived by the second branch of the House of Anjou was the county of Provence; for, after so many unfortunate struggles for the crown of Naples, fortune decided in favour of the crown of Arragon.†

At the time when Louis XI. ascended the throne René was residing peaceably at Angers; and had it not been for the presence of their Prince, the county of Anjou would have been involved in fresh troubles. The nobles detested the new monarch of France; or rather his hostile system towards the feudal families, and they readily united to compel him to modify his government.‡

There is much obscurity in the writings of this period concerning the locality in which King Henry concealed himself during this season of his adverse fortunes. The first account we have quoted, viz., that he took refuge in Harlech castle, conveys no further particulars of his stay in that fortress, or of the time of his departure from it. Stow's account differs materially

1461.  
Godard  
Faultrier.

\* Bodin.

† Gibbon.

‡ Godard Faultrier.

from the other historians. He says, "King Henry fled four days before the battle of Hexham into Lancashire, where he and others lived in caves full hardly, unknown more than a year." It is certain that he had in Lancashire and in Westmoreland many friends; the natives of these counties were sincerely attached to his interests, and their fidelity enabled him to conceal himself for some months.\*

During this period, however, he endured many privations. He was often secreted in the house of John Machell, at Crakenthorpe, in Westmoreland. He also dwelt at Waddington Hall, in Lancashire, and memorials of his presence were traced at Whalley Abbey and Bracewell; but the chief residence of this unfortunate monarch appears to have been at Bolton Hall, in Yorkshire. One apartment, on the western side of the court which he occupied, was called, "King Henry's room," and the canopy † still remains under which, says Whitaker, "the unhappy Prince ate the bread of affliction during his seclusion from the world."

The probable cause why Henry sought refuge at Bolton has been thus accounted for: the proprietor of this hall, Sir Ralph Pudsey, had married Margaret Tunstall, the daughter of Sir Thomas Tunstall, who was esquire of the body to the King, and attended him on this occasion.‡ Thurland Castle, the residence of Tunstall, being in danger, and in a less retired situation, the King came to Bolton, where the loyalty of Sir Ralph afforded him a secure asylum; nor was this the first occasion upon which this family had sheltered their persecuted sovereign. The race of the Pudseys had been

\* Stow; Rymer; Lingard; Carte.

† This canopy resembles those in the halls of the College of Manchester and of the Carthusians, the Charter House, in the metropolis.

‡ Whitaker's History of Craven.

distinguished by a course of loyalty and hospitality, and the fidelity of Sir Ralph was never impeached in the treacherous proceedings which subsequently deprived this King of his freedom. The dutiful attachment of Pudsey was not, however, sufficient safeguard to the dethroned monarch, who, probably, being under some apprehension that his retreat was about to be discovered, quitted Bolton Hall, where he had passed some months in security, and repaired to Waddington Hall.

While at Bolton, Henry had given orders for a well to be dug, and walled round for a bath; this well still bears his name, and, even at the present day, continues to be venerated by the peasants for many remarkable cures said to have been wrought there.\* Some relics of interest were left at Bolton by King Henry; these were a pair of boots, a pair of gloves, and a spoon. The gloves reached to the elbow, and, by them, it would appear that the hands were exactly proportioned to the feet, and not larger than those of a middle-sized woman.† It has been remarked that "in an age when the habits of the great, in peace as well as in war, required perpetual exertions of bodily strength, this unhappy Prince must have been equally contemptible from corporeal and from mental imbecility."

His enemies probably thus regarded him; but if this were the case, how much more does it argue in favour of the benevolent qualities of this monarch, who, undoubtedly, inspired much respect for his character, and even so attached those to him, who

\* Roby's Lancashire; Gent's Magazine; Stow.

† The relics left at Bolton by the King were, for their better preservation, deposited in an ark in the year 1822, which was constructed for the head of the present family. The ark was made of oak, and beautifully designed and executed in the architecture of the fifteenth century. On a brass plate within, an account is given of the circumstances under which these relics were left.

were his immediate attendants, that they never forsook him, and even shared his captivity.\* When Henry fled for safety to the "Peel of Bolton," as this castle was called, he was accompanied by Doctor Manning, Dean of Windsor, Doctor Bedle, and young Ellerton, who all shared his dangers and cheered his solitude; they were even conveyed with him on his capture, to the Tower of London.

The castles of Bracewell and Waddington, at this time, belonged to Sir John Tempest; and an alliance having just been formed between the Tempests and Talbots,† it may be inferred, that to preserve their estates, they consented to deliver up the unfortunate monarch to Sir John Harrington, for after this treachery they were suffered to enjoy their lands in quiet possession; while Sir John Harrington "was rewarded," as expressed in the grant to him, "for his great and laborious diligence in taking our great traitor and rebel Henry, lately called Henry the Sixth, with the estates of Sir Richard Tunstall, of Thurland Castle, to the amount of £100, by King Edward the Fourth, on the 9th of July, 1465."‡ After having been concealed by his faithful subjects for many months, some say even for a whole year, while the most diligent search was made after him, Henry's retreat was at last discovered through the perfidy of a black monk of Abingdon; and Sir John Harrington, with a party of soldiers, surprised the King whilst at dinner, at Waddington Hall, and made him their prisoner.

The account of Leland concurs with the tradition of the country, that he was betrayed by Thomas Talbot

\* Roby's Lancashire; Gent's Mag.; Baker; Stow; W. of Worcester.

† The Tempests and Talbots had annuities out of Bolland and Tichel till they could be provided with lands.\*

‡ Rymer.

\* Rot. Parl.; Baker; Henry; Roby's Lancashire; W. of Worcester; Gent's Magazine; Stow.

and his cousin, John Talbot, of Colbey (Salisbury); that when the house was beset, the King, by some means, escaped, and ran across the fields, when he passed the Ribble by a ford, called Bungerly Hippingstones, into Clitterwood, and there, being closely pursued, was taken. He was treated with great indignity by his captors, who, strictly guarding him, conveyed him to London. The capture of King Henry took place on the 29th of June, 1465; and Sir John Tempest shared with the Talbots in the rewards bestowed for this act by King Edward.

1465.  
Lingard;  
Arundel  
MS.

On his approach to London, King Henry was met at Islington by the Earl of Warwick, who formally arrested him as "Henry of Lancaster," and "forthwith," says the chronicler, "his gilt spurs were taken from his feet."\* The Earl of Warwick did not come out to meet him to show his respect, but to see him conducted in safety to the Tower. He caused his legs to be bound with leather straps to the stirrups of the small pony which he rode, and in other respects showed him much indignity: a great barbarity towards one, whose meek and patient conduct under adversity, entitled him to universal respect. In this degraded manner King Henry entered London, by way of Chepe and Cornhill. It had been proclaimed that no man should, under pain of death, salute him, or pay him the smallest mark of respect. His public and humiliating entrance into the metropolis, exposed him to the insults of the fickle multitude, who, on former occasions, had been accustomed to testify their reverence for his virtues by shouts of applause; some of the citizens, indeed, were much disturbed by this proceeding, but did not dare to betray their senti-

\* Holinshed; Stow; Baker; Carte; Fabyan; W. of Worcester; Pol. Vergil; Rymer; Pinkerton; Gent's Mag.; Monstrelet; Lingard; Baines's Lancashire.



ments. The Earl of Warwick not only behaved towards him in the most insulting manner, but even encouraged the mob to deride him: he preceded the deposed monarch to the Tower, crying "Treason! treason! behold the traitor!" and when they reached the place, King Henry was led three times round a tree, which was placed in the front of the Tower (in the manner of a pillory), and then confined within that fortress, a strong guard being set to watch over him.

This monarch's personal safety at this time was less owing to the generosity of the Yorkists, than to their opinion of his inability to give them any uneasiness.

While in prison King Henry was treated with humanity, but kept in the most rigorous confinement. To an ambitious mind, a tedious imprisonment in the Tower of London would have been insupportably irksome; but, to the gentle and unassuming Henry of Lancaster, it seemed but a haven of refuge from the storms and troubles of life.\*

It was during this captivity that the unfortunate monarch probably penned the following lines, which exhibit the composure of a truly pious and resigned heart.

"Kingdoms are but cares;  
"State ys devoyd of staie;  
"Ryches are redy snares,  
"And hastene to decaie.

"Who meaneth to remoffe the rocke  
"Owte of the slymie muddle,  
"Shall myre hymselfe and hardlie scape  
"The swellynge of the flodde."†

\* Biondi; Fabyan; Stow; Toplis; Baker; Addit. MS.; Rymer; W. of Worcester; John Rous; Ridpath; Rapin; Henry; Sharon Turner; Hume; Barante; Roby's Lancashire; Barrow; Monstrelet; Bayley's Hist. of the Tower; Daniel.

† Nugæ Antiquæ.

Fortune appeared now to have utterly deserted the House of Lancaster; yet the contest between the two Roses was not altogether ended, seeming, rather, to be hushed to a temporary rest, while the energies of Queen Margaret reposed, only to become invigorated and to prepare for more desperate resolves. Meanwhile, one might exclaim, in the language of the poetess,—

"Oh Rose! who long hath bloom'd the pride  
"Of England's garden, hang thy head!  
"The dew upon thy leaves is dried!  
"The generous, bright, exulting red,  
"The triumph of thy cheek, is fled!  
"And one less beautiful shall raise  
"Her stem, where now thy bloom decays!  
"York's rose is now the garden's queen!  
"York's star to fortune lights the way!  
"Nay, Heaven is pledged! York's eyes have seen,  
"Responsive to their glances keen,  
"Three golden, glorious suns at once illumine his day."\*

Many, indeed, were the British hearts by whom the Lancastrian rose was still cherished; but, humbled and abashed, they sought refuge at a distance from the gaze of a court, or the allurements and splendours of society.

\* Miss Holford's Margaret of Anjou.

## CHAPTER V.

*(King Edward.)*

"Her looks do argue her replete with modesty;  
 "Her words do show her art incomparable;  
 "All her perfections challenge sovereignty;  
 "One way or other she is for a king,  
 "And she shall be my love, or else my queen."

SHAKESPEARE.

*(The Earl of Warwick.)*

"Did I impale him with the regal crown?  
 "Did I put Henry from his native right?  
 "And am I guerdon'd at the last with shame?  
 "Shame to himself! for my desert is honour;  
 "And to repair my honour, lost for him,  
 "I here renounce him, and return to Henry."

SHAKESPEARE.

King Edward's marriage projected—Warwick sent to demand the hand of Bona of Savoy—Edward's interview with Elizabeth Woodville, and their marriage—Warwick offended—He returns to England—Enmity between Edward and Warwick, who withdraws from court—Jealousy of the nobility—Of Clarence and Montague—Marriage of the King's sister—Anger of Warwick against King Edward—He meditates revenge, and engages the Archbishop of York to assist him—Clarence marries—Insurrection in Yorkshire—Battle of Banbury—King Edward in prison—He escapes—Lord Wells is beheaded—Battle of Losecoat Field—Vauclier's manoeuvre—Louis attempts a reconciliation—Warwick meets Queen Margaret in France—They are reconciled—Marriage of Prince Edward—Clarence won over to Edward—Warwick returns to England—His army—Henry VI. proclaimed—Edward's flight—King Henry released from prison and restored to the throne.

THE youthful Edward was now enjoying the sunshine of prosperity, acknowledged as the lawful sovereign of a people who rejoiced in his favour and success.

No longer fearing civil discord, this monarch gave himself up to the dissipations and amusements of his high station. He lived in the most social and familiar

manner with his subjects, especially with the Londoners. His gallantry and handsome person rendered him a general favourite with the fair sex, while the young and gay of his own, found him all condescension and affability.

It was during this season of tranquillity, while King Henry was in captivity and Queen Margaret banished the kingdom, that Edward was, by the advice of his ministers, persuaded to confirm to his posterity his right to the crown, by his marriage with some foreign princess. The ladies who were selected were Isabella of Castile, who was afterwards married to Ferdinand of Arragon, and Bona of Savoy, the sister of the Queen of France. This last was chosen by King Edward, and the Earl of Warwick was dismissed to Paris to demand the hand of the lady.\*

The King of France, whose thoughts were wholly occupied in his project of making himself absolute, was, in pursuance of this object, engaged in many quarrels with his barons. He was, however, highly gratified with the proposal of an alliance with England, by which, while increasing his own power, his vassals were prevented seeking foreign aid in their wars against him. To make sure of his advantage, Louis delayed the negotiation, while by the help of the Earl of Warwick he secured a personal friendship with King Edward.

This wise foresight was, however, rendered fruitless by the precipitate conduct of the English monarch, who, unaccustomed to control his passions, had during this interval wandered to a new object, accidentally presented to him, but calling forth so much romantic sentiment as to fix at once his affections.

While in Northamptonshire Edward had resolved to pay a visit to Grafton, the residence of Jacqueline of Luxembourg, the widow of the Duke of Bedford. Her

\* Stow; Pol. Vergil; Milles's Catalogue; Baker; Rapin; Hume.  
 P 2

second marriage to Sir Richard Woodville had brought upon her much censure and contempt, because of her union with a private gentleman. She had, however, obtained the favour of Queen Margaret for her daughter Elizabeth, who first left her home at Grafton to visit the court of this Queen, now there was no longer any favour or promotion from the House of Lancaster. The brave and devoted husband of Elizabeth had lost his life in supporting King Henry's cause, and his innocent children were exposed to the rancour of party feeling. They were deprived of their inheritance, their lands confiscated, and their old mansion bestowed on one of the Yorkists, who, taking possession, obliged Elizabeth with her children to seek refuge under the paternal roof. While she continued to reside there, and was dependent on her father's bounty, she devoted herself to the education of her sons, the eldest of whom was but four years of age. It was at Grafton, or, as some say, in the forest of Whittlebury, that King Edward first beheld Elizabeth; for this lady, thinking it a favourable opportunity to obtain the grace of the young King, threw herself on her knees before him, and besought him to restore the lands of her husband, and to take compassion on her destitute children.\* King Edward was instantly smitten with the charms of the beautiful widow, and, touched by her distress, not only granted her request, but assured her that it was not in his power to refuse her anything. Shortly after, in a private interview, he made known to her his passion, which had so suddenly taken root in his breast under the guise of compassion; but all his importunities were unavailing, the virtuous Elizabeth, while she modestly confessed her unworthiness to become his queen, obstinately rejected every dishonourable proposal.

The esteem of Edward was heightened by the rigid

\* Guthrie; Wethamstede; Hearne's Chron.

inflexibility of the lady, and he at last resolved to share his throne, as well as his affections, with the woman whose personal charms and dignity of character appeared to render her so worthy of them. King Edward was but twenty-two years of age, and he did not question his right to marry a subject.

This union was privately solemnised at Grafton, and for some time it was kept secret.\* We are assured that none were present at these espousals, on the 1st of May, 1464, except the Duchess of Bedford, the priest, and two gentlewomen, with a young man to assist in singing.† It was not until this monarch prepared for the coronation of his Queen, that his marriage was divulged to the astonished people, who were expecting the match with Bona of Savoy to be speedily concluded.‡

1464.  
Baker.

The Earl of Warwick, who had hastened the negotiations, when they were drawing to a conclusion, discovered that all his exertions were fruitless, through the unruly passions of the monarch who had employed him. He could not brook the affront which was put upon him. He had thought that King Edward entertained too much regard for him, to treat him so unworthily, and he felt indignant at this conduct in one, to whom he had rendered such essential services. He complained to the King of France, who could not fail to resent the slight thus offered to his family; and his anger was augmented by this monarch, whose situation at this time not allowing him to demand satisfaction, he wisely

\* Some say that this marriage was not even known to Elizabeth's father, Lord Rivers. Carte places the date of this marriage on the 1st of May, 1463. He says it was concealed for more than a year previous to the battle of Hexham. The same date is given in Hearne's Fragment.

† The priest who married them was buried before the altar in the church of the Minories, at London Bridge.

‡ Baker; Rapin; Hume; Stow; Milles's Catalogue; Pol. Vergil; Lingard; Allen's York; Hearne's Chron.; Ridpath; Henry; Paston Letters.

concealed his sentiments, and awaited a more favourable opportunity of revenging himself.\*

Meanwhile, the Earl of Warwick returned to England, but with a heart swelling with hatred and revenge. He abhorred the ingratitude of Edward, but perceived the necessity for concealing his sentiments; yet even in this endeavour he could not help betraying his disgust, and the King, although he still showed some favour to the Earl, gradually began to regard him in the light of an enemy. Their mutual hatred, in spite of their attempts to disguise it, became aggravated, and caused them much uneasiness.

King Edward gave the Earl great occasion for complaint, and this he did either to gratify himself, or to lessen the credit of the Earl with the people. Warwick perceived the King's design, but let it pass unnoticed, lest by untimely resentment he should place himself in such a situation that he could not revenge the insult which had been offered him.

Finding himself no longer regarded with the same favour as formerly, Warwick withdrew from Court, under the plea of indisposition; and, seizing an opportunity, he obtained leave to retire to the castle of Warwick. This Earl could not bear to witness the exaltation of Sir Richard Woodville, the Queen's father, who was created Lord Rivers, and engrossed the King's confidence, to the exclusion of Warwick, who was scarcely employed in public affairs, nor could the latter endure the diminution of his credit at Court. His ambitious mind made him discontented, although the grants which he had received from the Crown had increased his patrimonial estate to 80,000 crowns per annum; and he was displeased at beholding King Edward, jealous of the power which had supported him, daily advancing the authority of the Queen's

\* Daniel; Baker; Hume; Rapin.

relatives as his rivals. The King justified his partiality to these individuals, seeking thus to counterbalance the great influence of Warwick, whom he had before assisted to exalt.\* The Earl, on his part, acted with great dissimulation.

About Michaelmas, after the King's marriage, when Edward desired to make his union known to the public, Warwick and Clarence led Elizabeth by the hand to the Abbey of Reading, in the King's presence, and declared her Queen of England before the nobility and people there assembled, when the former paid her their compliments. Edward passed the Christmas at Eltham, and thence removed to Westminster; and about this time lands to the value of 4,000 marks were settled upon the Queen. Preparatory to her coronation, the King made, on Ascension Day, at the Tower of London, thirty-eight Knights of the Bath, amongst whom were several of the nobility, viz., Lord Dumas, Sir Bartelot de Ribaire, and Sir John Woodville, the Queen's brother, besides four citizens, viz., Thomas Cooke, Matthew Philip, Ralph Josselyn, and Harry Waver.

The coronation of the Queen took place on the 26th of May, 1465. On the 24th, Elizabeth was met at Shooter's Hill, in her way from Eltham to London, by the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and citizens, nobly mounted and richly attired, who conducted her to the Tower.† On the next day, the 25th, she was conveyed in a horse litter, preceded by the new-made knights, to Westminster, where, on Sunday, the 26th, she was crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the accustomed

\* Baker; Pol. Vergil; W. of Worcester; Rapin; Paston Letters; Carte; Hume; Lingard; Maitland's London.

† In Edward IV.'s reign the Tower of London was frequently a royal residence, perhaps from its proximity to the city, where the King so much sought to ingratiate himself with the people, who had assisted in his elevation. He kept his court there in this year (1465), and on other occasions also.

ceremonies. The pomp of the coronation was augmented by the presence of Count James of St. Pol, a prince of the House of Luxembourg, and the uncle of the Duchess of Bedford, who, with his hundred knights and their attendants, had been especially appointed and sent to England by the Duke of Burgundy.\*

This array had been made purposely to please King Edward, and at his request, to show the high descent of his Queen, and to impress on the minds of his peers and subjects the worthiness of the object of his choice. Thus it was shown that the relatives who had disdained to notice the Duchess of Bedford, because she married a private gentleman, although "the handsomest in England," were ready to claim kindred again when her daughter was about to ascend the throne; and, proud of their connection, their enmities were all forgotten. The coronation was succeeded by splendid tournaments, held at Westminster for several days.†

1465.  
Lingard.

At this time King Edward kept his court with great splendour at the Tower of London. Here it was that Edward began his career, by bestowing, with a lavish hand, favours, honours, and emoluments on the family and relatives of the Queen.

Her father, Lord Rivers, was made Treasurer and Grand Constable; her brother, Sir Anthony Woodville, was united to the greatest heiress of the land, the only daughter of Lord Scales, and this greatly offended the Duke of Clarence, the King's elder brother, who thought that the hand of that lady should have been bestowed on himself. Also John, a younger brother of the Queen, was wedded to the

\* At the dinner and jousts which followed the coronation, the Earl of Warwick and his two brothers were not present.

† Baker; Hearne's Fragment; Fabyan; Henry; Ridpath; W. of Worcester; Lingard.

wealthy Dowager Duchess of Norfolk, who was then in her eightieth year, the bridegroom being only twenty years of age. The five sisters of the Queen were also bestowed in marriage by King Edward. Catherine was given to the young Duke of Buckingham; Mary to William Herbert, created Earl of Huntingdon; Anne to the son of Gray, Lord Ruthyn, created Earl of Kent; Margaret to Thomas, Lord Maltravers, son and heir of the Earl of Arundel; and Jaquette to John, Lord Strange, of Knocking.

The daughter and heiress of the Duke of Exeter, who was the niece of King Edward, was affianced to Sir Thomas Gray, one of the Queen's sons, and 4,000 marks were given to the bride, by Elizabeth. This match greatly offended Lord Montague, who had been treating for a marriage between his son and that lady, and he took it as an affront to the whole family of the Nevilles; this afforded another grievance also to the Earl of Warwick. Besides this Earl, many others of the nobility were dissatisfied and jealous at the sudden elevation and favour shown to the Queen's relatives, and their promotion to the first offices of the kingdom. Lord Montjoy had been displaced from his office of Treasurer, which was supplied by Lord Rivers; and that of High Constable, which had belonged to the Earl of Worcester had been also given to the same Lord Rivers; the King, meanwhile, created the Earl of Worcester Lieutenant of Ireland, under the Duke of Clarence. Many nobles also, who had formed projects for the advancement of their own children, saw themselves superseded. The affability of the Earl of Warwick had rendered him popular, and the nobility had become accustomed to his magnificence and power, but sore complaints were raised against the new favourites. Although Warwick



at this time was not in office, his brothers were permitted to retain their former position. The Marquis of Montague held his post of Governor over the northern counties, there being no cause for apprehension on the side of Scotland; and the Archbishop of York was still Lord Chancellor.\*

We may regard the marriage of King Edward with one of his subjects as the origin, in a great measure, of the rise of the middle-class in this country. The landed aristocracy was at this time all powerful, and fearing their influence, King Edward sought to counterbalance it, by making concessions to the lesser gentry and rich citizens, looking to them for protection and assistance. He continued to displace from office, and reduce the authority of the ancient nobility, who had maintained his pretensions, and, indeed, had placed him on his throne. By these means society became changed, and soon presented a new phasis; while the peculiar characteristics of feudalism gradually disappeared in England, as was also the case in France, through the efforts of monarchical power to remove vassalage and baronial independence.

It was the policy of the English monarch to keep on good terms with the foreign princes, that he might not create new enemies against himself; since the Lancastrians, although subdued, were still very numerous. The treaty with Scotland had been prolonged by him; and he had besides entered into a truce with Brittany, and also with France. After the affront which Edward had put upon the King of France, he could only regard him as a secret enemy, who would not fail, one day, to revenge himself; however, he resolved to keep on good terms with him, fearing he might yet be disposed to assist the House of Lancaster.†

\* Baker; Stow; W. of Worcester; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Lingard.

† Rapin.

Still more did King Edward desire to keep fair with Louis at this time, while he hastened the conclusion of a marriage between his third sister, Margaret, and the Earl of Charolois. Having sprung from the House of Lancaster, Charles, Earl of Charolois, had ever faithfully adhered to King Henry; but policy now instigated his alliance with Edward, in order that he might strengthen himself against the power of France.

This marriage did not meet the approval of Warwick, who avowed himself the enemy of this Earl; and it has been said that this was the commencement of the coolness between King Edward and his haughty subject.\* However this might be, we find the Earl of Warwick, in 1466, employed, with Lord Hastings, in concluding the league of amity between King Edward and Charles of Burgundy, and also in conferring about the marriage. He had likewise been, in the same year, negotiating the peace with France. The French ambassadors returned with the Earl to London, their object being to prevent the marriage of King Edward's sister; but they had only a cool reception from the King, who then left the capital, appointing an inferior agent to reject their proposals, while the Earl of Warwick endeavoured, by his attentions to them, to compensate for the King's slight.

Amongst his own friends the Earl spared not his menaces, and when the ambassadors had departed, he retired to Middleham, much discontented.†

Warwick hated most the ingratitude of King Edward. Certainly nothing can be more injurious to a monarch's reputation than behaviour which exposes him to such an imputation. No king ever was more indebted to a subject than Edward was to Warwick; and, in like manner, also to his two brothers:

\* Lingard.

† Stow; W. of Worcester; Lingard.

1466.  
W. of Worcester.

indeed, to the exertions of these three, all members of one family, he owed his crown; they were noble relatives, and superior characters, cast in no common mould.

Had the King esteemed them as he ought, and as sentiments of gratitude would have dictated, they might have survived the reign of faction, and, like valued gems, have adorned and sustained his crown. The King, however, permitting his passions to rule him, allowed these distinguished noblemen, whose admirable qualities, great fortunes, and dignities gave them naturally astonishing influence in all affairs of state, to be depressed and superseded by the rising power of the Woodvilles.

During the late absence of the Earl of Warwick in France, the bastard of Burgundy had come to London, under the pretext of performing feats of arms with Lord Scales, but also to negotiate the proposed marriage.

The Parliament met, but, under the plea of sickness, the Chancellor absented himself, when Edward, who had become suspicious of Warwick from his conferences with King Louis, went, with a great retinue, to the house of the prelate, and required him to give up the seals, and at the same time took from him two manors, which he had previously obtained from the crown. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, one of the Queen's friends, was then appointed Lord Chancellor.\*

An emissary from Queen Margaret having been taken in Wales about this time, gave information to King Edward that the Earl of Warwick was regarded in the French court as a secret partisan of the Lancastrians. Warwick refused to leave Middleham, and the accuser was brought there and confronted with him; but the charge was dismissed as

\* Rymer; Lingard; Monstrelet; Rapin.

1467.  
Rapin.

groundless. The King, however, ordered a body-guard of 200 archers to attend upon his person, and a rupture seemed inevitable; but it was prevented through the interference of their common friends, the Archbishop of York and the Earl of Rivers, who met at Nottingham, and arranged the terms of a reconciliation.\* The Archbishop conducted his brother to Coventry, where King Edward received him graciously, and all offences between him and the Lords Herbert, Stafford, and Audley being reciprocally pardoned, the Archbishop was rewarded for his services by the restoration of his two manors.

Warwick, after this, appeared at Court, and when the marriage of King Edward's sister was finally settled, in 1467, and she departed, she rode through London behind the Earl of Warwick. The Princess Margaret was conveyed to Bruges, being accompanied by her two sisters, the Duchess of Exeter† and the Duchess of Suffolk,‡ with a splendid retinue.

A contemporary writer tells us that the Duke of Somerset, who had been staying with the Duke of Burgundy, "departed and all his bands, well be seen "out of Bruges, a day before that my lady the "Duchess Margaret, sister of Edward IV., came "hither; and they say that he is to Queen Margaret "that was, and shall no more come here again, nor be "holpen by the Duke."

From this time King Edward took part with his new relative, the Earl of Charolois, who, at this time, by the death of his father, Philip "the Good," became Duke of Burgundy. Edward also united with the Duke of Brittany. It was not for the interest of

\* W. of Worcester; Lingard.

† The Duke of Exeter, her husband, was still in France, in great distress.

‡ This lady's husband was the son of Queen Margaret's favourite minister.

1467.  
W. of Worcester.

England to permit these Dukes to be subdued, by which the French King would gain a great accession of power, and become formidable to Edward, who neither loved Louis, nor cared to keep well with him any longer than policy required. We also find that when a conspiracy was discovered in favour of King Henry, the Earl of Warwick sat amongst the judges upon the trial.

In spite, however, of all these outward appearances, no real confidence existed; and the people, who perceived the approaching conflict, pitied their favourite, and blamed the ambition of the Queen and her relatives.\*

The Earl of Warwick still harboured in his breast the keenest resentment. He resolved to make known that no one could affront him with impunity; and he secretly meditated revenge upon Edward.

He was the most haughty Earl that England had ever seen, and his pride was augmented by the services he had rendered to the House of York. The insult which the King had offered him, by marrying, while he was negotiating another match, could not be forgotten by him, and, besides, he had not been consulted by the King on the subject of his choice. Had any apology been offered by Edward, it is probable that the Earl's anger had been mitigated, and the affair overlooked; but the King treated him with contempt and silence, and even sought to lessen his credit with the people, thus greatly increasing the Earl's indignation. Another cause has been assigned, by some authors, for this Earl's displeasure, viz., an injury of a private nature, which Edward had offered to one of his daughters, and which does not seem to be improbable; however that may be, the Earl of Warwick only

\* Baker; Stow; Pol. Vergil; W. of Worcester; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Paston Letters; Lingard.

concealed his anger more surely to effect his revenge.\*

It appears uncertain whether King Edward, who might wish to get rid of his imperious counsellor, dismissed the Earl of Warwick or not; but, in the month of June, 1467, he was engaged in a negotiation relative to commerce, and visited Louis XI. at Rouen. Some writers assure us that it was by invitation of this monarch, who sought to gain over a nobleman so influential in the kingdom; and, indeed, it was to the interest of Louis to have England on his side in his quarrels with Burgundy. To this end he sent rich presents to Warwick, and sought to win his friendship, especially as he observed his increasing discontent with Edward. He sent messengers with flattering compliments to him; nor was the Earl insensible to his favours, perceiving how much the power of the French would support his credit in England, which was then on the decline. He therefore accepted the invitation of Louis, and, quitting England, landed at Harfleur. The French King advanced to meet the Earl as far as the village of La Bouille, on the Seine, four leagues from Rouen, attended by several of his nobles. At this place Warwick arrived on the 7th of June, where a splendid repast had been prepared, of which having partaken, he paid his respects to the King, and then proceeded to Rouen by water, while the French King went thither by land. This was the first time that Louis had beheld the haughty Earl, whom he so much desired to conciliate.

The magistrates of Rouen, "in their formalities," advanced to receive the Earl as he landed at the Quay of St. Eloy, and then the priests came in their copes, bearing crosses, banners, holy water, and relics of

1467.  
Comines;  
Barante;  
Rapin;  
Henry.

\* Monfaucon; Pol. Vergil; Rapin.

saints, and with great pomp and ceremony conducted him in procession to the Church of Notre Dame, where he made his offerings, and then proceeded to an apartment prepared for his reception, and magnificently ornamented, at the Jacobins, one of the religious houses.

Soon afterwards the Queen and Princesses came to Rouen, and the King remained there during a fortnight, (some say twelve days,) with the Earl of Warwick. He showed him all the respect due to a sovereign, appointed him a residence next his own, and, by a private door, he frequently visited him secretly.

When the Earl took his leave and returned to England, he was accompanied by the Admiral of France, the Bishops of Laon, St. John de Pompaincourt, St. Olivier le Roux, and several others, whom the King had appointed to attend him. From this time the Earl of Warwick became more the servant of Louis than of Edward, and daily assumed more boldness in manifesting his discontent.

While at Rouen the Earl of Warwick received from Louis XI. several fine and costly presents, one being a piece of gold plate, and another a large gold cup, set with precious stones. The Duke of Bourbon also presented him with a rich diamond ring, and other handsome gifts. He had, moreover, all his expenses and those of his attendants defrayed by the French King, from the time of his landing at Harfleur until he embarked for England.

In return for the handsome gifts made to the Earl of Warwick and his suite, King Edward afterwards sent to France some rich presents of hunting horns, bottles of leather, &c., and this seems to make it probable that Edward really did employ Warwick at the French Court. The potent Earl, if this was the case, doubtless seized the opportunity to secure

the assistance of Louis in accomplishing the object nearest his heart, viz., the dethronement of Edward; and from this time the Earl maintained a constant correspondence, in secret, with the French monarch.\*

After his return to England, the Earl of Warwick began to carry his designs into execution. He first sought to win over his own brothers, the Archbishop of York and the Marquis of Montague. He represented to them the great services they had all three rendered to King Edward, and how ill he had requited them, their rewards being inadequate to their merits. He charged the King with ingratitude, and with seeking to degrade their family in a manner intolerable to men of honour; and especially in the insult offered to himself in the affair of the marriage of the King. He concluded, by assuring them that he had resolved to let King Edward see that the hand which could assist him to a throne, was not less powerful in pulling him down; and he desired only their help in his undertaking.

The Archbishop of York was easily prevailed upon to enter into this project; Montague hesitated, made some objection, and adduced arguments, to which Warwick replied with eagerness. At length Montague conceded; but it was more out of complacence to his brother, than from his desire to participate in this plot.† The Earl next proceeded to communicate his project to the Duke of Clarence, who, having evinced great dissatisfaction at the conduct of the King, for bestowing on Lord Scales, the Queen's brother, the hand of the richest heiress in the kingdom, the Earl of Warwick had reason to think that he would gladly seize the opportunity of revenging himself; nor was he mistaken. Clarence heartily entered into his views, and

\* Barante; Monfaucon; Philip de Comines; Monstrelet; Rymer; Lingard; Sharon Turner; Rapin; Henry; Lussan's Louis XI.

† Milles's Catalogue; Pol. Vergil; Baker; Allen's York; Rapin.

the Earl of Warwick, to secure him, proffered him the hand of his daughter Isabella, to whom Clarence was attached, and he bestowed a considerable fortune as her dower, being the half of the lands which Warwick held in right of his wife. Thus the King's eldest brother became strictly united with his greatest enemy, who had even plotted to dethrone him. Surely the ties of blood and of affection should have for ever deterred him from engaging in this conspiracy. It was ambition which stifled the voice of nature; and pride, wounded pride, urged on to the most desperate and unlooked-for events.

Warwick even attempted to prevail on the Duke of Gloucester to join this confederacy, but he found him so reserved that he dared not close with him.\*

The Duke of Clarence was, at this time, next heir to the crown, and King Edward, who was not ignorant of Warwick's ambition, anxiously endeavoured to prevent his brother's marriage; but in vain.

1467. 221  
W. of Worcester.

Soon after the interview between the Earl of Warwick and Clarence, they proceeded together to Calais, where the marriage was solemnised in the church of St. Nicholas. The ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of York, the bride's uncle; but whether in privacy, or with the King's consent, the historians have been unable to decide. There is, indeed, much room for doubt on some events of this period.

Some authors assert, that it was only on the morning of the day of this marriage that the Earl of Warwick made known to Clarence, his project for the restoration of King Henry; and that the Duke, who until that time was in ignorance of it, then agreed to it. These two noblemen remained at Calais for some time after the marriage; and King Edward felt much secret dis-

\* Baker; Milles's Catalogue; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Hume; Barante; Villaret.

pleasure towards the Earl of Warwick on account of this union.

Others write that the Earl and Clarence returned to England, and enjoyed the favour of the King, who, as if regretting his former misconduct towards Warwick, made him Justiciary of South Wales, and afterwards Seneschal of the whole of that country. Edward must indeed, if this were true, have been in ignorance of the projects formed against him.\*

In the year 1467, a servant of Robert Whittingham, named Cornelius, by trade a shoemaker, was seized at Queenborough, and letters being found upon him from Queen Margaret, who was then in France, he was tortured by fire, in order to make him discover the names of such noblemen and gentlemen as corresponded with the exiled Queen.† This cruel means of extorting confession was not uncommon in England at this time; the civil warfare, and the violence of party, being a great hindrance to the regular and impartial administration of justice throughout the kingdom. A kind of military government prevailed, and the High Constable, being invested with authority to inflict punishment, even of death, upon the most exalted subjects, without so much as having recourse to the proceedings of law, he not unfrequently acted on his own private conviction of their guilt. Persons of rank were sometimes put to death without any inquiry after evidence; and occasionally the Constable, in order to obtain a show of justice, would seek for proof by means of the rack, as in this case of Cornelius.‡

One of the letters found upon Cornelius was from his master, Whittingham, addressed to Thomas Dan-

\* Stow; W. of Worcester; Pol. Vergil; Baker; Lond. Chron.; Lingard; Barante; Rapin; Cont. Hist.; Croyl.; Villaret.

† Henry; W. of Worcester.

‡ Henry.



vers, which caused the latter to be arrested and committed to the Tower. Many confessions were made by Cornelius, which occasioned the apprehension of several persons; and amongst them of one John Hawkins, on a similar charge, viz., of receiving letters from Queen Margaret. Hawkins impeached Sir Thomas Cooke, Lord Mayor of London, of treason, and he was sent to the Tower. Lord Rivers was appointed to his office. Some writers assert that this nobleman contrived the removal of Cooke, and was assisted in this by his wife, the Duchess of Bedford; and we further learn that they also obtained the dismissal from his office of Chief Justice Markham, for having decided that Sir Thomas Cooke was not guilty of treason. These circumstances exhibit the high authority assumed by the new favourites.

This was the same Thomas Cooke to whom King Edward wrote, in confidence, from Stamford, in 1462, calling him "his trusty and well-beloved alderman of London," and earnestly beseeching his assistance at this time, when he felt in the midst of perplexities and alarms respecting the "designs of his great adversary Harry, naming himself King of England, who, through the malicious counsel of Margaret his wife, naming herself Queen of England, had conspired with others, his enemies, against him." Since that season of trial and difficulty the King had shown favour to Sir Thomas by making him, with others, a Knight of the Bath; this was at the Tower, on the 15th of May, previous to the coronation of his Queen. This distinction was probably to reward his services; but how were the times now changed with this worthy mayor, that the power and influence of a party, or family, should have so easily displaced him from his high position of trust and authority! The misfortunes of Sir Thomas Cooke arose, not only from his

adherence to the Lancastrian interests, but also from his great wealth and possessions, at a time when he had so powerful an enemy as Lord Rivers, the Treasurer.

The affair has been thus related. When Hawkins came to Sir Thomas Cooke, requesting him to lend a thousand marks on good security, he, hearing that this sum was designed for the use of Queen Margaret,\* refused to lend it. Two or three years after, the said Hawkins, being imprisoned in the Tower, and being brought to the "Brake" (called the Duke of Exeter's daughter†), he confessed, amongst other things, this demand upon Sir Thomas Cooke. Hawkins was put to death, and Sir Thomas was sent, first to the Compter, in Bread Street, and thence to the King's Bench, in Southwark, and he was detained from Whitsuntide to Michaelmas. His residence in Essex, called Gyddihal, was spoiled, and the deer in his park destroyed; and although arraigned upon life and death, and acquitted on his trial at Guildhall, he was not set free until he had paid to the King £8,000, and to the Queen £800. Some writers say his estates were confiscated.‡ His lady shared in his misfortunes; for upon his apprehension she was, with her servants, turned out of her house, and only regained possession upon the acquittal of Sir Thomas, when they found their dwelling in an evil plight, the servants of Sir John Fogg§ and Lord Rivers having made havoc of whatever they pleased; and this they had done at their town, as well as country residence. They seized on their jewels and plate, and chief merchandise in cloth of silk, and cloth of

\* This money was intended to pay an army the Queen was raising in France.

† So called because she had invented the torture.

‡ To this they also add that Cooke's wife was committed to the care of the present mayor.

§ Sir John Fogg was under-treasurer.

arras, which, being discovered, came into the Treasurer's hands.

Cooke had, at an earlier period, been befriended by the Lady Margaret, the sister of King Edward; but when she had quitted England, all these troubles fell heavily upon him.\*

Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, held Denbigh Castle, and other places in Wales, in 1459, in behalf of King Henry VI., his half-brother; but in 1460, when the Yorkists were victorious, they wrested them from him. In the year 1468, this Earl of Pembroke returned with fifty followers, and but little money; yet, when reinforced by 2,000 Welshmen, they boldly marched to the royal palace at Denbigh, which they plundered, and set on fire, and burnt the town. Their object appeared to be destruction rather than conquest. Upon the arrival, however, of Lord Herbert, in North Wales, with an army of 10,000 men, Jasper Tudor was defeated, and of the prisoners taken, twenty were beheaded.†

The castle of Harlech still held out against Edward. Davydd ap Jevan ap Eynion, a British nobleman, who sided with the House of Lancaster, was still in possession of this fortress. This governor, a man of great stature and dauntless courage, was a firm supporter of King Henry's cause; and when Lord Herbert came, on the part of Edward, to summon him to surrender this castle, he gave a humorous reply, to this effect: "That having held out a castle in France, till all the old women in Wales talked of him, he would now defend his Welsh castle, till all the old women in France should hear of it."

To effect the reduction of this stronghold, King Edward had supplied Herbert, Earl of Pembroke,

\* Stow; Baker; W. of Worcester; Maitland's London.

† Dugdale's Baronage; W. of Worcester; Carte; Rudland's Snowden.

1468.  
W. of Worcester.

1468.  
Stow;  
Rudland.

with a powerful body of men. They had to encounter the greatest difficulties; their march was truly formidable, lying through a rough, alpine territory. This rugged line was afterwards called "Le Herbert," or "Herbert's Way," by which the castle was invested.

The prosecution of the siege was committed by the Earl to his brother, Sir Richard Herbert, a knight equal in prowess and valour to the commander of the castle. After a lengthened siege, beyond the ordinary duration, this fortress was found to be impregnable, and only to be reduced by famine. Then the general of the Yorkists entered into terms of honourable capitulation with Davydd, promising him safety and protection through his intercessions with the King. In this, however, he was not successful at first, until he boldly offered his own life, and threatened to reinstate the Welsh hero in the fortress, informing King Edward of the difficulty of gaining possession of it.\*

William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, with his large army wasted and desolated the counties of Carnarvon and Merionethshire to the utmost, as the Welsh rhyme bears witness—

"Hardleck a Duibeck pob dor  
Yn Cunnev  
"Nanconway yn farvor  
"Mil a phedwarcant nae Jor  
"Athrugain ag wyth rhagor."

"In Harleck and Duibeck every house  
"Was basely set on fire,  
"But poor Nantconwy suffered more,  
"For there the flames burnt higher;  
"Twas in the year of our Lord  
"Fourteen hundred and sixty-eight,  
"That these unhappy towns of Wales  
"Met with such wretched fate."

\* Barry's Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales; Lewis's Topographical Dictionary of Wales; Rudland's Journey to Snowden.

In the castle of Harlech were taken Richard Tunstall, Henry Belingham, and William Stoke, knights, Whittingham, and others, to the number of fifty persons. They were conveyed to London by Lord Herbert, and imprisoned in the Tower. Two of these, named Thomas Elwick and Trublote, were beheaded on Tower Hill.\*

1468. When Queen Margaret learned the news of the imprisonment of King Henry she was much distressed; but, far from desponding, she only redoubled her solicitations for help at the French Court. René had already given her all the assistance in his power.

With only a small force, Margaret and her son, Prince Edward, passed through Normandy on their way to England; for the Queen had resolved to make an attempt to rejoin her husband. Along with Prince Edward she visited the Abbey of Bec, situated nine leagues from Rouen, and stayed five days in that monastery, where they were received by Geoffrey d'Espagne, surnamed Benedict, who is said to have presided over this abbey for twenty-four years, with the greatest wisdom and prudence.

1468. W. of Worcester. Queen Margaret afterwards pursued the road to Montfort, and thence to Honfleur, where she was to embark for England. This was about the end of October, 1468.

King Edward received intelligence at this time of the intention of Queen Margaret to invade England, and that with her son and some troops she lay at Honfleur, and he immediately sent out the Lords Scales and Montjoy with 5,000 men, in two large vessels, and with several galleys to guard the seas, and to prevent their landing. They were cruising up and down continually from the 25th of October until the

\* Sir John Wynne's Hist. of the Gweder Family; Barry's Itinerary; Stow; W. of Worcester; Rudland's Snowden.

end of November, when the rough weather drove them into the Isle of Wight, of which Lord Scales was the Governor.\*

After this, it may be presumed that the Queen gave up her project.

There was an insurrection in Yorkshire in the month of October, 1469. This was generally attributed to the Marquis of Montague, and his brother, the Archbishop of York; some historians say, it was preconcerted by the Earl of Warwick, who was preparing to assist in it, with his new son-in-law, the Duke of Clarence.

This mutiny was raised by some persons who had been bribed to do it. They caused a report to be circulated that the funds, which were raised voluntarily to maintain an hospital at York, had been misapplied, and were only used to enrich the directors of the hospital; that these contributions, which had in course of time become a kind of right, were not necessary, the hospital being sufficiently endowed. Upon this slight pretext, the people assembled to the number of 15,000, and, after killing some of the collectors, proceeded to York, having at their head Robert Holdern, or Hilyard, commonly called Robin of Riddesdale.

Montague collected a body of citizens, and sallied forth to meet the insurgents; he despatched a great many, and seized the chief, whom he ordered to be decapitated. This conduct would seem to remove any suspicion of the influence of Montague in raising this rebellion, but his subsequent behaviour bears a more decided character.†

When the news of this insurrection reached King Edward, he instantly dismissed orders for Sir William

\* History of the Abbey of Bec: W. of Worcester; Bently's Excerpta Historica: Female Worthies.

† Howel: Baker; Milles's Catalogue: Pol. Vergil; Ridpath; Allen's York; Barante; Rapin; Hume; Lingard; Henry.

1469.  
Stow;  
Ridpath;  
Rapin;  
Henry;  
Hume.

Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Governor of Wales, to assemble all the forces he could collect, and prepare to march. Still the King did not suspect his own brother, or the Earl of Warwick, although he could not doubt that these commotions were occasioned by some of the Lancastrian party.

1469. The insurgents, not discouraged by their late failure, had again recourse to arms, and placed at their head Henry, son of Lord Fitzhugh, and Henry Neville, son of Lord Latimer; one of these was a nephew, the other a cousin-german of the Earl of Warwick. These young commanders were guided by the experience of Sir John Conyers, a skilful warrior and a valiant man. This party at first proposed to get possession of York, but suddenly altered their minds and marched towards London. As they advanced they proclaimed "King Edward an unjust prince and an usurper." No motive could be assigned for the change in their course, and the affair of the hospital was altogether a pretext to assemble the people.\*

The Earl of Pembroke and his brother set out to meet the disaffected, whose numbers were increasing in their march to the metropolis. The forces of Pembroke amounted to 10,000 men,† mostly Welshmen, and were joined by Lord Stafford, with a reinforcement of 800 archers. The insurgents first gained a slight advantage over a detachment headed by Sir Richard Herbert, the brother of Lord Pembroke, who had been dismissed to reconnoitre. The King exhorted Pembroke not to be disheartened by so inconsiderable a loss, and promised that he would join him with a large army.

The rebels, meanwhile, fearing to meet King Edward's army, resolved to withdraw to Warwick, but

\* Howel; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Ridpath; Allen's York; Rapin; Lingard; Hume; Henry.

† Stow says 18,000; Baker 7,000.

were prevented doing so, by Pembroke, who, to revenge himself, marched towards them, and compelled them to halt.

The two armies encamped near each other upon Danesmoor, near Hedgecote, about four miles from Banbury. The battle which ensued has been variously called by the name of Hedgecote, Banbury, or Cotswold, and took place on the 26th of July, 1469. Before its commencement, a quarrel arose between the Earl of Pembroke and Lord Stafford about quarters, and the latter deserted during the night with his 800 archers. The rebels, having received news of this defection, resolved to take advantage of it, and on the following morning, at break of day, they advanced in good order to attack the royalists. Henry Neville, one of the commanders, eagerly seeking to engage the enemy, lest they should endeavour to withdraw, was sharply encountered, taken prisoner, and put to death in cold blood. Irritated almost to fury by this barbarity, these northern adherents rushed impetuously upon their enemies, who seemed on the point of victory, when one John Clapham, a servant of the Earl of Warwick, joining in with 500 men, set up a cry of a Warwick! a Warwick! and then displayed the colours of this nobleman, with the white bear and the ragged staff, which, the Welshmen perceiving, they took to flight, believing the Earl had himself come. In spite of the heroism of Sir Richard Herbert, whose conduct that day has been highly commended, the Yorkists were completely routed. The Earl of Pembroke\* and his brother, while valiantly fighting, were encompassed and taken prisoners. They were conveyed to Banbury, and, with ten other gentlemen, had their heads struck off to avenge the death of Henry Neville.

Their judges were Sir John Conyers and John

\* Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, had been newly created to this title.

1469.  
Stow;  
Toplis;  
London  
Chron.;  
Lingard  
Henry.

Clapham; but some tell us that they were beheaded by command of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick.

After this signal victory, the insurgents continued their march to Warwick, where they were joyfully received by the Earl of Warwick.\*

King Edward was justly enraged against Lord Stafford for his desertion of Pembroke from a light quarrel, and for thus having caused the late defeat. He gave orders for his public execution, which took place in the town of Bridgewater. This Earl bore the disgraceful title of "an Earl of three months' standing and no more."† A few days after the battle of Banbury, the people of Northamptonshire assembled in great numbers, and, joining the rebels, proceeded in a tumultuous manner to Grafton House, the seat of the Earl of Rivers, the father of the Queen. They seized this nobleman and his son, and brought them to Northampton, where they were both beheaded in the most summary manner.‡

After these proceedings, it is surprising that King Edward did not discover that the Earl of Warwick was the real author of these insurrections. He was well aware that he was the sworn enemy of the Earl of Rivers, and the insurgents had been willingly received into the town of Warwick; yet the King, although acquainted with the Earl's discontent, and that of his brother, the Archbishop, did not at this time suspect them.

The citizens of Warwick acted, doubtless, by com-

\* Sandford; Stow; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Milles's Catalogue; Toplis; Howel; Ridpath; London Chron.; Rapin; Lingard; Hume; Henry; Paston Letters.

† Stow; Milles's Catalogue; Lingard; Rapin; Paston Letters; Hume; Ridpath; Baker; Henry.

‡ Sandford; Stow; Baker; Ridpath; Rapin; Henry; Hume; Barante; Bentley's Excerpta Historica; Fabian.

pulsion in favouring the Earl's party; but this conduct was afterwards severely visited with the displeasure of the King, who deprived them of their privileges, and made them pay 500 marks to recover them.\*

In proof how little King Edward suspected his brother Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, when they again re-appeared in England, (supposed to have been in the month of February, 1470,) he employed them soon afterwards to levy troops against the rebels. This commission they executed, but only for their own purposes; and the forces they raised were afterwards employed to augment the army of the rebels.

King Edward, meanwhile, thinking that the design of Warwick and Clarence was to fly into Ireland, issued a proclamation forbidding the Irish to obey the Duke, and commanding them to take him prisoner, as well as the Earl of Warwick, should it be in their power. As a reward for this service, he offered an annuity of £1,000, or £10,000 in ready money. He also conferred the government of Ireland upon the Earl of Worcester.

After this, King Edward proceeded to levy troops in all those counties which acknowledged his authority. In a similar manner, the Earl of Warwick and Clarence had been employed, and when they received intelligence that the King was upon his march, they united their forces with those of the rebels, and when Edward reached them he found them prepared for battle.†

The power of the Nevilles was most formidable in the north, for, as Wardens of the Marches, they had successively inherited an office which gave great influence, first to the Earl of Westmoreland, to his son

\* Pennant; Hume; Lingard; Rapin; John Fordum; Scoti Chronicon.  
† Ridpath; Rapin; Hume; Villaret.

1470.  
Rapin;  
Hume.

1469.  
Ridpath.



Salisbury, and then to the Earl of Warwick, whose brother, John Neville, lastly succeeded, being raised to this dignity on the ruins of the Percy family. This John Neville was also, at that time, President of Yorkshire, and his brother George being Archbishop of York, the three brothers became in effect masters of the most warlike part of the kingdom. King Edward afterwards adopted the policy of reducing the great authority of these noblemen, who, although they had been his friends, were powerful enough to act against him.

1469.  
Ridpath;  
Allen's  
York.

Soon after the rebellion in Yorkshire, the King, to effect this object, received the fealty of Henry Percy, the son and heir of the Earl of Northumberland, who, fighting for the Lancastrians, had fallen in the battle of Towton. From the time of this battle Henry Percy had been detained a prisoner in the Tower; but, on his swearing fealty to the King, he was immediately liberated, and went to his residence at Leckonfield.

The gentry and people of Northumberland also petitioned King Edward to restore Henry Percy to the estates and honours of his ancestors, which, being effected, he received, in addition to the title of his ancestors, the Wardenship of the East and Middle Marches, which John Neville resigned, being promoted to the higher title of Marquis of Montague. Of these appointments Montague would never have consented to be deprived, merely for an empty title, had not other inducements been held out to gratify his ambition; but King Edward, seeking to attach him to himself, and alienate him from his brother's interests, had previously signified his intention to unite his eldest daughter, then apparent heir to the crown, to George, the only son of the Marquis of Montague, who was male heir of all the three Nevilles,

and upon whom he conferred the dignity of Duke of Bedford.\*

During the late internal commotions King Edward must have felt his crown somewhat insecure, the insurgents being numerous in those places where he had fixed his quarters. On this account, while he was at Fotheringay, being alarmed at their numbers, the Wydviles had withdrawn from the army, and retired to their country places.

At Newark the disaffection was so great that the King fled to the castle of Nottingham, from whence he wrote to request Clarence, Warwick, and the Archbishop to hasten to him there, with their usual attendants in time of peace. To Warwick his note conveyed these significant words: "And we do not believe that ye should be of any such disposition towards us, as the rumour here runneth, considering the trust and affection we bear you. And, cousin, do not think but ye shall be to us welcome."†

1470.  
Paston  
Letters.

In obedience to this summons the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Clarence, and the Archbishop repaired to King Edward, whom they found at Olney, in great distress at the defeat of Pembroke and the murder of the Wydviles, as well as the desertion of his adherents. He freely told them his suspicions and displeasure; but, though he was deceived at first by their expressions of respect, he quickly perceived his imprudence; finding himself actually in their power, he accepted their excuses, which it would not have been safe to refuse. The few who had supported him dispersed, by permission of Warwick. By his command also the insurgents withdrew to their houses, laden with booty, and King Edward accompanied the two brothers to Warwick as their prisoner. He was

\* Ridpath; Stow; Rot. Parl.; Allen's York; Paston Letters; Lingard.

† Paston Letters; Lingard.

soon after removed, for greater security, to Middleham Castle, and entrusted to the care of the Archbishop of York.

By some writers, however, we are informed that King Edward was surprised by the Earl of Warwick in the night, and taken in his bed, at a place called Woolney, four miles from Berwick; but these authors all agree that he was conveyed to Middleham, and placed in the custody of the Archbishop.

1469.  
Lingard.

England exhibited at this period the novel spectacle of two rival monarchs, each of them a prisoner, the one in the Tower of London, the other in Yorkshire.\*

Thus terminated the war, for the two victorious Lords, trusting in their good fortune, disbanded their forces. They next turned their attention to affairs of government, yet they did not evince any anxiety to restore King Henry, and whatever their intentions might have been, they were unexpectedly defeated.

While in the custody of the Archbishop of York, King Edward conducted himself in so affable and obliging a manner, that he prevailed on that prelate to permit him the liberty of occasionally hunting in the park, attended by only a few persons.

Having thus far succeeded in the design he had formed, Edward next conveyed, by means of one of his keepers, a letter to two of his adherents, who dwelt in that neighbourhood, to whom he made known a means of aiding him in his release.

These gentlemen, who were delighted to serve the King in this affair, privately assembled their friends, and, lying in ambush near the park, seized the oppor-

\* Sandford; Baker; Milles's Catalogue; Hall; Stow; Howel; Paston Letters; Pol. Vergil; Allen's York; Lingard; Sharon Turner; Rapin; Barante; Cont. Hist. Croyland.

tunity while King Edward was out on his diversion, to carry him off.

King Edward having thus regained his freedom, proceeded instantly to York. In this city he did not long remain, perhaps not confiding in its fidelity, but hastened into Lancashire, where he was joined by Lord Hastings, his High Chamberlain, with some troops. Taking a circuitous route in order to elude the Earl of Warwick, Edward went to London, where he was readily admitted by the citizens, to the great astonishment of the Earl, who, little expecting such a circumstance, had not provided for the defence of the place.\* He could hardly forbear suspecting the Archbishop, his brother, of having yielded to bribery, so much was he amazed at his want of discretion; but Warwick had no time now to arraign him, being compelled to reassemble his forces with the utmost expedition, to meet the King in battle.

Edward also raised an army with great exertions. Meanwhile, some of the most pacific of the Lords attempted a mediation between the two parties; but this failed, although at first it was acceded to; and when a conference was held at Westminster, the King and his opponents, Clarence and Warwick, spent the time in mutual reproaches, tending to widen the breach between them.†

After this, King Edward allowed the Archbishop to remain at his seat, The Moor, in Hertfordshire, but left some of his own servants with him to watch him. He treated the Earl of Oxford in the same manner.

Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, and his relatives about this time landed in Devonshire, and there obtained some power.

\* Stow; Baker; Hall; Milles's Catalogue; Pol. Vergil; Rapin; Allen's York; Comines; Rot. Parl.

† Baker; Pol. Vergil; Rapin.

In the North there were also so many in arms, that Percy was unable to resist them, and King Edward purposed to assist him.

Some conferences were held at this time at Baynard's Castle, under the mediation of Cecily, Duchess of York, the King's mother, and a reconciliation was effected between King Edward, the Earl of Warwick and his party: but it proved altogether insincere.\*

The Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick repaired to Lincoln, where they assembled their forces, under the command of Sir Robert Wells, son of Lord Wells. This family having great interest in Lincolnshire, the people readily collected under their leader, who was a man of valour and experience, and as they sought to arouse the gentry and people to join their standard, they everywhere proclaimed "King Henry!"

On being informed that Sir Robert Wells had taken up arms against him, King Edward sent an express to Lord Wells to appear at Court immediately, intending to compel him to use his influence with his son to induce him to abandon the rebels. Lord Wells, however, having reached London, learnt that the King was greatly enraged against his son, and fearing to meet him, took sanctuary in Westminster Abbey; but when King Edward sent him a safe conduct he immediately appeared before him, and, in compliance with this monarch's wishes, he wrote to his son to prevail on him to desert the Earl of Warwick and dismiss his followers. Young Wells refused to obey these commands, which so much incensed the King that he ordered Lord Wells to be beheaded, together with his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Dymock, who had accompanied him.† A summons was then sent to Sir

1470.  
Stow.

\* Lingard; Paston Letters; Stow.

† Stow; Baker; Howel; Pol. Vergil; Lingard; Henry; Rapin; Fabyan; Hume.

Robert Wells, from whom the King received the indignant reply "that he never would trust the perfidy of the man who had murdered his parent."

It has been alleged, in excuse for King Edward's cruelty, that he suspected these noblemen of conniving at the proceedings of his enemies; nor was he mistaken, for these unfortunate persons acknowledged, in their last moments, that they had been encouraged in their rebellion by Clarence and Warwick.

This act of cruelty was, nevertheless, very injurious to the reputation of King Edward.\*

Young Wells, when he heard the news of his father's death, was inspired with so violent a thirst for revenge that it occasioned his ruin, and was of great prejudice to the Earl of Warwick.

Sir Robert Wells was encamped near Stamford, whither the King's troops had advanced, with intent to come to an engagement before Clarence and Warwick could bring him succour. Wells would have withdrawn to Stamford, but his impatience to revenge his father's death, made him run all hazards rather than retreat. He fought with great valour while supported by his followers, 30,000 in number, and at length, finding himself defeated, he urged his enemies to take his life, but this they refused to do, reserving him for an ignominious death, a few days after, on the scaffold. Lord Willoughby was also beheaded at Doncaster, and several knights and gentlemen were put to the most barbarous and ignominious death by command of Lord Worcester, who was High Constable at this time.

This battle, which took place on the 13th of March, 1470, was fought at Ernpyngham, in a field called "Horne Felde," about five miles north-west of Stam-

1470.  
Baker;  
Toplis;  
Stow;  
Howel;

\* Lingard; Rapin; Henry.

Hume;  
Paston  
Letters;  
Henry;  
Lingard.

ford, near the road to York, and it still retains the name of "Bloody Oaks." Some of the Lancastrians, when flying from the field, threw off their coats, that they might not be encumbered by their weight in their flight; and this occurred in a field which, from this circumstance, has, by tradition, been erroneously considered as the place of the engagement, and thence this was called the battle of "Loose-coat-field."\* The victory was decisive for King Edward, and 10,000 of his enemies were slain.†

1470. The King was prevented by want of provisions from following after Warwick and Clarence, who, with their adherents, had gone to Manchester, to solicit the aid of Lord Stanley, who had married the sister of Warwick.

A proclamation was now issued by King Edward against the rebellious party, enumerating their offences, and exhorting them to return to their duty within a certain time.

The King assured them, that, if they would vindicate themselves he would admit their justification with pleasure; and if not, he should still remember that they were allied to him by blood, and had been once numbered amongst his dearest friends.

The measures of Clarence and Warwick had been interrupted by the defeat at Ernpyngham, and they were hardly prepared to meet the King, when he might be on the road to attack them. They found that they had no alternative but to screen themselves by flight, and accordingly they proceeded rapidly to Exeter, taking with them the Countess of Warwick

\* This field, called "Loosecoat Field," was between Stamford and Little Casterton: perhaps they were here closely pursued by the enemy. This battle is sometimes called the battle of Stamford.

† Sandford; Toplis; Baker; Stow; Howel; Blore's Rutland; Pol. Vergil; Milles's Catalogue; London Chron.; Paston Letters; Hume; Lingard; Henry; Rapin.

and her two daughters. Here they arrived on the 3rd of April, 1470, but only stayed while shipping was provided for them, when they embarked at Dartmouth, and sailed to Calais.

1470.

Meanwhile, King Edward, with all speed, had mustered his forces, consisting of 40,000 men, and followed to the city of Exeter, which he reached on the 14th of April, but too late to overtake his adversaries. He had with him the Bishop of Ely, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Earls of Arundell, Wiltshire, Worcester, and Shrewsbury, Lord Hastings and others. The Mayor and four hundred citizens gave the King a most gracious reception; clad in red gowns (the city livery), they assembled at the south gate, awaiting his arrival. The Recorder, in a humble oration, congratulated his coming; the Mayor, yielding the keys of the gates and mace of his office, with them presented a purse of one hundred nobles in gold, which was thankfully accepted by Edward, who restored the keys and mace. The Mayor then, bare-headed, bore the mace through the city, as he conducted his sovereign to his lodging. King Edward on the next day, being Palm Sunday, attended divine service in the church of St. Peter, and afterwards went in procession, according to the custom of the day, round the churchyard, "to the great joy and comfort of all the people." Three days after King Edward returned to London.

The Earl of Warwick's design was to return to Calais, where he had left Vaucleir, deputy Lieutenant, in his absence. He trusted much in the fidelity of this person; but what was his astonishment when, upon his approach to Calais, he was fired upon from that town!

He sought to move Vaucleir by representing the situation of the Duchess of Clarence, who had just given birth to a son; but, in return, Warwick could

only procure from him some wine for the relief of his daughter. This was sent by a trusty messenger, who informed the Earl, that Vaucleir was still attached to his service, but was compelled to act thus, because had he permitted the Earl to enter Calais, he would not have been safe there; and he added, also, assurances of his future fidelity.

King Edward, being ignorant of the motives for this conduct, was so gratified by it, that he made Vaucleir Governor of Calais, and the Duke of Burgundy voluntarily added the annual pension of 1000 crowns.

Thus repulsed at Calais, the Earl and his party landed at Dieppe, and proceeded to Honfleur, in Normandy, where they were kindly and hospitably received by the French Admiral, the bastard of Bourbon, who provided good accommodation for the ladies and their attendants at Valongis, and conducted the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Clarence, Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, and John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, to the court of Louis, at Amboise, where the French King gave them a cordial reception.\*

Louis XI. had beheld with a jealous eye the strict alliance formed between King Edward and the Duke of Burgundy; he also still harboured the desire of revenging the affront he had received in the affair of King Edward's marriage, and he now found it would be to his interest to oppose both these powers. He was likewise offended at the assistance given by the English monarch to the Duke of Brittany, and he feared that, should the former remain on the throne, his protection would be readily procured by the French Princes, whom he was anxious to subjugate. These

\* Philip de Comines; Paston Letters; Rymer; Baker; Monfaucon; Rot. Parl.; Henry; Monstrelet; London Chron.; Pol. Vergil; Hume; Holinshed; Villaret; Jean de Troye; Rapin; Lingard; Chastellain; Barante.

various motives induced Louis, not only to treat the English nobles with civility, but also to promise them his assistance in rekindling the civil war in England. It is not improbable that he might even have previously concerted measures with Warwick for that purpose, especially as he hoped that, by raising fresh troubles in England, he might prevent Edward's interfering in his affairs.

It was no easy task which the King of France had at this time undertaken. His object was to effect a reconciliation between two of the most bitter enemies that perhaps ever existed, namely, Queen Margaret of Anjou, and the Earl of Warwick.

The Earl regarded Margaret as his mortal foe; yet this Queen had even more just cause for resentment, since she might attribute to Warwick her greatest misfortunes.

Queen Margaret had been residing for some time with her father, the King of Sicily, at Angers, having her son with her, when the messenger of Louis XI. arrived, with orders, to conduct King René, his daughter, Queen Margaret, and her son, Prince Edward, to the court at Amboise.\* The summons was readily obeyed. The King of France sought to induce Queen Margaret to comply with the terms of the Earl of Warwick, but great was his astonishment to find she objected firmly, even to the very first article.

Margaret of Anjou was unfortunate, an exile, and beheld all her hopes blighted; yet was she high-minded, resolute, and resentful. She had been dethroned by the Earl of Warwick, and could not forgive him or feel confidence in him, neither could she suffer herself to be governed by him.

Three conditions were required by the Earl. First,

\* Stow; Baker; Pol. Vergil; Jean de Troye; Sharon Turner; Lingard; Henry; Monfaucon; Chastellain; Monstrelet; Barante; Villaret.

1470.  
Henry;  
Monstrelet.



a complete pardon from the Queen and her son; secondly, that Prince Edward should marry his younger daughter, Anne; and thirdly, that she should send a strong army to England to support her rights.

To the first point the Queen made reply to the King, in the presence of the Duke of Guienne and many others, that she could not, consistently with her own and her son's honour, pardon the man who had been the chief cause of the downfall of the King, her husband, herself, and her son, and that, from her heart, she could never forgive him, or be reconciled to him.

She declared that it would be prejudicial to their interests to join with the Earl, having many adherents who would desert her, should she enter into such a treaty, which might cause more hindrance to their cause than the union of the Earl and his followers might advantage them; wherefore she entreated the King to desist from urging this alliance.

This refusal, although dictated by resentment, was dignified and consistent. Never did Queen Margaret upon her throne exhibit the lofty superiority of her character so much as she did in rejecting these proposals of the Earl of Warwick.

When the Queen's disdainful answers were conveyed to the mortified Earl, he acknowledged that he had deserved them; but in excuse he said, that King Henry and his Queen, influenced by evil counsels, had sought his destruction and that of his party, without cause; he urged that, by their ill-treatment of him, they had furnished him with sufficient motive to labour for their injury; and finally, he justified his conduct as being that of an injured and persecuted nobleman. He acknowledged that he had been the means of placing King Edward upon the throne, but that his treatment

of him had been such that he would now, with all his might, labour for his dethronement and banishment; and then, beseeching the Queen and Prince to believe him and forgive him that which in time past he had done against them, he offered himself to be bound to be their true and faithful subject in time to come, and required of Louis to be his surety for the fulfilment of this promise.

To this the King of France readily agreed, and he also "prayed the Queen at his request to pardon the "Earl of Warwick," representing to her "the great "love which he had unto him," and "that he was more "bound and beholden to this Earl than to any other "man, and therefore would do as much and more for "him than for any man living." After the Queen had been thus required by the King, many were the treaties and interviews which took place with her relatives, and the servants of her father, King René; yet Margaret continued to resist these importunities. She could not forget the wrongs she had experienced from this Earl, who now sought her friendship. She could only think of him as the Earl of Warwick who had deprived her husband of his throne, and exalted his own friend, the Yorkist, to the regal power. She dwelt on his personal treatment of her beloved lord, the meek King Henry, with such insult and contempt at the time when he conducted him to the Tower of London, where he had since remained a prisoner. Then, again, the Queen remembered that when flying from England with her beloved son, she had to endure all the obloquy cast upon the birth of this child by the same Earl of Warwick, who, from some political motive, chose to declare, in the most public manner, that he was not the King's son, and thus traduced the character of Margaret herself.

At length, through the united persuasions of her

father's friends and others, the Queen yielded a reluctant consent to the request of Louis; but this was conditionally, that Warwick should publicly, before kings and princes, declare that he had sworn falsely and injuriously of her person, and that he should do the same in England and also before all the people, all which the Earl of Warwick promised to fulfil. Then the Earl came to Queen Margaret, and falling on his knees before her, said all that could touch her, and prayed humbly for her mercy and pardon. To all this the Queen would scarcely reply, although the proud Earl knelt to her a quarter of an hour; but at last she pardoned him, as did her son also. After that, they pardoned also the Earl of Oxford, who came with Warwick; and the Queen said to him, "that his pardon was easy to purchase, for she well knew how he and his friend had suffered for King Henry's quarrels." Finally, it was agreed that Warwick should go to England, taking with him supplies from France.

Queen Margaret still continued resolute in refusing her consent to the projected marriage, saying that it was neither honourable nor profitable, for herself, nor for the young prince her son. Again, she would assert that she could, if she desired it, find another alliance more advantageous, showing the King of France a letter she had but just received from England, in which "my lady the princess," the daughter of King Edward, was offered to her son. Thus, during fifteen days King Louis perseveringly supported the Earl of Warwick, while the haughty Queen endured a severe conflict. At last, overcome by the importunities of all around her, she gave a qualified consent to the marriage, but required the throne to be Anne's dower.

It was finally determined that this lady should be placed under the care of Queen Margaret, and that the

marriage should not be completed until the Earl had with a large army invaded England, and had restored King Henry to the throne.

The Earl of Warwick assured the King of France that he had letters from England promising him that when he landed he would have ready for his service an army of 50,000 men. He required only a few troops, ships, and money of the French King; and he proved that he was, by his own means, providing 2,000 French archers, and provisions for 66,000 men. Astonishing as this appears at first, it will seem less surprising and improbable, when we consider how much the Earl of Warwick had always been the favourite of the people. Every popular ballad contained his praises, every pageant or public exhibition made allusion to his virtues and misfortunes, and his exile had made him even more idolized than before; nay, it was "as if the populace had lost their sun, when he was absent."

When the Earl of Warwick first resolved to dethrone King Edward, it was not his intention to restore his rival, but to place the Duke of Clarence on the throne. He found this plan, however, to be impracticable, being equally opposed to the interests of the Yorkists and of the Lancastrians; he therefore adopted the suggestion of Louis XI., and determined to restore King Henry, in which project all parties would be disposed to render him assistance. The hatred which had rankled in the breast of Warwick against King Edward, with the indignities he had received from him, added to his present unfortunate situation, obliterated the remembrance of the injuries he had previously experienced from the Lancastrians, and especially from Queen Margaret, by whose orders his father had been executed. Finding therefore the need of a plausible pretext for the dethronement of Edward, no other offered so effective as

the restoration of Henry; but in this enterprise the Queen's assistance appeared to the Earl to be essentially requisite, and it became their mutual interest to lay aside their animosity. The joy of Louis was great in the success of his endeavours to reconcile these two mortal foes, and in the prospect of restoring the Lancastrian dynasty. This monarch had also another cause for infinite satisfaction in the birth of an heir to his throne, which he had earnestly desired. It was during the stay of Queen Margaret at Amboise that the Queen of France gave birth to a son. This infant was born on the 30th of June, 1470, at the castle of Amboise, and received the name of Charles when baptized by the Archbishop of Lyons, who was his godfather. The other sponsor was Edward, Prince of Wales, and the godmother was the Duchess of Bourbon. Queen Margaret also was present at this ceremony, which was succeeded by public fêtes, prolonged to commemorate the arrival of the royal infant.\*

After this, the noble company who had been assembled by the King of France at Amboise to meet the Earl of Warwick and others, all repaired to Angers, to complete the contract entered into. In this fine city, the birthplace of King René, the English exiles were joyfully welcomed by the inhabitants, who rejoiced at the prospect that the daughter of their sovereign would be again restored to her kingdom. "They provided them all right willingly," says Bourdigné, "the choicest wines, the rarest meats, and every delightful pastime; so that the English were well content, and thought no place in the world like Angers." Here they seem to have stayed some time; and while they tarried, the Earl of Warwick took oath upon the cross, in St. Mary's church in Angers, that he would faithfully hold to the party and quarrel of King Henry,

\* Jean de Troye; Monstrelet; Monfaucon.

and as a true and loyal subject serve him, the Queen, and the prince. Also, "the King of France and his brother, clothed in canon's robes in the said church of St. Mary, sware that they would help, bear and sustain to their power, the said Earl of Warwick holding the said quarrel of Henry. After this, the said Queen sware, and promised from henceforth to treat the said Earl as true and faithful to King Henry here, and the prince, and for the deeds passed never hereafter to make him reproach."

Many other points were also at this time spoken of relating to the treaty of marriage, and finally all the parties agreed to these terms; viz., that the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence should endeavour to their utmost to restore King Henry to the throne; that Queen Margaret should engage by oath to permit them to conduct the affairs of government during the King's lifetime; and that the same arrangement should continue during the minority of the prince, his son, should Henry die before he came of age; lastly, to confirm this, that the Prince of Wales should be married to Anne, the younger daughter of the Earl of Warwick. This alliance was required by the Earl in the month of July, 1470, and at that time refused by Margaret; and it has been doubted by many, that the marriage took place before Warwick left France. In the month of August, however, the Queen gave her consent to this union, as an additional contract only, and not for its solemnization; indeed, there is no contemporary account of its celebration at Angers, where most historians assert that it actually took place immediately. If this were the case, we may infer that the scruples of the Queen were at last overcome, and that she deemed the marriage to be expedient under her adverse circumstances.

There appears to be much presumptive evidence in

the absence of the records of this marriage to prove, that it really was celebrated at Angers. The presence in this city of the royal family of France, together with the relatives of Queen Margaret, the engagement of the Duke of Guienne to aid the Lancastrian cause, and his approval of the marriage of Prince Edward to the daughter of the Earl, which was signed by the Duke on the 30th of July, 1470,\* seem to point to this union as called for and urgent, because confirming the compact entered into by all parties. The Earl of Warwick did not quit France until the autumn, and on the 6th of October released King Henry from his prison and replaced him on the throne. Perhaps the Earl tarried at Angers to witness the espousals to which the Queen still felt so repugnant: it might possibly be that Warwick had his private opinion or hope of one day seeing his daughter with the prince mount the throne, and therefore the marriage must be completed.

1470.  
Cont. Hist.  
Croyland.

By this union the Duke of Clarence became the brother-in-law of Prince Edward, and the Earl of Warwick equally allied to the Houses of York and Lancaster. We are told by some writers, that "after these nuptials Clarence and Warwick took a solemn oath never to cease from war until King Henry or his son should be established on the throne. In like manner, all the adherents of this party professed, and engaged, speedily and faithfully to observe and execute the compact of their leaders. Then was confidence and satisfaction restored to all, being confirmed to future ages by the marriage of the prince and the Lady Anne."

In this contract made at Angers, it was resolved also that should the young prince die without heirs the crown should devolve on the Duke of Clarence. A perpetual alliance was likewise made between Eng-

\* This document is still preserved in the British Museum.

land and France, and a league offensive which should last until the subjugation of the House of Burgundy.\*

The new arrangements were not satisfactory to the Duke of Clarence, who was secretly discontented; nor was his Duchess better pleased, having the expectation of beholding her younger sister advanced to the throne, while she would thus remain only a subject.

King Edward received information of the league which had been formed against him, from the Duke of Burgundy; but believing that Warwick had fled for want of friends to support him, he did not think that he could so suddenly rise into favour, neither did he concern himself about the preparations which they were making in France. Relying on the affections of his people, and neglecting affairs of importance, he resigned himself to effeminate and voluptuous pleasures. He could not, however, help feeling uneasy at beholding his brother, the Duke of Clarence, united with his enemies, and fearing it might in time produce fatal consequences, he endeavoured to wean him back to his former allegiance.

For this purpose he gave instructions to one of the women belonging to the Duchess of Clarence, whom he bribed to act this part, and giving her a passport, dismissed her to her mistress. This woman acted with much address, and, fortunately for King Edward, she was successful. When she reached her mistress, she conveyed to the Duke of Clarence the sentiments of the King, his brother, viz., that he would inevitably involve himself in ruin by the step he had just taken; that, even should the Earl of Warwick succeed in his designs, it could not be expected that the Lancastrians

\* Chastellain; Cont. Hist. Croyland; Stow; Hall; Baker; Toplis; Pol Vergil; Jean de Troye; Milles's Catalogue; Comines; Baudier; Daniel; Paston Letters; Rapin; Monfaucon; Villaret; Monstrelet; Lingard; Hume; Henry; Sharon Turner.

would trust a prince of the House of York, when they should perceive that he was no longer useful. That his life would not be safe; that he ought not to rely on the oath of the Queen, which might be only intended to ensnare him. That he might expect to be oppressed by Warwick, who would wish to despatch him, not liking an associate in the government, and expecting that he might one day seek to revenge the injuries done to his family; also, that the King had but one daughter, who was very young, and in case of her death, he would inherit the crown; but should the House of Lancaster be restored, he would lose that prospect, as Prince Edward might have many children. Other arguments were added, with assurances of affection, and of future kindness from King Edward. Clarence was won over by this reasoning, and perceived the folly of his conduct. He bade the woman inform his brother that he would declare for him, on the first opportunity for doing so with safety, and of thereby rendering him any service.\*

Having received this reply, King Edward made himself quite easy, believing that the Earl of Warwick would attempt nothing without the aid of his son-in-law; but while he thus amused himself in fancied security, Warwick was making very great preparations for a descent upon England. To forward this enterprise the King of France had supplied him with money and troops, and, as an old author expresses it, "René also helped the same what he might."

All the Lancastrian adherents and friends were informed of the Earl's project, and he could not doubt of being joined by a strong party when he should arrive upon the English coast.† His attempt was difficult.

\* Baker; Stow; Rapin; Lingard; Philip de Comines; Daniel; Henry; Hume.

† Pol. Vergil; Comines; Rapin; Monstrelet; Lingard.

The fleet of the Duke of Burgundy lay at the mouth of the Seine, prepared to engage the French whenever they set sail. Louis had appointed the Bastard of Bourbon to convey the Earl of Warwick with some ships of war; but as these could not encounter a much larger force, the Earl repaired to Havre de Grace to watch an opportunity for embarking. Shortly after a great storm dispersed the Flemish ships, and compelled them to seek for shelter in their harbours. Warwick and Clarence then set sail, and safely arrived at Dartmouth in Devonshire; from which place they had departed for France, four or five months before. Besides these two chiefs, there were of this party, the Earl of Oxford, Fauconbridge, Jasper Earl of Pembroke, and others, some of whom landed at Plymouth.

When the Earl of Warwick reached England he immediately dismissed a body of his partisans two miles up the country to seize an English baron, who was peaceably asleep in his bed, and quite unsuspecting the new invasion. He was brought into the presence of Warwick, who commanded that he should be instantly decapitated. Such was the summary vengeance of these times.\*

King Edward, far from being alarmed at the arrival of his enemies, evinced much satisfaction, not dreaming of the Earl's success. He fancied that he had now come to put himself into his power; and under this impression requested the Duke of Burgundy to guard the seas, that he might not again escape to France. 1470.

Warwick, however, had no sooner landed than he beheld himself at the head of an army of 60,000 men. From Dartmouth he advanced to Bristol, where he met with a favourable reception, for it was at this place,

\* Stow; Baker; Howel; Lond. Chron.; Hall; Holinshed; Paston Letters; Rot. Parl.; Rymer; Fabian; Pol. Vergil; Monfaucon; Monstrelet; Comines; Jean de Troye; Chastellain; Buchan; Hume; Henry; Lingard.



that he had left his baggage and artillery when he fled into Normandy.

As the Earl proceeded, he caused Henry VI. to be proclaimed, and in his name gave orders for all his subjects from sixteen to sixty to arm themselves, to expel the usurper Edward. Numbers were ready to obey the summons, and the claims of King Henry seemed again about to be recognised.

One Dr. Goddard, a chaplain, had ventured, on the Sunday after Michaelmas day, to preach at St. Paul's Cross in favour of the Earl of Warwick, and to assert, that King Henry VI. was the lawful monarch of England, which moved many of his auditors to favour the Lancastrians.

King Edward was, at length, aroused from his dream of enjoyment by this very unexpected turn of affairs; and he gave orders for his troops to be assembled, appointing their rendezvous at Nottingham. Soon afterwards, news was brought to him that the Marquis of Montague, who commanded for him in the north, had revolted to the Lancastrians, with 6,000 followers. He had advanced almost to Nottingham, and then, alleging King Edward's ingratitude to his friends, he withdrew and joined in the cry of "King Henry! King Henry! a Warwick! a Warwick!"

This defection gave King Edward great uneasiness, as he feared that it would be followed by that of others; and scarce knowing who were his real friends he sought to retire, and to avoid an engagement. He encamped near Lynn, in Lincolnshire, by the sea-shore, and lodged himself in the castle. He had with him the Duke of Gloucester, Lord Scales, and Lord Hastings, his Chamberlain, who had married the sister of the Earl of Warwick, yet adhered to King Edward.

Warwick approached within three miles of the place

where the King had encamped, making the air resound with shouts of "King Henry! King Henry!" which, being re-echoed by some means in Edward's camp, caused that monarch to close the gates of the castle, and to hold a council to determine how he should proceed; but before he could resolve, the acclamations became louder and louder, and he perceived no alternative but to embark in haste, with only four or five hundred\* men, in three vessels, which had been employed to bring his troops provisions. Lord Hastings guarded the rear while they embarked, in order to provide against any attempt to arrest them in their flight. In this melancholy situation, King Edward gave orders to sail to Holland, thinking he could best obtain protection from the House of Burgundy. King Edward and the few Lords who attended him, but seven or eight in number, amongst whom were Lords Hastings and Say, had all departed in such haste, that they were unprovided with provisions, and apparel, except what they had on; and so little money had they, that the King could only reward the master of his vessel with one of his own garments, a gown lined with martins. While crossing the seas, the ships narrowly escaped being boarded by pirates, who were only restrained by the authority of Lord Gruthyse, Governor of Holland, who, by chance, being at Alcmár, waited upon the King, and defended him, also showing him all the respect due to his rank, he conducted him to the Hague. Such was Edward's precipitate flight, who, by his presumption and inactivity, lost his crown, without even hazarding a battle to preserve it.†

When Edward's Queen, who had remained in the

\* Some say he had 800.

† Baker; Hall; Stow; Howel; Pennant; Sandford; Cont. Croyland; Comines; Barante; Jean de Troye; Monfaucon; Holinshed; Lond. Chron.; Rapin; Paston Letters; Chastellain; Fabyan; Monstrelet; Lingard; Allen's York; Hume; Henry; Villaret.

1470.  
Paston  
Letters.

Tower, with her children and the Duchess of Bedford, found that the tide of loyalty had turned to King Henry, she secretly fled by night, taking with her her mother and three daughters, to the Sanctuary of Westminster. Here also took refuge with their Queen, those Yorkists who were in London.\* It was under these melancholy auspices that Elizabeth gave birth to a son, the heir of King Edward's throne. This child of adversity had for his godfathers the Abbot and Prior of Westminster, and the Lady Scroop for his godmother.

Some writers affirm that there were 500 Yorkists in the Tower, and that all the great and powerful inhabitants of the metropolis favoured King Edward, but when they found this monarch did not come to their assistance, they took part with the Earl of Warwick. From this time every one assumed the badge of this Earl, "the bear and ragged staff," and no one dared to appear wearing the rose.†

1470.  
Stow;  
Lingard.

Rapin;  
Henry.

The Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence triumphantly pursued their way to London, and in like manner entered this city on the 6th‡ of October, 1470. They proceeded to the Tower, attended by many lords, and also by the Lord Mayor, Sir Richard Lee, with the Aldermen, followed by a great concourse of people. The Earl of Warwick entered the Tower, and released King Henry, who had been detained there a prisoner many years, and restored him to his regal dignity. Warwick first showed this monarch to the people, then threw himself upon his knees before him, confessing his fault, in having offended so good a

\* The Bishop of Ely and other Bishops fled to St. Martin's; other sanctuaries were likewise full of Edward's party.

† Baker; Chastellain; Holinshed; Henry; Stow; Paston Letters; Sandford; Bayley's Hist. of the Tower; Fleetwood's Chron.

‡ Some date this on the 1st October, others on the 23rd: Stow places the event in 1467.

King, and asking pardon of God, and of the English people.

The latter, who were still attached to Henry, set up a shout of joy. King Henry was then conducted to the Bishop's palace, where he remained: and a pompous court was held there until the 13th of October, on which day he walked in solemn procession to St. Paul's, wearing his crown, and appareled in a long gown of blue velvet, the Earl of Warwick bearing up his train, and the Earl of Oxford carrying the sword before him, while the people cried, "God save King Henry!" In the cathedral the confederate lords took their oath of allegiance to their King. Henry VI. was then solemnly proclaimed, and King Edward denounced as an usurper, and his goods confiscated, and his adherents as traitors to God and their King.

In London great rejoicings were made upon this sudden change in the restoration of Henry, and the Earl of Warwick sent all the French prisoners home free of ransom. The King's friends considered that his restoration to the throne was the undoubted interposition of heaven.\*

Thus it was that Warwick, who had raised King Edward to the throne, and upon a slight quarrel had effected his downfall, now replaced King Henry in that dignity from which he had before been the means of deposing him. From these circumstances the Earl of Warwick was called the "King Maker," a title which he ever after retained. In all these acts, from his manner of doing them, he obtained more and more popularity with the people. Amongst foreign nations this remarkable revolution of events excited wonder or ridicule. To Henry himself it may be doubtful if it

\* Stow's Survey; Baker; Cont. Croyland; Monfaucon; Holinshed; Sandford; Female Worthies; Jean de Troye; Barante; Lingard; Bayley's Tower of London; Maitland's London.

caused joy or sorrow; and it is probable that the Earl of Warwick rejoiced more than he did. Certain it is, that Henry of Lancaster only exchanged the condition of a captive to Edward, to become the slave of Warwick.\*

\* Stow; Sandford; Howel; Baker; Pol. Vergil; John Rous; Paston Letters; S. Turner; Allen's York; Chastellain; Barante; Monfaucon; Comines; Jean de Troye; Rapin; Henry; Lingard.

## CHAPTER VI.

(Clarence.)

"And so, proud-hearted Warwick, I defy thee,  
"And to my brother turn my blushing cheeks!"

SHAKESPEARE.

(King Edward.)

"Yet, Warwick, in despite of all mischance  
"Of thee thyself, and all thy complices,  
"Edward will always bear himself as king:  
"Though fortune's malice overthrow my state,  
"My mind exceeds the compass of her wheels."

SHAKESPEARE.

Rejoicings in France—Queen Margaret's reception in Paris—Discontent of the Duke of Burgundy—He sends for Vaulier—King Edward at the Hague—Parliament called by Warwick—King Edward and his party attainted—Alderman Cooke restored—Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, beheaded—The Grand Prior of St. John's sent to France to fetch over the Queen—Warwick waiting at Dover to receive her—Affairs in France—The League "du bien public"—René's conduct—John of Anjou—His wars in Spain—His death—René's letters—His genius, paintings, writings in prose and verse—His good nature—The love of his people and rule over them—Improvements in the arts—His personal appearance and institutions, la Pelotte, &c.—Duke of Burgundy's policy—Affairs in England—King Edward returns to England—He goes to York—Is joined by Clarence—Warwick prepares to oppose King Edward—Restoration of Edward—His affability—Henry the Sixth is sent to the Tower.

QUEEN MARGARET beheld with extreme delight the return of good fortune to her "House"; her husband again restored to liberty and to his throne, and the cloud which had overshadowed the destiny of her son, suddenly dispersed. The news of the success of her party was first conveyed to her by the Earl of War-

wick, and the assurance of King Henry's freedom by letters from himself.\*

So strange and so rapid was this revolution that any one might have been called mad, who had asserted a fortnight before, that King Edward would be so soon expelled his kingdom by the power of Warwick, yet in the short period of eleven days, this Earl obtained possession of the kingdom.†

1470.  
Henry;  
Monstrelet.  
When Louis XI. received the intelligence of the restoration of Henry from the Earl of Warwick, his joy was so great that he commanded feasts and rejoicings throughout his kingdom; also general processions of all the principal clergy and laity for three days in Paris, and in all the large towns of France, to render thanks to God and the Virgin Mary for having restored Henry of Lancaster, a prince of the blood of France, to the English throne, and for the expulsion of their great enemy, King Edward. Amidst these great rejoicings and feastings, messages were passing continually between Louis and the Earl of Warwick for their mutual encouragement.

The French King had a mortal enmity against the Duke of Burgundy, and Warwick was no less his enemy, on account of his union with Edward. This Earl therefore immediately caused a proclamation of war to be made at Calais against Burgundy; whilst Louis XI. at the same time dismissed a splendid embassy to London, to compliment the English monarch upon his release from prison, and restoration to the throne; likewise to conclude a treaty of peace for fifteen years between the two kingdoms. This peace was proclaimed throughout France, and also war declared against King Edward and all his adherents.‡

\* Baudier; Hays's Biography.

† Philip de Comines; Jean de Troye; Baudier.

‡ Chastellain; Monstrelet; Henry; Lingard; Sharon Turner; Philip de Comines; Jean de Troye.

The exiled Queen Margaret, who had for several years been living in retirement, neglected and almost forgotten, was now conducted to Paris, with her son, his wife, the daughter of the Earl of Warwick, the Countess of Warwick, her mother, Lady Wiltshire and several other English ladies. They were attended by the Counts d'Eu, de Vendosme, de Dunois, Mosieur de Chastillon, and other noblemen and persons of distinction. By the King's command the Bishop, University, Court of Parliament, the Mayor and Aldermen of the city of Paris, in their robes and formalities, and also numerous bodies of the principal inhabitants, handsomely dressed, advanced to meet the royal cavalcade, and in the name of their sovereign they complimented Queen Margaret. The same distinctions were conferred upon the Queen also, when welcomed in Paris, as were usually bestowed on a Queen of France; and amidst the most splendid and expensive rejoicings which could be exhibited, she was finally conveyed to the palace, where apartments, handsomely decorated, had been prepared for her reception.\* How flattering this entrée into the capital of France must have been to the pride of the once portionless daughter of René!

1470.  
Some write that the Queen remained in Paris during the winter, and early in the spring set out for England, but was detained by contrary winds.† Others again tell us that immediately Queen Margaret learnt from King Henry of the success of the Lancastrian party in England, she, with the Prince her son and all her train, entered their ships to proceed to England, but the sharp winter and stormy weather drove them back to land, and obliged her to defer this passage.

\* Jean de Troye; Henry; Philip de Comines; Lingard; Female Worthies; Villaret.

† Miss Lawrence; Holinshed.

Whilst Louis XI. and the people of France were indulging the utmost joy upon the sudden revolution in the affairs of England, considerable uneasiness was manifested in the court of Burgundy. Duke Charles was full of consternation; having engaged in war with France, he was now apprehending an attack on the side of England. To prevent this, he despatched Philip de Comines to the Governor of Calais, whom he believed to be on his side; but before the arrival of this messenger, Vaucier had hoisted the ensigns of the Earl of Warwick, and had protested against Burgundy. This change was so sudden that within a quarter of an hour after the express had arrived from England, with the news of King Edward's flight, the whole town had adopted the new livery. Many compliments were paid by Vaucier to his guest, and some excuses for his master, the Earl of Warwick, who, he said, had shown him numerous favours and civilities. The only advantage which the Duke of Burgundy obtained through this embassy, was the prevention of an immediate rupture.

King Edward, meanwhile, was remaining at the Hague in a somewhat unhappy position, until his brother-in-law should be made acquainted with his distress. It was not to be expected that this news could have given the Duke any great satisfaction; indeed, it threw him into much perplexity, and an eye-witness even assures us that he would have been less disturbed, had he heard of Edward's death.\*

1470.  
Rapin.

Henry the Sixth, although restored to the throne through the exertions of the Earl of Warwick and the Lancastrian party, did not obtain that authority in the kingdom which he had formerly enjoyed.

In pursuance of the agreement entered into between Queen Margaret, the Earl of Warwick, and the Duke

\* Lingard; Philip de Comines; Hume; Henry.

of Clarence, these noblemen were declared governors of the kingdom. A parliament was convened by them in the name of King Henry, to meet on the 12th of November, at Westminster, in which the new form of government was confirmed, and King Edward declared an usurper and a traitor, and his estates confiscated. All his adherents were also declared traitors and their property likewise confiscated. The Duke of Clarence was adjudged heir of the Duke of York, whose duchy was settled on him and his descendants, setting aside the right of his elder brother. All the statutes made in King Edward's reign were annulled, and the crown confirmed to Henry and his heirs; but, in the event of this monarch dying without any heir, the Duke of Clarence was appointed to succeed him, to the exclusion of Edward, his brother, on account of his rebellion.

The Lords who had suffered for the Lancastrian cause were restored to their titles and property. These were Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, and John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who had been attainted in the reign of Edward. The Marquis of Montague came also to this Parliament, pleading, in excuse for his siding with King Edward, that he had done so through the fear of death. His excuse was accepted, and he was restored to the government of the northern counties, an office of which he had been deprived by Edward, who had bestowed it on the Duke of Gloucester. The Duke of Clarence was made Lieutenant of Ireland, and received also other grants. Warwick re-assumed his office of Chamberlain of England and Captain of Calais, to which was added that of Lord High Admiral. His brother, the Archbishop, was once more entrusted with the seals, and, having obtained Warwick's forgiveness for allowing the escape of King Edward, he obtained a grant of Woodstock Park and of many other manors, as well



as the confiscated estates of some persons condemned for the late rebellion.

Warwick and Clarence were made Governors of the King, as well as of the kingdom.

The members of this Parliament did not hesitate, out of complacence to the Earl of Warwick, to establish a kind of Salic law in England, for, by the arrangement now entered into, the female line of the House of Lancaster was totally excluded from the succession to the throne.

The restoration of Henry VI. brought again into favour the ill-treated Alderman Cooke, who was appointed *locum tenens* to the Lord Mayor, John Stockton, who, being a zealous partisan of King Edward, found it dangerous to make known his sentiments, and being unwilling to join in the rejoicings for King Henry, feigned illness, and the Earl of Warwick called upon Sir Thomas Cooke to fill his office. The estates of Cooke were at this time restored to him.

It may be said to the praise of the Lancastrians, that, while as conquerors they were amply providing for themselves, they did not stain their conquests with blood, for the only person put to death on the restoration of Henry VI. was John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, made Governor of Ireland by King Edward, and High Constable of England, and whose cruelties in this last office had procured him from the populace, the title of "the butcher." He was taken in Weybridge forest, Huntingdonshire, attempting to conceal himself in a tree, having absconded on the departure of his master, King Edward.

When brought to London he was attainted on a charge of cruelty, and having been beheaded on Tower Hill the 18th October, 1470, was afterwards buried at Blackfriars. Such was the general detestation in which the High Constable was held that, it is added,

1470.  
Paston  
Letters.

he laid one night in the Flete, lest the people should tear him in pieces.

The Earl of Warwick was now occupied in the regulation of the affairs of the kingdom. He signed the treaty with Louis XI., and dismissed the Grand Prior of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem to France, on the 16th February, to fetch over Queen Margaret, the Prince, her son, and others, and to urge their speedy return to England. This messenger employed by the Earl was Sir John Longstrother, bailiff of the Eagle, and seneschal of the Reverend the High Master of Rhodes. He had been elected Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, in the previous year, 1469, and had sworn fealty to King Edward on the 18th of November.

Again he took this oath, to King Henry after his restoration, on the 20th of October, 1470, and was the same day made Treasurer of the Exchequer. He was a devoted Lancastrian, and when appointed to conduct the Queen and Prince from France into England, he had a grant from King Henry of 200 marks "of his gifte" and "by way of rewarde for his "costs and expences in that behalve."\* The Prior, however, although he was first and chief Baron of this land, was not able to procure the speedy re-appearance of King Henry's consort, to aid the potent Earl of Warwick, who, finding delay in the arrival of Margaret, became impatient, and rode to Dover to receive her; but he tarried there a long time in vain, and then returned with vexation, at a circumstance which appeared so unaccountable.†

\* On the 28th of the same month he was, conjunctly with John Delves, Esq., appointed warden of the Mint.

† Baker; Stow; London Chron.; Sharon Turner; Lingard; Holinshed; Barante; Paston Letters; Monstrelet; Jean de Troye; Baudier; Villaret; Rapin; Hume; Henry; Fabyan; Rymer; Patent Rolls; Howel's Med. Hist. Anglicanæ; Phillips's Shrewsbury; Blore's Rutland; Maitland's London.

René had taken the side of royalty in the league called "*du bien public*," for although he perceived in Louis XI. an ambitious spirit, he also could discern that the results of his conduct were profitable to his country. At the head of this league were the Dukes of Berri, Bourbon, Brittany, and Nevers, the Count of Charolois, and John of Anjou.

In vain did René seek to dissuade his son, who had really to complain of his cousin, the King of France; but René himself remained faithful to his sovereign. His example was followed by the people of Angers, and thither, in 1464, did Louis XI. repair to encourage their loyalty.

The rendezvous of the league was at Etampes. To get there, the Duke of Brittany had to pass the river at Bouchemaine. The Angevins formed the design of closing up his passage, but René opposed this courageous project, for he hoped that a reconciliation would be effected by pacific means. Louis XI. was, however, much displeased with René for this, but ever after held the Angevins in higher estimation on this account.\*

This affair probably had some influence in the treatment which Louis afterwards showed to his aged relative, in the seizure of Angers and other places, and the province of Anjou, which had been restored to King René upon the marriage of his daughter Margaret to Henry VI.†

John of Anjou perceived at length that the confederates sought only to gratify their own ambitious views, and he desired to put an end to the war. He was one of the chief authors of the treaties of Conflans and of St. Maceriles-Fosses. Peace was finally established, and Louis promised to remit to John of Anjou a considerable sum, with a large body of troops,

\* Bourdigné; Godard Faultrier.

† Bodin; Monstrelet.

to enable him to sustain the rights of his family to the crown of Naples. This Duke, however, despaired of any further good fortune in Italy, and prayed the King to grant him these supplies for another object, viz., to prosecute his claims to the throne of Arragon.

The King of France from this time, instead of acceding to his request, vowed hatred to John of Anjou, and as he regarded it as a crime in all those who had embraced the cause called "*le bien public*," he did not scruple to violate all his sacred promises to this Prince. To this conduct of Louis has been attributed the subsequent ill-success of the Duke of Calabria in his campaign in Catalonia.

By the unanimous voice of the nation, the crown of this country had been offered, in 1468, to René of Anjou. Could he have accepted it, he would have had an opportunity, which he ardently desired, of avenging the affronts he had received in the kingdom of Naples from the Arragonese; and, besides, he had undoubted claims to the succession, in right of his mother Yoland; but René was now too aged to engage in so perilous an expedition, and he was obliged to refuse this mark of esteem, resigning his rights to his son John, Duke of Calabria, whom he dismissed to take possession of the principality of Catalonia.

This Prince set out with a formidable army, and in his first attack was very successful, but afterwards was less fortunate. Barcelona opened her gates to him with rejoicings, and the inhabitants were ardent in his cause. He next turned his arms against Lampourdon, which the King of Arragon, who was both old and blind, came to succour, but his troops were beaten in a tumultuous combat. This French army next marched to Gironne, where the people came out to oppose them, and on both sides they fought with

ardour, but greater loss was sustained by the besiegers, and when Prince Ferdinand arrived with fresh succours, the siege was raised.

Soon after, Ferdinand made a sally from the town, and was utterly defeated near Villademare, and was forced to fly. The Duke of Calabria most of all desired to take Gironne, thinking that he should thereby facilitate the execution of all his projects. He therefore passed into France to raise new troops, and to make preparations to prosecute the war with vigour. He soon returned with a new army of 15,000 men from Roussillon and Sardinia, which, united to his old troops, made his forces superior to those of the Arragonese. He then renewed his attacks, and Gironne, after being twice besieged, was at last taken. This war was carried on during three years, by the Duke of Calabria, with alternate good and bad success. In 1470, he routed the army of John, King of Arragon, and besieged the town of Peralto, upon which he returned to Barcelona, intending to pass the winter there, when he was seized with a fever, which caused his death, on the 16th of December, 1470, at the age of forty-five. This Prince was on the eve of obtaining possession of Arragon when his career was thus terminated. He was interred without pomp, as a private individual, in the cathedral of Barcelona.

This Duke of Calabria left two sons, who survived him but a short time. He was much regretted, being a virtuous and wise Prince. He was also distinguished for his bravery, and was so great a general that it has been said, "he wanted only fortune to be "one of the most illustrious men of the times." Philip de Comines says of him that he was "as great "a commander as any one in the army, upon which "account a mutual friendship arose between him and "the Count of Charolois."

1470.  
Daniel;  
Bodin.

He also adds that "upon occasions of alarm that "Duke was the first to mount his horse and sally "forth amongst the soldiers, to direct them or give his "commands, which were as readily obeyed as those "of the Count himself; and, to say the truth, he "deserved it."\*

The loss of their chief did not put an end to the civil discord amongst the Catalonians; the rebels kept up their courage, and called to their aid Gaston, who would not, they knew, despise the prospect of their principality being added to Sardinia and Roussillon. They also prohibited any governor being placed in the towns and fortresses, which had none, until René of Anjou, or a son of John, the late Duke, should arrive. These young Princes had already assumed the titles of Prince of Arragon and Duke of Calabria; yet they were but vain titles, adding nothing to their revenues. The age also of these Princes would not admit of either of them enduring the fatigues of war, and the Catalonians finally sought more efficient help from another quarter; but in the end, they all submitted to the King of Arragon.†

René of Anjou had been, during the military expeditions of his son John, inhabiting by turns the castles of Angers, Saumur, Pont de Cé, Beaufort, and Baugé, devoting himself entirely to the pursuits of private life. During the years 1468, 1469, and 1470 he employed himself in writing a collection of letters, 290 in number, relative to the Roman Chancellorship.

This Prince was versed in mathematics and theology; especially was he acquainted with the scriptures. His love of letters united him with the most remark-

\* Some writers say that he died on the 7th or 9th of July, and others date this event in 1471.

† Godard Faultrier: Daniel; Bodin; Mariana; Mezerai; Monfaucon; Moreri; Chastellaine; Dom Calmet; Monstrelet.

able of the learned men of France and Italy; amongst the latter was the Doge of Genoa, Thomas de Campofregosa, a man no less distinguished by his situation, than by his knowledge.

Few monarchs have been gifted with so much genius as René; for instance, his fine illustrated book on the laws of chivalry, in the King's library, at Paris. Several of his works he dedicated to Louis XI. He wrote upon the functions of the *Poursuivantes d'armes*.\* He cultivated literature and the arts in general. Born with talents for war and politics, he only gave himself up with more ardour to peaceful occupations, forgetting, in the calm of a private life, those tumultuous cares which had for so long a time agitated his soul. He became, indeed, persuaded that "to be happy he ought to forget that he was a king." In his leisure hours he composed verses, as well as wrote in prose. He composed several moral treatises, rondos, and ballads, and formed devices, inscriptions, and tableaux. His poems place him in the rank of the troubadours of his age, and some very pleasing Provençal songs, which he composed, he also ornamented with beautiful vignettes by his own hand.†

King René was, according to some historians, one of the most excellent painters of his age. Brantome says this, and it was the general opinion of his times. The portrait of René, painted by himself, has been preserved, and is called by Monfaucon a masterpiece. This picture was painted by René when he was grey-headed. It was placed in the chapel of the Carmelites at Aix.‡

Speaking of René as an artist, Bodin says, "this modest qualification was René's first title to glory,"

\* Hist. Général de Provence.

† Bodin; Moreri; Hist. Général de Provence.

‡ Monfaucon; Horace Walpole; Bodin.

and, "the fine arts have woven him a crown." To these, indeed, he was a protector and a friend. His works contributed greatly to the progress of painting in France, and his painting in the cathedral of Aix has been considered, on account of the manner in which it was executed, as one of the most precious monuments of the arts in France. At this time the arts were but in their infancy in Italy, and it was the residence of the Popes at Avignon, which gave rise to their cultivation in Provence. Coloured miniatures were much in vogue, in which less taste than finish is exhibited. René was very successful in that line, and he also made several oil paintings in the style of the Flemish artists.

The principal paintings which are known of René's are, the skeleton which decorated his tomb in the church of St. Maurice, at Angers, and the "Burning Bush," which is in the cathedral of Aix. René excelled in painting figures on glass, and some of these figures are still to be seen.\*

Notwithstanding the magnificence of the court of the Duke of Burgundy, who loved to gratify his vanity, by drawing a numerous concourse of knights to his fêtes, the French barons preferred the less ostentatious court of the King of Sicily, where the simplicity of the manners of René, and his affable reception had more attractions for them. In his private, as well as in his public life, King René was admirable for good nature. To great benevolence he united a gay and lively disposition. He was very witty. Ever fertile in sallies, he one day exclaimed, "Truly you will see, that in the end, he will ask of me my county of Provence," speaking of a gentleman, who did not think his services were sufficiently recompensed, and became importunate in his demands,

\* Bodin; Moreri; Hist. Général de Provence.

and as he spoke, René cast a look at another person similarly situated.

This Prince was very sober. We are assured that he drank no wine. One day, some Neapolitan lords, asked him his reason for this. "It is," he replied, "in order to give the lie to Livy, who pretended that, the Gauls only passed the Alps to drink the wines." \*

René held his court alternately in Anjou and Provence, and encouraged in both these provinces a taste for the *belles lettres* and the arts. This was doubtless the occasion of the remark of a modern author, that "there exists a great similarity between the Angevins and the Provençals in their customs, profane and religious; in their manners, both public and private; their patriotism, language, attachment to their sovereign, and their love of letters; which all prove," says he, "that these two charming countries have been governed by the same masters." By his relations with Italy, as well as by his benevolent character, René softened the manners of the Angevins. Literature, the arts, the theatre, all flourished under his reign.

He loved his people sincerely, and thus became popular; for although his talents were great and his judgment good, the kindness of his heart was still more observable than these.†

The ambition of enlarging his domains did not influence this monarch, who had long experienced the inconstancy, and perfidy of men, and conceived a sort of contempt for all that flatters the pride of kings.

The reign of this Prince was daily marked by new

\* Moreri; Bodin; Hist. Général de Provence; Villeneuve Barge-mont.

† Bodin; Moreri; Godard Faultrier; Hist. Général de Provence.

benefits. His life was that of a philosopher and a good Christian, and his meditations and religious exercises made him forget the adversities and troubles of his stormy life. He had all the qualities of a great man. René's love of justice has been much boasted of, and indeed he had been sometimes seen returning from battle to listen to the complaints of individuals, or to sign despatches, before he had laid aside his armour. The letters which he signed with the greatest pleasure were letters of pardon, or those, by which he recompensed services. This occasioned him to say, that "the pen of princes ought never to be idle." He also said, when speaking of the attention with which prompt justice ought to be rendered, that long expeditions caused the loss of the good will, and affection of the people; and these opinions became the rule of his conduct.

The misfortunes of his reign, and of those of his predecessors, had occasioned the loss of the custom of the Grand Seneschal's going throughout the province in order to watch over the administration of justice. René, himself a skilful administrator, restored this important function of their office with vigour, in the year 1443; and commanded them to punish severely those who would have oppressed the people by their injustice. In 1448 he adjudged the criminal proceedings, prescribing a more simple form of law-suit; regulated the salaries of attorneys, and sheltered the litigious from cunning and trickery. He also prevented by a wise law, the misdemeanors of guardians and trustees, and restrained impiety, blasphemy, and gambling. He diminished taxation, and favoured the sessions of the states, at which he habitually presided.

At Marseilles he reorganized the jurisdiction of the "prud' hommes pecheurs;" and by the establishment of the ordinance companies, in concert with King



Charles VII. he contributed to substitute, in lieu of the feudal system, a regular standing army.\*

King René's institution for the honest fishermen of Marseilles, withstood all the storms of the Revolution. This tribunal may be traced back to the tenth century, and it received, in 1471, from King René its definitive organization. The four judges who composed it, and their assistants, were elected annually on the day of Pentecost. At their sittings they wore judges' gowns, and were informed in all the points of contention relative to fishing; each one pleaded his own cause, and gave for costs two sous. The jury decided always justly, and the president expressed it, by saying to him whose complaint was without foundation, "La loi vous condamne." Against this sentence, returned by the peers, there was no appeal.

René loved much the fishermen, doubtless from pious motives, for his simple faith tended to a regard for all that recalled to him the Apostles. He permitted the fishermen to carry to the Fête Dieu a large wax taper, or torch, preceded by three minstrels. This custom still exists, the same as the fête of the Charibande, in imitation of the beacons of St. John. The Syndic of the fishery of Reculéé was called "The King of the Roach," and in this quality presided at the Charibande.†

King René has by some been called the "Merry Monarch," whilst others have regarded him with contempt, and doubtless there were instances of his peculiar genius and taste, which led to such remarks, and perhaps the following may serve as an instance:—

Some lords being at variance in a matter of interest, René went from Anjou into Brittany to conciliate them. He came to Carbai, a small parish in the

\* Bodin ; Moreri ; Godard Faultrier ; Hist. Général de Provence.

† Moreri ; Bodin ; Godard Faultrier.

Canton of Pouance, which in time of war furnished a dozen men to the garrison of his castle of Angers, and paid annually twelve poulets and an hundred bushels of oats. The King was touched at perceiving the extreme poverty of the inhabitants of this village. He released them from the tribute of provision, but on the following condition: He commanded that each year, the day after Easter, the people should assemble and appoint by a majority of votes a king, whom they should choose from amongst his vassals, born in their parish, and unmarried; that they should place a crown on his head of the bark of the willow, surrounded by the ears of hares. This King, being naked, was to jump into the pond, near to the town of Carbai, and after this feat, the parish should obtain a quittance of this impost. The same day the King of Carbai, accompanied by all the vassals of the parish, assisted at high mass, with the crown on his head and a white wand in his hand. After mass he made several declarations in his name. The prior, who was the lord temporal and spiritual of Carbai, gave to this King, during the day of his royalty, lodging, fire, and fifteen pounds of butter, and a frying-pan. The rector offered up prayers for him, and every householder gave two eggs, and in default of payment all their poulets were confiscated for his profit. Each individual married within the twelvemonths owed him a tribute of four farthings, and in default of payment he was taken to the pond.\*

King René has been reproached by some historians, who say he possessed all the qualities valuable to a private individual, but none of those required by kings, and which made him forget in the pursuit of studies and amusements his duties as a sovereign.

René encouraged industry amongst his people as much as it was possible to do so, at a time when the

\* Bodin.

means of encouraging and extending it were not yet known. He made a treaty with the King of Bone, in Africa, in order to establish the safety of navigation between their respective subjects. He afterwards found that liberty only could give activity to commerce, and he granted freedom to all vessels that might enter the port of Marseilles, of whatever nation they might be, but, with the ignorance partaking of the spirit of that age, he restricted them to one year.

King René contributed much to the establishment of the first manufactory for glass ever known, at Goult, about two leagues from the town of Apt, in Provence. He declares by an edict that the gentlemen of Provence shall, without derogation, be able to employ themselves in this kind of industry. He also favoured the works in the mines, by grants almost gratuitous.

René was the first to restrain the cupidity of goldsmiths, which he effected by commanding that the services of gold and silver newly made, should be marked with the arms of the city of Aix, by persons appointed to examine if the title were not altered.

In agriculture René confined himself to the culture of flowers and trees, and the still imperfect art of embellishing gardens. The northern provinces of the kingdom were indebted to him for their carnations, roses of Provence, the musk rose, and muscadine grapes. He likewise favoured the plantations of mulberry trees, which had become of importance since luxury had rendered the use of silk more general.

René also bestowed his care and affection on the most rare and various species of birds. In his manuscript life we read that he was the first who introduced into France white, black, and red peacocks. Also he brought into notice the large red partridge, and several species of rabbits. He forbade the hunting of hares

and partridges in the vineyards of Arles, Tarascon, and Marseilles, perhaps to reserve them for himself alone, for there appears no other reason that he could have had, for allowing the increase of these two kinds of game in Lower Provence.

René was tall and well made. He was of an agreeable countenance, and very gallant. Some writers have even reproached him with too great love for the female sex, and say, that his regard for them amounted to a weakness, to which he became the slave in his old age. Traces of this passion are found in several of his acts and writings; for instance, one of the articles of the statutes of the "Order of the Crescent," which was founded by René, expressly prohibits the knights from slandering women, of whatever rank they might be. The Courts of Love in Provence, which had been so conducive to chivalric gallantry throughout Europe, no longer existed in the time of this Prince, who, finding he could not re-establish them, instituted a "Prince of Love," to whom he gave annual officers, similar to those of the "Parliament of Love." These officers accompanied their "Prince of Love" to the grand procession of the Fête Dieu, at Aix, and for them he established a right, vulgarly called "pêlotte," which widows and widowers had to pay when they married again, as if to punish them for their inconstancy; and this was also exacted from such persons as married foreigners. This singular law the Parliament of Aix confirmed by several decrees, and it was preserved until the year 1789.\*

The Duke of Burgundy had formed his alliance with King Edward not from affection, but from state policy. His mother was a princess of the Lancastrian line, and had been brought up in an habitual hatred of the "House of York;" but even this the Duke had sacri-

\* Hist. Général de Provence; Bodin.

ficed to his interests in his marriage with Edward's sister.

He now saw himself reduced to the alternative of abandoning his brother-in-law, who had thrown himself on his protection, or of becoming involved in a war with the allied powers of France and of England.\* The Dukes of Exeter and Somerset who had been well received at this court, and who had become more distinguished since the revolution in England, urged the Duke to abandon the fugitive prince.

The Earl of Warwick had dismissed a body of troops to Calais, to await his orders for an invasion of the Low Countries; and Vaucleir, the governor of Calais, took this opportunity of showing his fidelity to the Earl, by his reception of these forces, and by other means.

It was of so much importance to the interests of the Duke of Burgundy to preserve peace with England, that he dared not to exasperate the Earl of Warwick; he therefore pretended, that it was with reluctance he had received the unfortunate Edward into his dominions, and that he was not at all disposed to give him any succours. He manœuvred, however, to assure Edward privately, that he would give him all the assistance he required, when an opportunity should offer of doing so, without incurring hazard. King Edward was but ill pleased, desiring earnestly that the Duke would declare for him openly, hoping it would be a means of keeping his party alive in England. Finding the Duke was resolved, and that the Duchess his sister failed to persuade him, Edward sought to gain a private audience. He was admitted, for the Duke knew not how to refuse him, when Edward represented to him that while he delayed to declare for him, the Earl of Warwick was strengthening his party in England, and that nothing but speedy succour could retrieve his fallen fortunes.

\* Philip de Comines; Rapin; Lingard; Henry; Villaret; Hume.

He then informed him of the promise of Clarence, and urged the necessity of instant measures, lest he should again change his mind, or Warwick impede the execution of his design, which should he discover he could prevent by removing him from public affairs. King Edward next reminded the Duke of their mutual oaths of friendship and assistance in adversity, and added, that by relieving him at this moment he would be promoting the good of his family, who might one day require a similar assistance, and he would besides enjoy the honour of restoring a king to his throne. Finally, he engaged to enter into a firm alliance with him, to assist him in his war with France as soon as he should have recovered his authority in England, and that thus there would be a greater chance of success. He concluded by saying, that the Duke's attempt to dissemble with the Earl and the King of France would be ineffectual, and would not prevent their uniting to effect his ruin.\* These arguments had great weight with the Duke of Burgundy, especially that which related to his war with Louis XI., whom he could not expect to repulse without the help of England, and which could only be procured by the restoration of Edward. He was, however, unable to render this monarch much assistance in the present posture of affairs; and should the attempt fail, it would inevitably draw upon him the indignation of Warwick, who only wanted an excuse to attack him. A thought now struck him, of a means by which to save his credit with both parties. He gave orders for four vessels to be fitted up at Vere, a port in Holland, under the names of some persons, to whom he remitted the necessary sums; he also hired fourteen ships of the Easterlings to convey King Edward, and to guard the English coast for fifteen days, that in the event of his failure he might re-embark.

\* Philip de Comines; Lingard; Hume; Henry; Rapin.

The Duke of Burgundy next bestowed on the English monarch a large sum of money, viz., 50,000 florins of gold, with which he left him in Holland, while he returned himself into Flanders.

When the preparations were completed, King Edward sailed; upon which, notice of his disappearance was carried to the Duke, who instantly proclaimed that no one should, on pain of death, give him any aid. This manœuvre would not have imposed upon the Earl of Warwick, had not Edward's project been crowned with success.\*

We are informed that the Duke of Somerset and other nobles, who had been banished the kingdom, were already preparing to embark with Queen Margaret and her son, when another revolution, no less sudden and extraordinary than the last, took place in England.

In the month of January, 1471, the Earl of Warwick received some intimations of the proceedings of the Yorkists; and in consequence issued orders for the Marquis of Montague to levy an army in the north. The Duke of Clarence also, received a commission to assemble troops to oppose King Edward, should he attempt to land in England.†

This enterprise was soon after undertaken by Edward, who in March of this year, 1471, sailed from the port of Vere, taking with him 2,000 men. When in sight of Cromer, in Norfolk, he sent on shore Sir Robert Chamberlaine, Sir Gilbert Debenham, and others to see how the country stood affected towards him; but, through the vigilance of the Earl of Oxford, such great preparations had been made on the part of Henry to oppose him, that Edward found it would be unsafe to stay there, and they steered northwards. They, at

\* Philip de Comines; Monfaucon; Baker; Chastellain; Rapin; Hume; Lingard; Henry; Villaret.

† Rapin; Henry.

1471.  
Rapin;  
Henry.

1471.  
Comines;  
Lingard;  
Hume;  
Allen's  
York.

length, succeeded in landing at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, and Edward expected to be received here with every demonstration of joy, but in this he was mistaken. Many of the inhabitants of these parts were well affected towards King Henry, while others feared to run the risk of espousing the cause of Edward.

It is worthy of remark, that it was at Ravenspur that Henry IV. landed to dethrone Richard II. King Edward was induced to imitate that monarch in his dissimulation and perjury. He showed a safe conduct from the Earl of Northumberland, and pretended that he did not come to claim the crown, but his father's inheritance.

No opposition being offered, Edward proceeded cautiously, making it appear that he came only as Duke of York to recover his property which had been confiscated. His motive for this line of conduct was, that he believed the people were attached to him, although the magistrates were against him. This might have been owing to the foresight of the Earl of Warwick, who, upon the restoration of Henry VI., had filled up these offices with persons attached to his service, and to these he had just sent orders not to admit Edward as Duke of York.

By coming thus only to claim his inheritance, Edward gave the people an opportunity of declaring for him, while the magistrates had not so good a pretext for the exercise of their authority as they might have had if he had advanced his pretensions to the crown. To convince the people of his sincerity, he even took an oath to the effect, and received the sacrament upon it, that he came, not to disturb King Henry, but only to recover his inheritance. He wore the ostrich feather, the ensign of Prince Edward, and ordered his followers to cry "King Henry!" in every town and village through which they passed. Styling himself Duke of York, he

thus made his way to the city of York, much displeased, however, at the indifference shown him by the people.\*

1471.  
Hume ;  
Rapin ;  
Allen's  
York.

Warwick and Clarence were levying forces with the greatest activity, from the time they were informed of King Edward's arrival. They issued orders for the magistrates of the different towns to close their gates against the Yorkists, and Montague, who had an army at Pontefract, was commanded to march against Edward, and prevent his gaining admission into York; but, for some reason which has never been explained, the Marquis remained where he was, and did not oppose the invader's progress. This conduct has been attributed to various causes: the most probable is, that Montague, thinking that Edward might be successful, adopted this course, in order to be afterwards reconciled to him, and believing he could make his peace with Warwick, should he gain the day.

At the city of York, King Edward was met by two of the aldermen of that city, who, as representatives of the magistrates, entreated him to march another way, as they could not possibly receive one, who came to wrest the crown from their lawful sovereign. Edward mildly replied that such was not his purpose; but, since the nation had again acknowledged Henry for their King, he also had received him, and intended no harm towards him. He came but to require him to restore his estates, having but a few followers with him; he looked to Parliament to decide his cause, and he wished but to end his days in peace in that allegiance which became a faithful subject. That, as for the rest, he ought not to be denied admittance into York, since not only his title, but his lands being in their county, made him especially a countryman of

\* Sandford; Baker; Daniel; Stow; Lond. Chron.; Paston Letters; Allen's York; Monstrelet; Comines; Monfaucon; Rapin; Lingard; Hume; Henry; Villaret.

theirs. In short, he reminded them of the favours they had received from his family.

The magistrates were but ill pleased with this reply, yet they could not appease the clamours raised by the Duke's friends, who were numerous in that city. These represented that the Duke ought to be admitted, as he acknowledged the authority of King Henry, and was willing to submit to the decisions of Parliament; finally, that they should not refuse one, who came only to claim his own inheritance.

At length some deputies were sent by the magistrates to Edward to make terms with him, and prevent the plunder of the city. Their proposals were at once agreed to by Edward, who assured them that he had no intention of injuring the city, and that he was sincere in his obedience to King Henry. These declarations procured him a ready admission into the city, where he proceeded to the cathedral, and confirmed his engagements by a sacred oath. This obtained him the good will of the citizens, so that they lent him money to defray his expenses, and he was thus enabled to proceed to London. His army was much augmented while at York, and he had great expectations of still more increasing it on his route; moreover, he relied on the promise of Clarence to come over to him.

At Nottingham, Edward was joined by Lord Stanley, Sir Thomas Parr, Sir James Harrington, Sir Thomas Montgomery, and several others, who brought him reinforcements. Finding himself now at the head of an army of 4,000 men, or more, he threw off the mask, and, in violation of the oath he had just taken in the cathedral of York, he assumed the name of King.\*

During these transactions Warwick and Clarence had been employed in raising two separate armies,

1471  
Rapin ;  
Henry.

\* Baker; Stow; Rapin; Allen's York; Henry; Lingard.



which they intended to unite, and to place the young Prince Edward at their head, as chief commander, but, this Prince had not yet returned from France; when Warwick, who had not doubted that Montague would have been powerful enough to repel King Edward, heard to his great amazement, that the Marquis had permitted him to pass on without opposition, and that Edward's army was increasing continually in numbers as it advanced towards the metropolis.

The Earl of Warwick was much puzzled to know the motives of Montague's conduct, yet he resolved to act with caution. He first despatched express orders for the Marquis to come and join him; and at the same time, desiring the Duke of Clarence to advance with haste, he came to the resolution of encamping near Coventry. At this place he intended to await the approach of King Edward, and seek to amuse him until these two bodies of troops should be able to join him. These set out in obedience to the Earl's commands, but, before they could reach him, Edward approached very near the camp of Warwick, who, finding himself too weak to encounter him, sent several despatches to hasten the assistance of Clarence; the latter excused his delay, when, just as the two armies were on the point of engaging, the Duke of Gloucester rode off to the camp of his brother, with a few followers, and without having asked a safe conduct. He was affectionately received by Clarence, and, after a short conference, King Edward was proclaimed throughout the army, all the officers being prepared for this event, and having previously been persuaded to espouse his cause.

It was thus that this monarch, but a short time before a fugitive and suppliant to a foreign prince, beheld himself once more, at the head of a powerful army, and acknowledged King by the chief nobility of

England, being the same day joined by Clarence and all his forces.

Warwick, notwithstanding this very unexpected blow, would not listen to any accommodation, although the Duke of Clarence, who felt some compunction for his own conduct, sent to offer his mediation between his brother and the Earl.

The latter replied with indignation, "Tell your 'master,'" said he, "that Warwick, true to his word, 'is a better man than the false and perjured Clarence. The sword he had appealed to, was the only arbiter 'he would admit between him and his enemies.'"

The Earl of Warwick had hoped that the Londoners would refuse to admit Edward, should he appear before the capital, and resolved, in this case, to follow him thither, as soon as he should be joined by the Marquis of Montague, and either compel him to retire, or fight him before the gates, at a great disadvantage.\*

The Earl, when rejoined by Montague and others, sent to his brother, the Archbishop of York, to endeavour to keep possession of the capital. For this purpose the latter sought to arouse the loyalty of the citizens towards the Lancastrian King. He caused this monarch to ride from St. Paul's, through the Cheap, down Walbroke; yet this expedient had but little effect, so many of the Londoners being favourable to King Edward. Finding his efforts so unsuccessful, the Archbishop secretly sent to obtain the pardon of Edward, which was granted him, upon his assurances of future fidelity.

As it had been expected, King Edward marched directly to London. He had many friends there, and he flattered himself that, when they beheld him approach with so powerful an army, they would use their

\* Cont. Hist. Croy.; Speed; Stow; Baker; Comines; Lingard; Howel; Paston Letters; Monfaucon; Rapin; Hume; Henry.

influence with the people to procure him admission. Nothing could be more advantageous to him than to gain over this city to his interests; and the army of Warwick being at a distance favoured his design. Many of the citizens also owed him large sums of money, of which he stood in need; and he could not calculate upon entire success in his restoration, unless he had command of the capital. It was also of great consequence to him that he should obtain possession of King Henry's person. He had therefore resolved to run all hazards, which he knew would be great, should the citizens refuse to receive him.

In London great consternation had prevailed when the news arrived of the Duke of Clarence having joined his brother's standard. Despair of Warwick's success spread universally, and inspired a kind of terror into the minds of the people, which Edward's friends artfully sought to augment, by reminding them of the danger to which they were exposed from this King's resentment, should they not adopt some speedy means of submission. All those who had taken refuge in the Sanctuaries, no less than 2,000 in number, came forward now to advance the interests of their King, whilst his enemies drew back in dismay, lest they should involve themselves in some new trouble. In vain did the Duke of Somerset and the Archbishop of York seek to oppose the tide of popularity towards Edward; they were not listened to, and their assurances that, within three days, Warwick would be at their gates to relieve them, were equally unavailing; the sight of Edward's army made them disbelieve all they said. In short, the Lancastrians were compelled to withdraw from the city, while the people hailed King Edward's return, and went out in crowds to meet him, sending forth the loudest acclamations of joy. Amidst these contending interests, no one so much as

thought of aiding the escape of the unfortunate King Henry.

In a triumphal manner King Edward entered the city of London on the 11th of April, 1471. He rode first to St. Paul's, and thence to the Bishop's Palace, where the Archbishop of York presented himself, leading King Henry by the hand, whom he delivered up to Edward. The Lancastrian monarch was, after a reign of only six months, since his release, again committed to the Tower.

King Edward then proceeded to Westminster, and there returned thanks to God for his safe return. He also expressed, in lively terms, his gratitude to the people, for their demonstration of attachment to him, promising to bear it in remembrance; and he performed several acts of clemency, which served to heighten his popularity. He then immediately reassumed the government of the kingdom.\*

1471.  
John Rous;  
Toplis;  
Lingard;  
Rapin.

\* Sandford; Stow; Baker; Howel; Hume; Daniel; Monfaucon; Lingard; Rapin; Henry; John Rous; Toplis; Paston Letters.

## CHAPTER VII.

*(Warwick.)*

"My blood, my want of strength, my sick heart shows,  
 "That I must yield my body to the earth,  
 "And by my fall, the conquest to my foe."

SHAKESPEARE.

*(King Henry.)*

"Ah! kill me with thy weapon, not with words!  
 "My breast can better brook thy dagger's point,  
 "Than can my ears that tragic history.  
 "But wherefore dost thou come? is't for my life?"

SHAKESPEARE.

The Earl of Warwick resolves to fight—Battle of Barnet—King Edward enters London in triumph—Queen Margaret lands at Weymouth—She goes to Beaulieu—Her alarm for her son's safety—She goes to Bath—The lords assemble the Lancastrian forces—King Edward collects his army—The battle of Tewkesbury—Queen Margaret taken prisoner—The Duke of Somerset and the Grand Prior of St. John's taken, and executed—Prince Edward murdered—Sir John Fortescue taken prisoner, and liberated by King Edward—Queen Margaret led in triumph to London, and imprisoned in the Tower—Henry VI. murdered—His character, &c.

THE Earl of Warwick advanced with great speed towards London. He had entertained hopes that the citizens would detain King Edward at least a few days, in the expectation of his succours; but, finding himself disappointed, he had no resource left but to give his enemies battle, however uncertain he might feel of the result. Of his success in this engagement he could not but be doubtful, his army being less numerous than that of the King, and the uncertain conduct of his brother, the Marquis of Montague, having given him great cause for mistrust.

The Marquis had joined in his plot with evident

reluctance, and he had since twice neglected to assist him, under circumstances which ought to have called forth the greatest exertions. He could not dismiss him, without discouragement to his army; still, after beholding the conduct of Clarence, he feared much that his own brother might have been corrupted. At length Warwick resolved to risk his fortunes on the event of a battle, and, should he lose it, to perish. He arranged it so, however, that his brother Montague should be placed in as much peril as himself, since his conduct, upon this occasion, would alone prove his fidelity.

The army of Warwick was encamped in a large plain called Gladsmore Heath, near Barnet, ten miles north of London, and here these forces were met by King Edward. A terrible engagement followed, which decided the quarrel of the two parties. It was fought on the 14th of April, being Easter Day, in the year 1471.\*

The unfortunate Henry the Sixth was brought to the field by his rival, King Edward, who did not think it safe to trust any one with the care of him. Happily for that monarch, amidst the various changes of fortune to which he was subject, his natural weakness of mind caused him to view with less anxiety, the difficulties and dangers which another of more energy and spirit would, doubtless, have regarded with the utmost alarm.†

The Earl of Warwick, upon this eventful day, wore an ostrich feather, to show his sincerity, as his cognizance—the badge of the young Prince Edward. He appointed to the command of the right wing of his army, which consisted of horse, the Marquis of Mon-

\* An obelisk was erected to commemorate this battle by Sir Jeremy Sambroke, of Gobion, in the year 1740, near Barnet.

† Sandford; Stow; Speed; Toplis; Pennant; Rapin; Henry; Lingard; Cont. Hist. Croyland; Philip de Comines.

1471.  
 Stow;  
 Toplis;  
 Paston  
 Letters;  
 Pennant;  
 Rapin;  
 Henry;  
 Hume;  
 Lingard.

tague, and the Earl of Oxford, and the left, consisting also of horse, he led on himself, with the Duke of Exeter, while the main body, consisting of bills and bows, was conducted by the Duke of Somerset.

On the King's side the Duke of Gloucester led the vanguard, King Edward the main body, and Lord Hastings brought up the rear. The fight commenced at an early hour in the morning, some say four o'clock, and continued until noon.\* Both sides fought with great obstinacy and various success. Never, perhaps, was more undaunted courage displayed, than upon this occasion.

As no one could expect any favour from his adversary, each exerted himself to the utmost, fighting with deadly hatred, knowing that certain destruction followed, if defeated. The Earl of Warwick's followers especially strove with desperation, and at first had reason to expect the victory; indeed, it appeared to them so certain, that a few from the squadrons of the Earl, rode off with the news to London of the defeat of the Yorkists.

King Edward, however, bringing up a body of reserve, fell upon the flank of the Earl of Warwick's army, and put it into great confusion. The Earl's forces were too small to admit of his making a detachment to prevent this accident, and a movement of the Earl of Oxford assisted in turning the fortunes of the day against the Earl of Warwick. Oxford had been successful against King Edward, but, thinking that he had left his line too much exposed, he wheeled back again. Unfortunately his badge, a star† with streams, too much resembling the King's, which was a sun, it

\* Others say the fight was over at ten o'clock.

† Speed tells us that Oxford's men had his star or mullet embroidered on their coats, and King Edward's soldiers the sun; but it was a little white rose, with the rays of the sunbeams pointing round about it.—*Lovers's Heraldry*.

was mistaken, and a fine mist arising, the Lancastrians were unable to distinguish between them. Thus, when Oxford returned to his post, his squadrons were taken for those of the enemy, and this Earl's prudent precaution eventually became his ruin, for his followers were routed before he could convince them of their error. Great disorder then prevailed; some thinking that they were betrayed, being attacked by their own forces, cried "Treason! treason!" and went over to the enemy; while others, seeing them fly, believed that they were attacked in the rear, and were dreadfully alarmed, and at a loss how to act. Finally, King Edward, taking advantage of the mistake, despatched all who fled towards him, and Warwick's efforts were quite ineffectual towards restoring order. He exerted himself to the utmost, striving by his own example to encourage his army. He rushed on foot into the thickest of the fight, and ere long met his death, being covered with wounds. His brother Montague, seeking to rescue him, shared the same fate. The Lancastrian army was entirely routed. No less than 10,000 were slain; for King Edward, who had on former occasions, commanded that the soldiers should be spared, but no quarter given to the generals, had, upon this day, issued orders for an indiscriminate slaughter. Twenty-three knights were slain on the side of the Lancastrians, amongst whom was Sir William Tyrell.

The Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Oxford fled into Wales to the Earl of Pembroke, who was at this time levying troops there for the Earl of Warwick.

The Duke of Exeter had fought with much bravery in this battle, and was left for dead on the field; but he recovered, and, crawling to the nearest house, prevailed upon some friends to convey him to the Sanctuary of Westminster.

On the side of King Edward were slain Humphrey

Bouchier, Lord Cromwell, Lord Barnes, and Sir John Lisle, Lords Say, Mountjoy, and others. Most of those who were killed in this battle were buried upon the plain where they had fought, and a chapel was afterwards built there by King Edward, who appointed a priest to say mass for the souls of the departed.\*

Such was the termination of this bloody engagement, and the tragic end of Warwick, the most powerful and conspicuous subject England ever beheld, having obtained such great influence that he was able to raise to the throne, or to remove from it, kings at his own will; thence was he styled "the king-maker." The death of this Earl was more important to King Edward than any victory could have been; for the continued success of this nobleman had so gained on the superstitious minds of the people, as to cause the belief that the party he supported must eventually triumph.†

The bodies of the Earl of Warwick and his brother Montague were exposed to view for three or four days in St. Paul's, that all might know of their death, and no more pretend the contrary, and cause sedition, and then they were interred in the monastery at Bisham, in Berkshire, which had been founded by the Montacutes, their maternal ancestors. The remains of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, who had been beheaded at York, in 1460, for his adherence to the Lancastrian cause, had been also buried there.‡

Some writers affirm that Montague deserted to

\* Sir John Paston, who fought in this battle for the Lancastrians, wrote to his mother four days after, that the loss of life, on both sides, amounted to more than a thousand men; other writers say 4,000. Fabyan and Toplis tell us 1,500 fell on the side of the victors; Hall, 10,000 at the least; also Howel, 10,000.

† Stow; Sandford; Howel; Toplis; Baker; Hall; Fabyan; Paston Letters; Lond. Chron.; Pennant; Leland Coll.; Monstrelet; Allen's York; Monfaucon; Daniel; Biographie Universelle; Rapin; Barante; Lingard; Henry; Hume; Lysons' *Magna Britannia*.

‡ Stow; Paston Letters; Hardyng's Chron.; *Magna Britannia*; Bridges's Northamptonshire; Lingard; Baker's Northamptonshire.

Edward, and thus caused the defeat of Warwick, and that when the Earl of Warwick's followers discovered that he had changed his livery, they slew him immediately. Also that Warwick, seeing his brother slain, Oxford fled, and the fortune of the day turned against him, leaped upon a horse, in hopes of escaping, but, coming to an impassable wood, was there killed.\*

It is possible that the Earl of Warwick might have been more fortunate had he awaited the arrival of Queen Margaret, whose presence, at least, would have drawn to his standard, all the most zealous friends of the House of Lancaster; but the pride of the Earl would not permit this delay, as he did not choose to share the honours of his triumph with his Queen, desiring that they should be exclusively his own. No doubt his hatred to Queen Margaret had some influence, and also his fear of the Duke of Somerset, whose father and brother he had put to death.†

Warwick, also, might have relied much on his own popularity, which speedily drew a numerous party around his standard, everyone being proud of bearing his cognizance, "the bear and ragged staff," in his cap; some of gold enamelled, others of silver, and those who could not afford the precious metals, cut them out of white silk or cloth.

No one was better fitted to obtain partizans than this noble Earl, for besides his wealth, valour, and warlike skill, his manners were authoritative and persuasive, and he well knew how to inspire affection in those whom he would unite in his cause.‡

Once again king, Edward entered London triumphantly (bringing his prisoner, King Henry the Sixth with him), and having, to all appearance, by this

\* Pennant; Monstrelet; Baker.

† Barante; Philip de Comines; Hume; Baudier.

‡ Barante; Pol. Vergil.



victory, secured his crown. He was welcomed anew with joy by the citizens, who had feared Warwick's return, even if successful.

After returning thanks to God in St. Paul's, King Edward remanded the unfortunate Henry to his former prison in the Tower. A pardon was also issued by the King for the Archbishop of York, whom, through mistrust, he had before committed to prison; probably not wishing to offend the clergy, and also desirous of showing his gratitude to the Archbishop for having, whether purposely, or inadvertently, permitted his escape from Middleham Castle.\*

There were others who sought for King Edward's favour, but were less fortunate. Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, from the Sanctuary of Westminster, where he had taken refuge, addressed his prayer to the King to spare his life, and he had hopes that, through the intercession of his wife, the sister of Edward, he should obtain his pardon. This lady, however, far from commiserating the unhappy position to which the adverse fortunes of her husband had brought him, not only neglected him, but in the following year sued for and obtained a divorce (November 12th, 1472), and then married Sir Thomas St. Leger.

The Duke of Exeter, meanwhile, had been cast into prison, where he received only the weekly allowance of half a mark. He afterwards escaped and went abroad, where he lived in great distress and poverty. Finally, in 1474, his dead body was found on the sea-shore, on the coast of Kent; but we have no account of the means of his escape from prison, or of the authors of his death.†

\* Stow; Fabyan; Hardyng's Chron.; Allen's York; Toplis; Paston Letters; Baker; Rapin; Lingard.

† To this Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, Henry VI. was godfather.—Sandford; Milles's Catalogue; Stow; Philip de Comines; Paston Letters; Lingard; Leland Coll.; Monstrelet.

Another of the Lancastrians, John de Vere, Earl Oxford, became a fugitive after the unfortunate issue of the battle of Barnet. Some authors write that he fled to Scotland, where, discovering a plot to betray him, he escaped into Wales, to join the Earl of Pembroke. Others say, that after the encounter at Barnet he went into Wales and France; but all agree that he preferred a life of activity, and collected a few troops,\* and, with his squadron of twelve sail, he swept the seas, carrying off rich prizes, and making inroads in the maritime counties. He surprised the strong fortress of St. Michael, in Cornwall. Coming to Mont St. Michael, with his followers disguised as pilgrims, to pay their devotions, as customary, at the church, they were admitted to the castle.

They soon overpowered the small garrison, and repulsed the assaults of Sir John Arundell, who was sent to recover this castle, and who lost his life in the attempt. From this strong position Lord Oxford made depredations in the neighbouring counties, when he was assisted by the friends of the House of Lancaster, in his endeavours to wreak his vengeance on the Yorkists. Sir Henry Brodrigan, Esq., next besieged the Mount, but, his fidelity being suspected, he was superseded by Sir John Fortescue. This commander had been received into the favour of King Edward; we are not told, if he reluctantly entered on this office, but he exhibited his skill and judgment, in using persuasions and promises rather than arms. He was at first unsuccessful, but, after a long siege, the Earl of Oxford, becoming fearful of the treachery of his followers, surrendered, conditionally that their lives, as well as his own, should be spared.† The mercy of King Edward, however, only extended to the life of

1471.  
Paston  
Letters.

1472.  
Leland's  
Itinerary.

1473.  
Paston  
Letters.

\* Some writers say he had 400 men.

† A free pardon was granted to the accomplices of the Earl in this rebellion.

this nobleman, who was imprisoned for eleven years, in the castle of Ardennes, in Picardy. After the surrender of the Earl of Oxford at St. Michael's Mount, his estates were confiscated. His countess was left destitute, and during the period of her husband's imprisonment, supported herself by needlework—a strange reverse of fortune for one who was the daughter of the great Earl of Salisbury, and the sister of the potent "king-maker"! Yet such vicissitudes often mark the times of civil rebellion.\*

1471

Nor was the Countess of Oxford the only distinguished female who suffered in these perilous times. After the death of the Earl of Warwick, his lady, Anne, was also deprived of her possessions, by the authority of Parliament, which were settled on her two daughters, Isabella and Anne. The former had been married to the Duke of Clarence; the latter to the young Prince Edward, son of Henry VI. By this arrangement it was made to appear as though their mother was naturally dead.

This Countess of Warwick took sanctuary at Beaulieu, in Hampshire, where she continued a long time in a mean condition. She afterwards, privately, went into the north, where she also experienced great difficulties. Some years later, after the death of her daughters, when Henry VII. desired himself to possess Barnard Castle (which belonged to her inheritance), he annulled the former act, and restored her possessions.†

During this succession of events Queen Margaret had been detained at Harfleur. She had arrived on the coast with the Prince, her son, in the month of

\* Paston Letters; Milles's Catalogue; Stow; Rot. Parl.; Lysons' Mag. Brit.; Lingard; Leland Collection; Seyer's Bristol.

† It was not until the year 1488 that this countess recovered her lands.—*Hutchinson's Durham.*

November, and had remained there all the winter. When at last she embarked, on the 4th of March, she was tossed about by winds and waves, which, as if in forgetfulness of their natural inconstancy, had been uniformly adverse to her voyage during five entire months, thus preventing her landing in England in time to prevent the misfortunes which had just befallen her party. This unfortunate heroine was, at last, destined to land at Weymouth,\* after being detained three weeks in the channel, in total ignorance of all that had happened. It was the 14th of April, 1471,† on the evening of the very day upon which the battle of Barnet, so fatal to her hopes, had taken place.‡

Having at length attained the shore, after so many vicissitudes, with a few French troops, she might well, in the impulse of feeling, have exclaimed—

"I weep for joy

"To stand upon my country once again.

"Dear earth, I do salute thee!"

Fortune had often been the cruel enemy, and again befriended Queen Margaret. Upon this occasion she seemed to have driven her to the brink of despair at a time when she had been allowed to indulge the most brilliant hopes of prosperity and of happiness. It was but a short time since the Earl of Warwick, his brother, and the Duke of Clarence had all united their interests with hers. Clarence had now proved traitor. Warwick, who had months before impatiently awaited on the shore a long time for her arrival, but in vain,—alas! he was no more. Montague had also fallen, and all the

\* Lingard says she landed at Plymouth; Monstrelet, in Devonshire.

† Some tell us the Queen landed the week before Easter.

‡ Sandford; Stow; Baker; Baudier; Fabian; Shakespeare; London Chron.; Paston Letters; Hume; Biographie Universelle; Daniel; Ellis's Hist. of Weymouth; Henry; Mag. Britannia; Lingard; Leland's Itin.

1471.  
Stow;  
Magna  
Britannia;  
Rapin;  
Hume;  
Henry.

noble army of the Lancastrians was now entirely dispersed. The beloved husband and pacific King Henry had been again consigned to a prison. What chances were these? Queen Margaret could but look upon herself as destitute and helpless, and again thrown upon her own resources; and all these changes had happened at a moment when she had fondly imagined that nothing but the contrary winds had impeded her restoration to authority, to honour, to her husband, and to her throne. Nay, her imagination, ever lively, might have even pictured her triumphal entrance into the capital, amidst the acclamations of the people;—but what a reverse was here!

The transition from joy to sorrow, from the most buoyant hopes to the most heartfelt despondency, was too much—too much even for the heroic mind of Margaret of Anjou. She no sooner understood the extent of her losses and misfortunes than she sank down senseless on the floor, and could with great difficulty be recovered to life, and never, we are told, again was restored to the renewal of that hope which had animated her to her greatest exertions. She no longer perceived the possibility of her restoration to the throne, and all her wishes, all her thoughts, became concentrated in the protection of her son. That admirable firmness of mind which had so long distinguished her, now entirely forsook her, and, perceiving no remedy in her misfortunes, she abandoned herself to grief. She fled with her son for refuge, first to an abbey called Cearne, close by, and thence to the monastery of Beaulieu, in Hampshire.\*

\* At this period all churches and churchyards were sanctuaries, which afforded protection to traitors and delinquents of every kind for forty days. The most eminent of these sanctuaries in England were St. John's of Beverly, St. Martin's-le-Grand in London, Ripon in Yorkshire, St. Barsen's in Cornwall, and Westminster.—*Paston Letters*.

*Baker; Henry; Baudier; Villaret; Rapin; Lingard; Hardyng's Chron.; Pol. Vergil; Hume; Wroaxall's Tour; Hay's Biog.; Warner's Hampshire.*

The Queen had with her the Grand Prior of St. John's, then called the Treasurer of England, who had been dismissed from England to fetch her, Lord Wenlock, and several knights and esquires. The intention of Margaret was to remain with these, her friends, in the Abbey of Beaulieu until she could safely return with them to France.\* While Queen Margaret continued in this state of despondency, she was rejoined by Edmond, Duke of Somerset, and his brother, John Beaufort, the Earls of Pembroke and Devonshire, and some others.† These noblemen sought to console the despairing Queen by representing to her that she still had reason for hope; for although King Edward had been victorious in the last battle, he might yet be vanquished; that the friends of her husband were still numerous in the kingdom, and that it would not be so difficult as she imagined to raise a new army to arrest the usurper's progress; that, as one battle gained had restored to him the crown, so there was a chance that another lost might hurl him from it. They reminded her of the various changes which had occurred since the commencement of the quarrel between the two Houses, and thence bade her infer that there was still reasonable hope of success, provided she did not, by yielding herself up to unwarrantable fears, resign the interests of her family. That when she had herself acted as general, her armies had frequently been successful, and that it was still probable, that she might be victorious. Finally, that as her son, the Prince of Wales, was regarded as the true heir to the crown, his appearance at the head of her troops might be productive of a change in her favour. All these arguments, however, although set forth in the most persuasive manner, could not restore Queen Margaret to

\* Baker; Rapin; Villaret; Henry; Blore's Rutland; Fleetwood's MS.

† Lingard; Hardyng's Chron.; Rapin; Henry; Villaret.

her wonted energy. She either despaired of success after so many accumulated disasters, which had befallen her in such rapid succession, or else the hasty glance and anticipation of the future which great minds are ever disposed to take, and of which the past experience she had had enabled her to judge, prevailed to convince Margaret that her husband's restoration to the throne for so brief a period, was but as the flash of expiring light, previous to the extinction of the Lancastrian dynasty. When again she beheld her son, she longed to restore him to his rights, but was restrained by her maternal anxiety. She was evidently reluctant to expose herself once more to the changes of fortune; but it was not that she feared for her personal safety, it was her affection for her son that made her apprehensive of the unhappy consequences of an unsuccessful enterprise. She perceived, that she could not attempt the recovery of the crown, without the imminent hazard of her son's life, and this reflection had so much weight with her, that it prevented her taking any decided step. She even proposed sending the young Prince back to France to await the event of their present undertaking; but in this she was opposed by the Duke of Somerset, who relied upon the presence of Prince Edward, to attract many to his standard, and to inspire his followers with an ardent desire to fight in his cause. At last, when the Queen perceived that the lords were earnest to have her son present in battle, she violently opposed it, urging his youth, inexperience, and the great risk he would run, and adding that if he perished, every hope would be extinguished. She urged, that by sending him to France he would be in safety, and he might in the event of the failure of this enterprise remain in that country, and when advanced in years and strength would be able to return and assert his rights. Maternal feelings, however, at last

yielded, but it was only after a severe conflict between the dread of losing her son, and the desire of placing him on the throne, which was his lawful right, that this unfortunate Queen adopted the advice of her friends. She had risked much; she now resolved to hazard all in one last, desperate effort, to defend her fortunes.\*

This resolution being once taken, Queen Margaret no longer displayed the same despondency, but considered the measures most politic in her present desperate circumstances. It was proposed that the Queen should retire with the Prince and Princess of Wales to Bath, and thither they hastened with a few attendants, while the Duke of Somerset and the noblemen and others, separated, to collect their adherents. These were to be united to the remains of the Earl of Warwick's army. Many, in a short time joined them at Exeter from Cornwall and Devonshire, through the influence of Sir Hugh Courtney, and Sir John Arundel.

The Earl of Pembroke set off to levy troops, in Wales, where his interest was greatest, having requested of the Duke of Somerset, who was Commander-in-chief under Prince Edward, not to engage in any contest, until he should rejoin him with his followers. With almost incredible speed this new army was assembled. On the 27th of April, thirteen days after the battle of Barnet, these forces of the Lancastrians were drawn together, amounting to 40,000 men. With this army it was the intention of the commanders to march into Wales, and there join the Earl of Pembroke, and from thence to proceed into Cheshire, where they expected to strengthen their army with a body of archers, which would have made them very formidable.

1471.  
Hume;  
Rapin;  
Carew;  
Henry.

\* Habington; Baker; Lingard; Rapin; Villaret; Henry; Hume.  
VOL. II. X

able.\* At Bath the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire had many friends, and the name of Prince Edward attracted multitudes to their party. The Queen, however, did not yet feel sufficient confidence in her forces to risk a battle. Therefore she awaited the reinforcements which the Earl of Pembroke was expected to bring from Wales.

King Edward, meanwhile, receiving news of the Queen's intentions, reassembled his troops lately disbanded after the battle of Barnet, and with great expedition marched forwards, in order to prevent the union of Queen Margaret's forces with those of the Earl of Pembroke. He issued a proclamation declaring his right to the crown was unquestionable, being founded on justice and equity, confirmed by several parliaments, and established by his repeated victories. That, notwithstanding all this, many persons had risen up against him, and he now thought proper to add a list of the disaffected whom he proscribed. These were, Margaret, calling herself Queen of England, Edward her son, the Duke of Somerset, and his brother, John Beaufort, the Duke of Exeter, John, Earl of Oxford, John Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, William, Viscount de Beaumont, Hugh Courtney, and eleven others.†

The Queen was anxious to avoid an engagement in which she would labour under some disadvantages, and determined to retire into Wales, a country the situation of which was very favourable to her object, of putting off any fighting until the forces of Pembroke should join her army, and enable her to give battle to her enemies.‡

King Edward encamped at Marlborough, fifteen

\* Biondi; Habington; Baker; Magna Britannia; Carew's Cornwall; Henry; Lingard; Daniel; Rapin; Leland's Itinerary.

† Habington; Rapin.

‡ Biondi; Baker; Rapin.

miles from Bath; and by the interposition of his army, prevented any succours reaching the Queen. Upon this near approach, Queen Margaret was alarmed, and, thinking herself unsafe, left Bath: she withdrew to Bristol. Her next object was to pass the Severn at Gloucester; but she was refused the passage of the river at that place by Lord Beauchamp, the governor of that city and castle. The Queen was much provoked at this, but, in her present circumstances, she dared not revenge herself; and, passing by Gloucester, she proceeded to Berkley, in her way to Tewkesbury. The Queen also lost some of her artillery by the enemy, owing to the negligence of her own soldiers.

Now did King Edward hasten on, at the head of his troops, intent on charging the Lancastrians before they could obtain assistance from Wales. He had the advantage both in arms and ammunition, and succeeded in pursuing the Queen's forces so closely that he arrived in sight of them, before they could reach Tewkesbury.

Again the Queen became alarmed, so much so, that in a fit of desperation she began to consider the means of escape. Once again, the Duke of Somerset overcame her fears, and she gave up her intention of consulting her safety by flying into Wales, where a large army raised by the Earl of Pembroke was prepared to defend her, and resolved to remain where she was and run all hazards.\* A council was called by her generals to deliberate on the propriety of passing the river, with the risk of beholding their rear-guard put to the route, or whether they should entrench themselves in the park adjoining the town, until they could procure assistance from Pembroke. Being quite engrossed by the consideration of her son's safety, Margaret advised the

\* Baker; Habington; Biondi; Rapin; Holinshed; Fosbrooke; Leland's Itinerary.



passage of the river, and many, from complacency to their Queen, supported this opinion. Somerset, however, opposed it, alleging that before the army could have time to pass, the enemy would be near enough to attack them; and that all those who should be so unfortunate as to be left behind would be cut to pieces; that this disaster, which would be unavoidable, would nevertheless be fatal to their cause, since it would be the means of discouraging those who were faithful to their interests. In short, he judged, that the deficiencies in their numbers might be made up by entrenching in the park, and by drawing lines which could counterbalance the enemy's superior numbers. This opinion was adopted, after some deliberation. The Duke of Somerset has been charged by historians with imprudence and rashness; but perhaps they were ignorant of the difficulty of passing such a river as the Severn with the enemy in their rear. It had been well had this general committed no other faults, the Queen's affairs might then have been more prosperous; but his advice obliged the Queen to fight the enemy upon unequal terms.\*

The Lancastrians having taken the resolution to wait the approach of King Edward without moving, laboured all night in forming entrenchments around the park, which they accomplished before daybreak, so anxious were they to be prepared against a sudden attack.

When the forces of the King approached within sight of this encampment, it was resolved by him to begin the attack immediately, without allowing them time to establish themselves more firmly.

King Edward drew up his army in two lines, giving the command of the first to the Duke of Gloucester, and conducting the second himself, with the Duke of Clarence.

\* Stow; Biondi; Habington; Rapin.

The Queen's army was divided into three bodies. The first, commanded by Somerset, was prepared to sustain the first attack, the second was led on by Prince Edward, who was regarded as Commander-in-Chief, having Lord Wenlock and the Lord Prior of St. John's under him, and the third was conducted by the Earl of Devonshire. From the opinion which King Edward had formed of the valour and self-conceit of the Duke of Somerset, he had made his own arrangements, hoping to entrap him. It was the belief of the King, that the Duke expected to repel the first attack, and that he intended to sally forth and improve the opportunity, should any disorder arise amongst the Yorkists; consequently, it was ordered that Gloucester, who was to commence the fight, should fall back suddenly if vigorously resisted, and that, when the enemy should pursue him, he should turn round, and attack them with renewed energy, and he was promised that the rest of the army should support him.

When Queen Margaret perceived the hour of battle could no longer be delayed, and that nothing but the utmost valour and intrepidity could compensate for the deficiency of her numbers, she resolved to harangue her troops, and endeavour to animate their courage. Taking the Prince her son with her, she rode through their ranks, her countenance exhibiting the utmost firmness and resolution, while her words inspired confidence of success. As the old writer hath it, "so skilfully did she conceal the wound which despair had given her, that it only bled inwardly."

"The Queen reminded them, that upon their valour that day depended the restoration of their imprisoned monarch to his throne, and to the enjoyment of his freedom; while for themselves would be secured, not only safety, but honour and recompense.

"That the wealth of the cities of their enemies would

"be their spoil, the kingdom their inheritance, which  
 "would be divided amongst them, and the titles, in  
 "which their enemies now gloried, would become their  
 "reward. If alarmed at the inequality of numbers, she  
 "assured them that the disparity was not so great, but  
 "that by their courage, animated by the justice of their  
 "cause, it might be overcome. She then bade them  
 "behold their Prince, whose presence, she thought (for  
 "as a fond mother she spoke) would make them ena-  
 "moured of danger, and who, she said, would fight  
 "amongst them, share their danger, and when possessed  
 "of his throne would remember those to whom he was  
 "indebted for it." \*

Then commenced the famed battle of Tewkesbury, which was fought on the 4th of May, 1471.

The attack upon the entrenchments was vigorously begun by the Duke of Gloucester. The Lancastrians bore the assault with great intrepidity, and, being prepared for the attack, they maintained their ground, whereupon the Duke of Gloucester retreated so hastily towards the second line, that Somerset believed that they were totally dismayed, and, yielding to the impetuosity of his disposition, and thinking to improve the disadvantage of the moment, he sallied from his entrenchments to attack the enemy, whom he expected to find in confusion; he also despatched orders to Wenlock to come immediately to his assistance. The Duke of Gloucester, who had by this time, according to the orders he had previously received, drawn up his men at a distance from the entrenchments, perceiving the advance of Somerset, came forth to meet him with great fury. This unexpected and vigorous attack, so much astonished the Lancastrians, that, perceiving no relief, they betook themselves, in confusion, to their camp. The Duke of Somerset was much enraged at

\* Habington.

1471.  
 Sandford;  
 Toplis;  
 Paston  
 Letters;  
 Howel;  
 Baker;  
 Milles's  
 Catalogue;  
 Rapin;  
 Henry;  
 Hume.

not being seconded by Wenlock, upon whose assistance he had depended in this attack upon Gloucester, and he now beheld him idle within the entrenchments. He had already doubted his fidelity, and being at this moment unable to restrain his fury, he rushed upon him, and with his battle-axe clove his head in pieces.\* The young Prince, deprived, by this summary act of vengeance, of the assistance of Wenlock, knew not what to do, and Somerset was too much transported with passion either to issue proper orders or to enforce obedience.

The Duke of Gloucester, meanwhile, invading their camp caused an immense slaughter, and created the utmost confusion throughout the army. King Edward followed, and his presence threw the Lancastrians into such disorder, that they thought no longer of resistance, but all endeavoured to save themselves by flight. Thus was the army of the Queen entirely routed. The loss on her side has been estimated at 3,000† men, the two last lines having run away without fighting. The Earl of Devonshire and Sir John Beaufort, the brother of the Duke of Somerset, were slain, also Sir John Delves, Sir Edward Hampden, Sir Robert Whittingham, Sir John Leukner, and 300 others.

The Prince of Wales was taken prisoner. The Duke of Somerset and about twenty other persons of distinction took refuge in the Abbey.

Thither King Edward repaired immediately after his victory, in order to return thanks to God for his success, and finding there a great many Lancastrians, he gave them all a free pardon. Some add that this

\* Lord Wenlock had shown great fickleness in these civil wars. He fought bravely for the Lancastrians in the first battle of St. Alban's, but afterwards deserted to Edward (in 1459), who conferred many favours on him, and created him a baron.

† Some write that only 300 were slain.

favour was obtained through the intercessions of a priest. These promises, however, on the part of the conqueror, were as insincere, and as little to be relied on, as the former oaths of this Yorkist King. These sacred engagements and the rights of the sanctuary were inviolate only so long as his political position required it. The Lancastrians, on the contrary, had ever respected the sanctuary, to which even King Edward had, but just before been indebted, for the safety of his Queen and her children. On this occasion all was forgotten; and upon the third day after the battle a band of armed men rushed into the sanctuary, and, in violation of the King's promises and of the sanctity of the spot, they dragged out their unhappy victims and brought them into the presence of the Duke of Gloucester, sitting that day as Constable, and the Duke of Norfolk, as Marshal. Before these were arraigned and condemned to die, the Duke of Somerset, John Longstrother, Prior of St. John's, Sir Thomas Tresham, Sir Gervase Clifton, and several others, knights and esquires. Upon May 7th they were beheaded, along with twelve other knights, upon a scaffold set up in the middle of the town; but they were not dismembered, and the victors afterwards permitted their interment.\* This engagement† took place eighteen days after the battle of Barnet. It was the twelfth battle since the beginning of the quarrel of the Roses.

The Earl of Warwick had subdued England in eleven days, and in twenty days King Edward re-

\* Baker; Howel; Stow; Biondi; Milles's Catalogue; Henry; Blore's Rutland; Habington; Paston Letters; Holinshed; Toplis; Pennant; Leland's Collect.; Sandford; Lond. Chron.; Rapin; Daniel; Barante; Hume; Lingard; Collinson's Somersetsh.; Biographie Universelle; Fabyan; Monstrelet; Philip de Comines.

† The scene of this battle, which destroyed the hopes of the Lancastrians, has received the name of "Bloody Meadow."—*Warner's Tour*.

covered it, but not until he had fought two desperate battles to effect his object.\*

Most extraordinary it appears that, in England, within the short period of half a year, there was held one Parliament in which King Edward was proclaimed an usurper, and King Henry a lawful monarch; and another proclaiming King Edward a lawful monarch, and King Henry an usurper, to show us, adds the chronicler, that in human affairs there is nothing certain but uncertainty, nothing stable but instability.†

The Queen was discovered in a chariot half dead with grief, upon beholding this unfortunate turn in her affairs, and still being ignorant of the fate of her son. She was conducted to King Edward. Another account informs us, that it was not until two days after the battle, that she was found in a nunnery, where she had sought refuge, and was brought into the presence of the triumphant monarch, then at Worcester.‡

When Prince Edward appeared in the presence of the King he preserved an undaunted air, and would not be persuaded to make any submission derogatory to his birth. The King, surprised at his fearless countenance, inquired "how he dared to appear in arms against him;" to which the Prince replied, "that he had come to recover his own inheritance, which had been unjustly taken from him." His boldness excited the King's indignation, and, striking him on the mouth with his gauntlet, he turned away from him. This was the signal for the death of this unfortunate Prince, for, no sooner had the King withdrawn, than the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the Earl of Dorset, and Lord Hastings, falling upon him,

\* Baker; Rapin; Philip de Comines; Henry.

† Baker.

‡ Holinshed; Sandford; Toplis; Stow; Paston Letters; Howel; Daniel; Baker; Femmes Célèbres; Rapin; Lingard; Hume; Henry; Fabyan; Bayley's History of the Tower.

despatched him with their daggers. It has been supposed that King Edward had previously given orders for this cruel execution. There is some difference of opinion as to the death of this Prince, yet there is little doubt that, if he did not receive it from these noblemen, the act was done in their presence.

Some historians tell us that Prince Edward, having escaped from the battle, a reward of £500 sterling was offered by the King for his apprehension, dead or alive, engaging that should he be alive, he would not put him to death. Upon this promise Sir Richard Crofts brought him to King Edward, who, however, did not find this monarch disposed to keep his word. Prince Edward was but eighteen years of age when he was thus cruelly put to death.\* He was buried without solemnity, with some persons of mean condition, in the church of Blackfriars, in Tewkesbury. In the same church were also interred those Lancastrians who had been beheaded after the late engagement.† Some of the monuments erected to their memory may still be seen. An altar tomb in the north wall of the nave has been ascribed to Lord Wenlock,‡ and a similar one at the upper end of the south aisle near the choir, under an arch, is that of the Duke of Somerset. In the middle, under the great tower, at the entrance of the choir, a large grey marble slab, with brass plates affixed (but which have been since removed), marked the spot where the remains of Prince Edward were thought to have been deposited.§ This Prince

\* Tradition has preserved the memory of the spot where Prince Edward was murdered in a house on the north side of the Tolsey.—*Warner's Tour*.

† Sandford; Toplis; Stow; Howel; Baker; Holinshed; Lingard; Ormerod's Cheshire; Milles's Catalogue; Paston Letters; London Chron.; Caradoc of Llancarvan; Daniel; Barante; Philip de Comines; Monstrelet; Sharon Turner; Willis's Abbeys; Henry; Hume; Rapin; Jean de Troye; Fabian; Villaret.

‡ The effigy of Lord Wenlock in full proportion is lying thereon.

§ Some state that Prince Edward's remains were thrown into one common grave with others who had fallen in this battle.

deserved a better fate; he had excellent qualities of mind and heart, which caused him to be much regretted. It has been remarked that every one who had participated in this murder came to an untimely end.

To the monastery and convent of Tewkesbury Henry VII. afterwards granted the parochial church of Towton, to pray for the souls of this Duke of Somerset, his brother John, and others, who lost their lives in the quarrel of the Roses.

It may be well to remark that, in these turbulent times, the remains of the dead seldom found their resting-place in the vaults of their ancestors, and often those who in life were nearest allied, were by death widely separated. Thus was it with Sir John Wenlock, who, in 1461, when he was created Baron Wenlock, had erected a chapel in the parish church of Luton, in Bedfordshire, where there was an inscription and a portrait of Sir John, with the arms of the family. In this place it is probable that Lady Wenlock was buried, and that Lord Wenlock intended it for his own place of sepulture.\*

The renowned Chancellor, Sir John Fortescue, was taken prisoner in the battle of Tewkesbury. He had accompanied Queen Margaret and her son throughout their last unfortunate expedition. The life of this venerable sage was spared by King Edward, who afterwards restored him to freedom. He also granted him his estates, and admitted him to his favour. While in Scotland with King Henry, during the time of his exile, he had written a treatise in proof of the claims of the House of Lancaster. With the same ability he now composed for the rival monarch, a second treatise in support of the title of the House

\* Willis's Abbeys; Sandford; Toplis; Fox's Monks and Monast.; Eccles. Hist.; Magna Britannia; Pennant.

of York, and this, we are assured, was the price of his pardon.\*

King Edward entered London on the 21st of May, and, in order to make his triumph resemble those of the Romans, he brought with him his chief captive, the afflicted Queen Margaret. She had lost every hope of re-ascending the throne, and by the death of her son was deprived of her greatest consolation. A new cause for grief awaited her when she reached the Tower, whither she was conducted, she was not permitted to see King Henry; and there she remained a prisoner several years. Thus left to her own reflections, it had been well for Margaret could she have been able, like her noble sire, to seek the consolations of religion, of literature, and of the arts; but her life had been a scene of activity, even from her childhood, and her tastes were rather those inspired by busy life. With her son she had now lost the spring for action, and even her mind became captive to her situation. She sunk into despondency.†

King Edward had been indebted to the Archbishop of York for many services, yet he was not at ease on his throne while Neville enjoyed his liberty. This prelate had hunted at Windsor with the King, who had promised him, in return, to hunt with him at the Moor, in Hertfordshire. Preparations were made on a grand scale for the royal visitor. All the plate which the Archbishop had concealed since the time of his brother's death, had been collected for this occasion, and all the chief nobility of the neighbourhood had been invited to partake of the banquet. The King, however, commanded this prelate to come to Windsor, and he was

\* Rot. Parl.; Henry; Lingard.

† Habington; Holinshed; Baudier; Female Worthies; Hume; Rapin; Henry; Baker; Daniel; Fabyan; Villaret; Bayley's History of the Tower of London.

then arrested on a charge of having lent money to the Earl of Oxford. The revenue of his bishopric was seized, and his valuable plate confiscated: his mitre was converted into a crown, and his jewels appropriated by the King and the Prince of Wales. The Archbishop lingered for three years in prison, partly in England, and partly at Guisnes. He recovered his freedom only a few weeks before his death, in 1476. This is a marked instance of ingratitude in the character of Edward IV.\*

Thomas Neville, called the Bastard of Falconbridge,† 1471. who was a faithful adherent of the House of Lancaster, had been Vice-Admiral of the Channel during the time of King Henry's restoration, but lost this office on the change of the dynasty. He then turned pirate; but having lands, and some influence in the county of Kent, he collected a considerable army and attempted to surprise London, with a view to rescue King Henry from the Tower. He was repulsed, and withdrew with his troops into Kent. Lord Scales, with the assistance of Nicholas Faunte, Mayor of Canterbury, contrived means with fair words only, to prevail on Falconbridge to return to Blackheath. From them, however, he stole away in the night with 600 horsemen to Rochester, and after to Sandwich, where he awaited the King's coming. He submitted to King Edward, and was not only pardoned, but also knighted, and again appointed Vice-Admiral, in this year, 1471. From this time his career was short, for between the 13th and 29th of the following September he was beheaded, but for what offence is unknown. His head, and the heads of nine others, placed on spears, were exhibited on London

\* Leland Collect.; Stow; Rymer; Bayley's Tower of London; Lingard.

† He was a natural son of William, Lord Falconbridge. One account of his death is, that he was beheaded by the Duke of Gloucester in Yorkshire.



bridge, exposed to the birds and elements, until the bones only were left. It is probable that those who shared his fate were some of his own men from Kent, thirty of whom we are told, joined him in his enterprise.\*

The King granted to William Waynfleet, Bishop of Winchester, who had been a staunch friend of the Lancastrians, a complete pardon. He did not exhibit the same generosity towards his rival, Henry the Sixth. After having twice spared the life of this monarch, doubtless on account of his innocence and simplicity of character, King Edward began to fear that he should not enjoy any confirmed peace whilst Henry was alive. He would perhaps have suffered him to die a natural death, had not the repeated attempts to re-enthron him pointed out to him his own insecurity. He therefore resolved to despatch him, and Queen Margaret's last attempt to recover the crown, hastened the catastrophe.

There is little doubt that, had Queen Margaret won the last battle, and taken King Edward prisoner, she would have put him to death; but the good fortune of this monarch, caused the same fate to fall upon her husband and her son, and she was herself only indebted to her sex, for her preservation.

1471. It was on the night of the 21st of May, 1471, of that same day upon which the King had entered London triumphantly, and his royal captive, the Lancastrian Queen, had been consigned to the Tower, but a few days after the battle of Tewkesbury, that the good and meek King Henry the Sixth, while engaged in his devotions, in his prison in the Tower, was put to death. It was generally believed that he was stabbed with a dagger, by the hand of the Duke of Gloucester,

\* Paston Letters; Lingard; Bentley's Excerpta. Hist.; Miss Lawrence; Mackay's Thames.

who has been almost unanimously called a cruel, and a bloodthirsty prince.\*

The great hall in the Wakefield tower has been said, by tradition, to have been the scene of Henry's murder.

To appease the public, it was reported that King Henry had died of grief. His body was brought to St. Paul's a few days after, with guards and torches, in an open coffin, barefaced, where it rested a day uncovered, and here the body bled afresh; it was thence conveyed to the church of Blackfriars, where it again bled; it was then taken in a boat to Chertsey Abbey,† and without ceremony, "there being neither priest nor clerk, torch nor taper, saying or singing, "he was there interred," within the cloisters.

King Henry's corpse was afterwards removed by King Edward's order to Windsor, and buried in St. George's Chapel, in the south aisle, between the choir and the altar, under the arch on the south side, but no monument placed over it.

The remains of King Edward were afterwards interred in the same chapel, which he had himself rebuilt.

Thus did the rival monarchs at last repose in death under the same roof.‡ This circumstance was suggestive of the following lines from the poet's pen:—

"Let softest strains ill-fated Henry mourn,  
"And palms eternal flourish round his urn.  
"Here, o'er the martyr King, the marble weeps,  
"And fast beside him once fear'd Edward sleeps;

\* This character of Gloucester has been given by his enemies, historians who favoured the House of Lancaster.

† Chertsey Abbey was founded for Benedictine monks, in 666, and was dissolved by Henry VIII. in 1538.

‡ Sandford; Stow; Howel; Toplis; Baker; Grafton; Milles's Catalogue; Fabyan; Rapin; Hume; Pennant's London; Henry; Lingard; Monfaucou; Londiniana; Philip de Comines; Rous of Warwick; Mag. Britannia Ashmole's Berkshire.

" Whom not th' extended Albion could contain,  
 " From old Belerium to the northern main.  
 " The grave unites ; where e'en the great find rest,  
 " And blended lie th' oppressor and th' opprest ! " \*

The reputed sanctity of Henry VI., and the desire of Henry VII. to establish his right to the crown upon the Lancastrian descent, caused this monarch to apply to the Papal See for his canonization. It was his intention to found a chapel at Windsor to the memory of Henry VI., and to place in it a stately monument over his remains (which were said to have wrought miracles); but the abbot and convent of Westminster at this time sent a petition to the King, claiming to have King Henry's body removed to their church, that being the place chosen by this monarch himself during his lifetime.

The aged workmen of the abbey well remembered the visits of King Henry for the purpose of fixing the place for his sepulture. It was during that unhappy period, between the battles of St. Alban's and that of Wakefield, that the King frequented the abbey at all hours of day or night to decide on the spot where he should be interred. He came at one time between seven and eight o'clock in the evening from his palace, accompanied by his Confessor, Thomas Manning, who was afterwards Dean of Windsor. He was received by the abbot by torchlight at the postern, and they went together round the Confessor's Chapel. It was proposed to move the tomb of Eleanor, when the King replied "that he could in no wise do it," and when this was pressed upon him, he fell into one of his fits of silence, and gave no reply. He then proceeded to the Lady Chapel, where he beheld his mother's coffin in its neglected state. It was proposed that it should be "more honourably apparelled," and

\* Pope.

that he should be laid between it and the altar in the same chapel, but Henry gave no answer.

The remains of Queen Catherine had been placed in a rude coffin in "this chapel, in a 'badly apparelled' state, the body open to view; and there she remained 'many years.' When this chapel was destroyed by her grandson, it was placed on the right side of her husband, and so it continued to be seen, the bones being firmly united, and thinly clothed with flesh-like scrapings of fine leather. This strange neglect was probably the result of the disfavour into which her memory had fallen from her ill-assorted marriage, but the legends of the abbey tell us, that it was by her own appointment in regard of her disobedience to her husband, for being delivered of her son, Henry VI., at Windsor, the place which he forbade." \*

On another day, he visited the Confessor's Chapel, with Flete, the prior of the abbey. Henry inquired of him the names of the kings whose tombs were around him, till he came to the grave of his father, where he prayed. He then entered the chantry, and surveyed the whole chapel for one hour. He was asked if the tomb of Henry V. should be pushed a little on one side, and his own placed beside it; when, with more than his customary regal spirit, he exclaimed, "Nay, let him alone; he lieth like a noble prince—I would not trouble him." The abbot proposed at last that the great reliquary should be moved from its position at that time, close beside the shrine, so as thus, to leave a vacant space for another tomb.

The King anxiously inquired, whether any other spot could be found where the relics might be deposited, and being informed that they might be placed at the back side of the altar, he then marked with his foot

\* Dean Stanley's Westminster Abbey.

seven feet, and turning to the nobles who were with him, "Lend me your staff," he said to Lord Cromwell; "is it not fitting I should have a place here, where my "father and my ancestors lie, near St. Edward?" Then, pointing with the staff to the spot, he said, "Here methinketh is a convenient place;" and again more emphatically, and with the peculiar asseveration, which, in his pious lips, took the place of the savage oaths of the Plantagenets, "Forsooth, forsooth, here "will we lie! Here is a good place for us."

The master mason of the abbey, named Thirsk, then traced with an iron instrument the circuit of the grave. The relics were removed three days after, and the tomb was ordered. The "marbler" (or statuary) and the coppersmith were paid forty groats for their instalment, and one groat was given to the workmen, who long remembered their master's conversation by this token. The religious establishments of Chertsey and of Windsor disputed the claim of Westminster, and an examination of the parties took place in the King's presence in council. A decision was given on the third hearing unanimously, in favour of Westminster, and not long after, the license was obtained from Pope Julius II. for the removal of King Henry's remains to the abbey; but the intention of canonisation was given up, the King being unwilling to yield to the exorbitant demands of the Court of Rome.\*

In the will of Henry VIII. there was mention made of his design to repair the tombs of his predecessors, Henry VI. and Edward IV. The former being still in St. George's Chapel, we may affirm that this monarch's remains were never taken away from Windsor.

During the civil wars, the tomb of King Henry VI., as well as that of his rival, Edward IV., were despoiled of their ornaments, and nothing now remains to mark

\* Londiniana; Baker; Dean Stanley's Westminster Abbey.

the place of sepulture of the meek monarch than the royal arms beneath an arch.\* No monument, indeed, was needed for this pious king, although by some regarded with contempt, beholding in him but a weak and imbecile sovereign. Yet did he become distinguished by good acts and patient endurance, as a Christian and a saint. To the memory of this holy king no monument was ever raised; and in allusion to this, Walpole has written the following lines:—

"But say, what shrine? My eyes in vain require  
"Th' engraven brass, and monumental spire;  
"Henry knows none of these. Above, around!  
"Behold where'er this pensile quarry's found,  
"Or swelling into vaulted roofs its weight,  
"Or shooting columns into Gothic state,—  
"Where'er this fane extends its lofty frame,  
"Behold the monument to Henry's name!"

The noble works of art of his day were themselves monuments of lasting praise, if such were needed, to the memory of this good king.†

Henry VI. died in the fiftieth year of his age, having reigned thirty-eight years before he was de-throned, and seven months after his restoration. He was twice crowned, and twice buried.‡

This monarch was revered as a martyr, and it was whispered that miracles were wrought at his tomb. In St. Leonard's church, Norwich, was an image of Henry VI., which was visited by pilgrims from all parts, who, being afflicted with various diseases, repaired thither in the hope of their cure. Thus this image became famous, and the church in which it was placed.§

The virtues of King Henry, and the endowments of his mind, were indeed enough to make him a saint. He was so devout as to think nothing adversity which

\* Londiniana.

† Walpole.

‡ Toplis; Rapin.

§ Parkin's Norwich.

was not a hindrance to devotion. His confessor said of him that, "in ten years' confession he never found "that he had done, or said anything for which he "might justly be enjoined penance;" and on this account Henry VII. would have had him canonized for a saint.\*

Upon one occasion King Henry is said to have foretold the exaltation of the Earl of Richmond, who being brought to him by Jasper, Earl of Pembroke when scarcely ten years of age, this monarch, after regarding him for some time, said to the lords about him, "Lo! this is he to whom both we and our adversaries, having the possession of all things, shall "hereafter give place"—a prophecy so many years after fulfilled, that it was the more remarkable.

Henry has been described as tall, slight, and handsome in person, and of a beautiful countenance. His hair was of a moderate length; he had no beard, or whiskers, and wore broad shoes. He usually had on a cap, or hood of red velvet, which was preserved a long time afterwards upon his tomb, and it was by the superstitious thought to cure the headache of all those who put it on.†

This meek and gentle monarch of a turbulent and rebellious people, whom during a long life he was unable to rule, was yet of so virtuous and estimable a character that he deserved the universal admiration of posterity. He has been described as "a man of pure simplicity of mind; truthful almost "to a fault. He never made a promise he did not "keep, and never knowingly did an injury to any one. Rectitude and justice ruled his conduct in all "public affairs. Devout himself, he sought to cherish a "love for religion in others. He would exhort his

\* Baker.

† Milles's Catalogue; Stow; Baker; Strutt; Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*.

"visitors, particularly the young, to pursue virtue and "eschew evil. He considered sports and pleasures "of the world as frivolous, and devoted his leisure to "reading the Scriptures and the old chronicles.

"Most decorous himself when attending public "worship, he obliged his courtiers to enter the sacred "edifice without swords, or spears, and to refrain from "interrupting the devotion of others by conversing "within its precincts. He exhorted his clergy in "frequent letters, and charged them to consider their "trust as emanating from the authority of the Most "High.

"He delighted in female society, and blamed the "immodest dress which left exposed the maternal "parts of the neck." When he observed this on one occasion, at a masque proposed for his entertainment, he exclaimed, "Fie, fie! forsooth you are much to "blame;" and he hastened from the apartment. "Fond "of encouraging youth in the path of virtue, he would "frequently converse familiarly with the scholars from "his college of Eton, when they visited his servants "at Windsor Castle. He generally concluded with "this touching address, adding a present of money: "'Be good lads, meek and docile, and attend to your "religion.'

"He was liberal to the poor, and lived among his "dependents as a father among his children. He "readily forgave those who had offended him. When "one of his servants had been robbed, he sent him "a present of twenty nobles, desiring him to be more "careful of his property in future, and requesting him "to forgive the thief. Passing one day from St. "Alban's to Cripplegate, he saw a quarter of a man "impaled there for treason. Greatly shocked, he "exclaimed, 'Take it away, take it away. I will "have no man so cruelly treated on my account.'

"Hearing that four men of noble birth were about to suffer for treason to him, he sent them his pardon with all expedition to the place of execution.

"In his dress he was plain, and would not wear the shoes with the upturned points, then so much in fashion and considered the distinguishing mark of a man of quality.

"He was careful to select proper persons in the distribution of church preferment, and, anxious to promote the real happiness of his two half-brothers, the Earls of Richmond and Pembroke, he had them carefully brought up under the most upright and virtuous ecclesiastics.

"Such a King in more peaceable times would have been a blessing to his country; but in those turbulent days, when personal prowess was considered the first of virtues, it is not to be wondered, that he should have been looked upon almost in the light of an idiot."\*

No monarch could be less fitted to wield a sceptre than Henry VI.; for, being made King at nine months old, his knowledge and skill in affairs of state did not "grow with his growth," neither did he in maturer years evince the least capacity for the regulation of a people, who, being attached to him as their lawful sovereign, yet had become discontented, and rebellious.

His mind was so weak that all counsels appeared to him equally good, being unable to perceive the consequences of any advice given to him.† This natural weakness totally unfitting him to govern, Henry yielded himself up to the guidance of others, some-

\* This extract is from one who had well studied the King's character from personal observation.—*J. Blackman; Hearne; Otterbourne; Wethamstede.*

† Habington; Rapin; Hume.

times to that of Queen Margaret, at other times, to that of the most ambitious of his subjects, without making any resistance, or the least effort to assert his own power.\* The great deficiencies in King Henry for the exercise of regal sway were, however, supplied by all the virtues of the man. He was chaste, temperate, meek, and holy, and so good and amiable, that he was beloved by his people, and even by his enemies. His disposition was so forgiving, and benevolent, and such was his love of peace, that he sought on all occasions to conciliate the contending parties; and would always try pacific measures before he consented to engage in warfare. It is even said of him that he did himself a violence when he had recourse to arms. When the weakness of his understanding made him at times appear contemptible in the eyes of those who ought to have revered his authority, the purity and innocence of his life preserved their affection to him. Thus, the victorious Yorkists, when wreaking their vengeance on their most deadly enemies, were seen to fall on their knees before their humbled and unfortunate monarch, who was their prisoner, and the greatest object of their pity; then did they conduct him respectfully, and with all the dignity due to his rank, to the metropolis. They even preserved, at a time when they grasped at absolute power, that show of decorum and propriety due to majesty, which nothing but their sympathy in his misfortunes, and affection for his person could have extorted. His integrity, modesty, and patience were wonderful, taking and suffering all losses, chances, displeasures, and such worldly torments in good part, and with a patient manner, as though they had chanced by his own fault, or negligent oversight.

King Henry abhorred cruelty and injustice, and he desired neither riches, nor honour. He studied only

\* Malcolm's Manners and Customs; Hume; Lingard; Rapin.



for the health of his soul, the saving whereof he esteemed the greatest wisdom, and the loss thereof the greatest folly that could be. He might have been called unhappy, had he not been endued with such piety as raised him above his fortune, and united him to his God. By some he was regarded as a saint, and his virtues were extolled in order to render more odious the King who had robbed him of his crown and life. His manners were simple and inoffensive, and it was a peculiarity in his character that he did not swear in common conversation, and reproved the practice in all those who approached his person.

The conduct of King Henry when deprived of his crown was exemplary, and when reduced to the level of his subjects, he bore his misfortunes with such meekness and patience, as totally disarmed his successor of any desire to take away his life.

The indignity with which this monarch was treated by the Earl of Warwick, and others, reflects but little credit on the manners and feelings of the age. Many great offences Henry willingly forgave; and one day, having received a blow from a wicked person, who sought to take his life, he only said, "Forsooth, ye do wrong yourself, more than me, so to smite the Lord's anointed." He had many injuries offered him, yet he never sought to revenge himself, but gave thanks to God, that he did send them to punish his sins in this life, that he might escape punishment in the life to come.

King Henry had a singular devotion to Saint Edmond, and we are told, that, "he nowhere enjoyed so much comfort, peace, and joy, as in his retreats in the monastery of St. Edmondsbury."

This monarch is universally described as amiable, and although of a weak understanding, as possessing uncommon goodness of heart. As a private individual

he might have shone conspicuous, but as a king his virtues were lost sight of, in the evident deficiency of the sterner requisites for regal power.\*

\* Biondi ; Habington ; Hall ; Baker ; Milles's Catalogue ; Howel ; Lingard ; Henry ; Hume ; Rapin ; Malcolm ; Camden's Remains ; Butler's Lives ; Gent.'s Magazine.

## CHAPTER VIII.

"To be a queen in bondage is more vile  
 Than is a slave in base servility;  
 For princes should be free."—SHAKESPEARE.

"Now Margaret  
 Must strike her sail, and learn awhile to serve  
 Where kings command. I was, I must confess,  
 Great Albion's queen in former golden days;  
 But now mischance hath trod my title down,  
 And with dishonour laid me on the ground;  
 Where I must take like seat unto my fortune,  
 And to my humble seat conform myself."

SHAKESPEARE.

Queen Margaret imprisoned in the Tower, also at Windsor and at Wallingford—René—His age and misfortunes—The death of Charles of Anjou, also that of Ferri de Vaudemont, and of Nicolas of Anjou—Louis XI. seizes on Anjou—René retires to Provence—René's pursuits, tastes, and disposition—René's letter to Queen Margaret—Louis XI. meets René at Lyons—He appoints Charles of Maine his heir—Manœuvre of Louis—The cession of the rights of René—His conditions—Louis enters into a treaty with Edward IV.—Queen Margaret is ransomed—She departs from England—Having renounced her claims on England, she yields to Louis her rights in Anjou and Provence—Queen Margaret's melancholy—René at Gardane—He instructs his granddaughter—The defeat and death of Charles the Bold by the Duke of Lorraine—René's last illness and death—The will of René—The Provençaux oppose the removal of his corpse—His body is carried to Angers—His monument and epitaph, statues, coat of arms—The institutions of René—His character—Charles of Anjou his successor—The death of Charles of Anjou—Louis XI. his heir.

THE vanquished Queen Margaret, consigned to the solitude of a prison, was overcome by melancholy, and during five years endured a comfortless captivity. Her heroic spirit, which had braved every danger, and sustained such great trials, no longer bore up under the

pressure of misfortune. She had not even a ray of hope to cheer the future, being now deprived of her husband, her son, her friends, and of her kingdom, and no other prospect before her than of an endless imprisonment. At first she was confined in the Tower of London, where she was treated with the utmost harshness, until by the kind intercession of Elizabeth Woodville, who probably retained a lively recollection of the benefits which her royal mistress had bestowed upon her, while in attendance on her formerly at court, she obtained through her compassion some mitigation of her cruel treatment. The widowed Queen was next imprisoned at Windsor, in 1472, and afterwards removed to Wallingford Castle, where she was placed under the charge of Alice Chaucer, Duchess Dowager of Suffolk, one of her early friends, whose residence was at Ewelín, in Oxfordshire, not far from Wallingford. Doubtless it must have been consoling to the unhappy Queen to receive the sympathy of her former companion and friend, who in the joyous hours of her maidenhood had, with her ill-fated husband, conducted her to the shores of England, and whose bereavement Margaret had so deeply felt.\*

1472.

Five marks weekly was all the allowance granted to her from King Edward for her support, and that of her servants. This seems an inconsiderable sum compared to that allowed to the Duke of Orleans, which was 400 marks annually for his maintenance. This shows that she was no longer treated as a Queen.

Thus this unfortunate heroine passed the time of her widowhood, a season always sorrowful and desolate, but to her it must have been truly unhappy, having not the slightest hope of regaining her freedom.†

The "good King René," her father, was now stricken

\* Paston Letters; Ridpath; Lingard; Toplis.

† Toplis; Lingard; Ridpath; Paston Letters.

in years, and worn out with a series of misfortunes, yet, he was tenderly attached to his daughter Margaret, and much distressed at her imprisonment. He found himself, however, unable to effect her liberation, or to assist her as he anxiously desired.

He was not in a condition to pay such a ransom, as would probably be demanded for her liberty. He had throughout his life been very necessitous, and was now in greater distress than ever; for, although he had been of great service to the French in the conquest of Normandy, and in their endeavours to expel the English from France, Louis XI. had treated him with great ingratitude.

René had mourned the death of his son John, Duke of Calabria. This loss had occurred at the same epoch as the disasters of Queen Margaret, and the sensible heart of René was greatly afflicted. Soon after this, his brother, Charles of Anjou, followed to the grave; and next Ferri de Vaudemont, Duke of Lorraine. Nicholas, son of John of Anjou, also died; his death happened on the 24th of May,\* 1473; he was but twenty-five years of age.† He had been for some time before, in treaty with the Duke of Burgundy, for the hand of his daughter Mary, his only child, and the presumptive heir to his dominions. It appears, that Louis XI. had offered his eldest daughter in marriage to Duke Nicholas, who had broken his faith, preferring the daughter of Burgundy, the King's vassal. Thus the marriage became obnoxious to Louis, and the young man's sudden death, just at the time when there seemed no longer any obstacle to this union, gave occasion to the report, that he died by poison, administered by the same hand that had taken off the Duke of Berri.

Monstrelet tells us, however, that this Duke Nicholas

1472.  
Godard  
Faultrier.

1473.  
Bodin;  
Paston  
Letters;  
Monstrelet.

\* Monstrelet says he died in July.

† Bodin; Monstrelet; Habington; Female Worthies; Paston Letters.

died of the plague, in his duchy of Lorraine, and adds that, by his death the male line of René of Anjou became extinct; and the inheritance of Lorraine passed to Yoland, the eldest daughter of René, whose husband had lately died.

René II., Count of Vaudemont, became Duke of Lorraine; but some write, that this crown was offered to René, who rejected it in favour of his grandson.

The Duke of Burgundy, probably disappointed at the failure of his project, for uniting the duchies of Burgundy and Lorraine by the marriage of his daughter, very unjustly imprisoned René II., but was soon obliged to liberate him.\*

King René at this time of sorrow and regret withdrew to his castle of Baugé, where he sought the most perfect quiet, and the sweetest recollections. Here he thought he might mourn in peace. He wandered by its river, then traversed the rooms of his castle, then repaired to seek peace in its chapel, alternately he prayed, and wept, and then silently meditating, appeared to seek "another and a better country." His features seemed to be changed by grief; but, alas! the good King René's time for sorrowing was not yet over. He had still renewed troubles, and even his cherished solitude was about to be ravished from him, and while this aged monarch was seeking strength to sustain his afflictions, his nephew, Louis XI., meditated the seizure of Anjou, under the most unjust pretexts. This artful king, abusing the kindness of his relative, had denounced René to the parliament of Paris as a conspirator, ordaining that he should be criminally sued, and expecting that he might thus obtain a pretext for confiscating his estates to his own advantage. The parliament, however, being acquainted with the prudence

\* Paston Letters; Godard Faultrier; Bodin; Monstrelet; Jean de Troye; Hist. Général de Provence.

and good conduct of the Duke of Anjou, would not follow up this unjust accusation.

1474.  
Bodin ;  
Godard  
Faultrier.

The King of France then, without any form of procedure, seized upon Anjou, and established a strong garrison in the castle of Angers, giving the command of it to William of Cerazai, who became first mayor of Angers. Louis was at this time, marching at the head of 50,000 men against Francis II., Duke of Brittany, and he made it his pretext, that King René was in alliance with the Bretons. He even feigned great rage at this. René, meanwhile, although only seven leagues distant, at his castle of Baugé, was so far from suspecting it, that hearing the King was at Angers, he ordered his horse, intending to go there to congratulate him. His servants, knowing his love for his country of Anjou, dared not at first to tell him the truth ; but, finding he determined on going to Angers, one of his familiar friends declared to him the facts. This good prince, accustomed to control his affections, which of late had been much tried by his misfortunes, bore this shock with fortitude, and he even finished the painting upon which he was engaged at the time. Afterwards his affliction overcame him for a brief space, and he was shocked at this new, and unexpected instance of his relative's unkindness. His piety, however, made him seek the strength he needed. "The will of God be done," said he, "who hath given me all, and can take all away from me at his pleasure. The King shall have no war with me, for my age is no longer suitable to arms. I have determined to live the rest of my time in this world in peace and repose of spirit, and shall do so if possible."\*

René has been reproached by several historians because when the news of his loss of Anjou was brought to him, being engaged in painting a bartarelle, a kind

\* Baudier ; Habington ; Anquetil ; Bodin.

of partridge of which he was very fond, he did not discontinue his work, and showed no other regret, than that, of being obliged to leave for ever a country to which he was sincerely attached. These writers say, that in the pursuit of the pleasing arts this prince had forgotten the duties of the sovereign, whose first care should be the preservation of his state.

Again they say, that René possessed all the qualities valuable to a private individual, but scarcely any of those which are indispensable to kings. The injustice of these opinions will be apparent, when we come to speak of the great talents of King René, and especially of the numerous, and essential benefits he conferred on the states over which he ruled, and of the love his subjects bore him. He showed, indeed, great command of his passions and resignation of soul on many occasions.

When so abruptly driven from the cradle of his forefathers, René wisely resolved to sustain this outrage with stoical firmness, and not long after, he retired to Aix, in Provence, carrying with him the regrets and benedictions of all ranks of the Angevins, by whom he was cherished as the best of princes, or rather as a father.

The affectionate reception he had so frequently experienced from the Provençaux, determined René upon fixing his abode amongst them. He devoted himself to a country life, and, as in the days of Saturn and Rhea, he was sometimes seen, crook in hand, guarding his sheep, along with his Queen, Jeanne de Laval. He likewise amused himself in the cultivation of poetry, painting, and gardening, and in this manner the good King passed beneath the clear sky of Provence the remaining years of his life.

The treatment of Louis was, however, more deeply felt by him, as it was altogether unexpected from one,

whom he believed to be his friend; but, perceiving no remedy, René resolved to submit with patience.\*

The tastes of René, which had been formed in the school of adversity, differed much from those which usually characterise princes.

In his country house at Gardane, where he passed the summer, he lived without pomp, everything around him wearing such an air of antiquity that, upon glancing over the inventory of the furniture of his dwelling, one cannot help thinking of Fabricius or Socrates. The same simplicity distinguished him at Marseilles, where he sometimes withdrew during the winter season. He was often seen walking quite alone on the port, or conversing familiarly with any one he might chance to meet, and this, at the time, when the sun, so fine in that climate, shed that gentle heat, which in the Basse Provence reanimates nature, even when dormant elsewhere. Thus, arose the saying amongst his subjects, of "*se chauffer à la cheminée du roi René*," to warm oneself by King René's chimney, when any one sought the warmth of the sun's rays.† His palace neither exhibited splendour nor magnificence. His annual expenditure only amounted to 15,000 florins, or 144,000 livres, and the strictest accounts were rendered.‡

In his travels, René would not always lodge at the house of a lord, or a bishop; he sometimes preferred the humble roof of a private individual whom he loved; and when he wished to enhance the favour, he would do so by sketching his portrait as an honourable monument on the door, or the wall of the chamber, with this verse under it—

"*Sicelidum Regis effigies est ista Renati.*"  
 "This is the portrait of René, King of Sicily."

\* Bodin; Villeneuve Bargemont; Baudier.

† "Or when seeking shelter from the sun in King René's walk."

‡ Hist. Général de Provence; Bodin.

René took great pleasure in being in the country, not for the enjoyment of sporting, but for the sake of promoting agriculture, and of comforting his people, by the advancement of works of utility.\*

Amidst his various occupations nothing disturbed the peace of mind of René, but the recollection of the miserable situation of his daughter Margaret, whom he was unable to release from her prison, and with whose sorrow he could so well sympathise, having himself suffered a severe captivity.

It was at the time that René inhabited his modest castle of Gardane, in Provence, that he addressed the following letter to his unfortunate daughter, Queen Margaret, and which would seem to have been dictated by the most profound melancholy.

"My daughter! may God assist you in your counsels; for we should rarely expect the help of man under the reverses of fortune! When you desire to alleviate your misfortunes, think of mine. They are great, my child, and yet I offer you consolation."†

René could not expect, after the treatment he had received from the French King, to obtain from him anything on the score of friendship or generosity. He therefore endeavoured to purchase the favour of Louis by giving up the succession of Provence, upon the death of his nephew, as the price of his daughter's freedom. The conditions on which he made this cession were, that Louis should pay to the Queen of Sicily, René's second wife, in case she should survive him, "a reasonable and sufficient dower;" that he should procure the liberation of his daughter Margaret, Queen of England; and that he should assign to her an annual pension in France, to enable her to live in a manner suitable to her rank and dignity.

\* Bodin; Hist. Général de Provence.  
 VOL. II.

† Villeneuve Bargemont.  
 Z

1475.  
 Bandin;  
 Paston  
 Letters;  
 Henry.



1475.  
Biondi;  
Toplis;  
Henry;  
Monstrelet.

According to this arrangement, Louis entered into a treaty with King Edward IV., at Amiens, for the ransom of Queen Margaret, which was finally concluded on the 13th of November, in the same year, 1475. It was then stipulated that the King of France should pay the sum of 50,000 crowns of gold to Edward, and that Queen Margaret of Anjou should renounce all claim to any portion, jewels, or other things to which she might have, or pretend to have a right, through her marriage with King Henry the Sixth. King Edward resigned all power over his captive, and Louis bound himself never to make any demand in her favour.\*

1476. Thus this unfortunate Queen was released from her imprisonment, and on the 29th of January, 1476, was delivered up by King Edward's ambassador, Sir Thomas de Montgomery, to John d'Hangest sieur de Jenlis, and John Raguenet, Receiver-General of Normandy, who was appointed by the King of France to receive her at Rouen.

1476.  
Carte;  
Daniel.

Queen Margaret readily made the renunciation required of her, giving up all her claims upon England. She also ceded to Louis XI., at this time, viz., on the 1st of March after her liberation in 1476, all her rights to the property and pretensions of her father. Full of gratitude to her deliverer for having advanced so much money for her ransom, as well as in consideration of the essential services he had before rendered to her and her son, by the loan of both money and ships in her last expedition to recover her crown, Queen Margaret by this act yielded up to the French King all the rights she then held, or might hold, in the

\* Biondi; Toplis; Baker; Howel; Jean de Troye; Anquetil; Paston Letters; Carte; Habington; Ridpath; Rapin; Baudier; Monstrelet; Bodin; Hume; Lingard; Female Worthies; Henry; Russi's *Contes de Provence*; Toplis; Bayley's Tower of London.

duchies of Anjou, Lorraine, and Bar, and in the county of Provence.\*

The ambitious and once powerful Queen Margaret thus became divested of all her worldly grandeur, and deprived of every hope of regaining her former possessions. She beheld herself at once despoiled of all accorded by established law to her in England, and of every privilege she could have enjoyed from her birth, and from the succession of the House of Anjou, of which she was the sole heiress. Her life had been a scene of constant change and vicissitude, and she had not only lost her crown, but had endured the severest afflictions.

From this period either her spirit was entirely broken, or she considered it useless to endeavour to raise herself above her misfortunes. Overcome with grief and melancholy she withdrew to the town of Aix, where she sought retirement and tranquillity for the remainder of her existence, which had hitherto been so much disturbed by calamity.

It may be well imagined that while in this state of dejection, Queen Margaret could be but little disposed to share in and sympathise with the rural delights of her aged father; yet she continued at Aix, where René was residing, and so long as he lived she dwelt there, "in absolute seclusion from every kind of business." One historian tells us that the regret of this Queen was not occasioned by the loss of her kingdom, or even of her husband, but by the death of her son, of that beloved son, the recollection of whom accompanied her to the grave. The last six or seven years of her life were the most tranquil since her marriage. Her adversities had made her feel the sweetness of repose, which, otherwise, was not agree-

\* Carte; Hume; Baudier; Daniel; Habington; Toplis; Paston Letters; Jean de Troye; Monfaucon; Bodin; Henry; Biondi.

able to the disposition of Margaret, who was ever after melancholy and unhappy.\* She might have exclaimed with the poet—

"No, no; our joys away like shadows slide,  
"But sorrows firm in memory abide."

The similarity in the fortunes of René and his daughter, and the joy of again beholding his beloved child released from prison, must have awakened in him all the tenderness of parental affection; and who could better sympathise with the fallen Queen, than one who had himself so often been, as it were, the plaything of fickle fortune, tossed from the heights of prosperity and joy to the depths of misfortune and despair? Who better than such a parent could point out the greatest consolation under calamity, or solace the grief of the desponding Margaret? but, alas! how are we struck at the contrast in the character of this Princess with that of her venerable sire! The historian is silent, and the philosopher would descant on the weakness of her sex; but it is for all true Christians to witness and lament in this admirable woman the want of "that peace which the world cannot give." Only peace of heart can ensure tranquillity in life, and when its close approaches that countenance only is cheerful, which is lighted by the blessed hope of another, and a better world. That ray of heavenly hope which had sustained Queen Margaret in her troubles, it would seem had been lost amidst the strife and tumults of party animosities, and in the struggle for worldly power and an earthly coronet, awful indeed was the peril in which she stood of losing her heavenly crown.

Had Queen Margaret possessed that inward peace which her aged father so evidently enjoyed, she might

\* Habington; Baudier; Baker; Hume; Bodin; Daniel; Biondi.

like him have found a solace in each object presented in nature for her observation and reflection. Even the daisy, chosen by this Queen as her device in her joyful maidenhood, might have brought to her mind a lesson of content, and conveyed the sentiments, if not the language of the poet, who exclaims—

"Bright flower, whose home is everywhere!  
"A pilgrim bold in nature's care!  
"And oft, the long year through, the heir  
"Of joy or sorrow.  
"Methinks that there abides in thee  
"Some concord with humanity,  
"Given to no other flower, I see,  
"The forest through.  
"And wherefore? Man is soon deprest:  
"A thoughtless thing! who, once emblest,  
"Does little on his memory rest,  
"Or, on his reason.  
"But thou wouldst teach him how to find  
"A shelter under every wind;  
"A hope for times that are unkind,  
"And every season."\*

During the tranquil hours which René enjoyed at his residence at Aix, one of his most agreeable relaxations was the occupation of giving instruction to his grand-daughter, Margaret of Lorraine, the daughter of Yoland of Anjou and of Ferri of Vaudemont.

This Princess afterwards espoused René of Valois, Duke of Alençon.

Thus did King René, who had outlived his dearest relatives, make his happiness consist in paternal cares, and his sweetest enjoyment, in witnessing the graces and amiability of his beloved pupil.

His greatest satisfaction was in having his grand-daughter in his chamber, where he taught her himself to pray to God; and nothing delighted him so much as to see the gradual development of the mind of this little creature, who was then but twelve or thirteen

\* Wordsworth.

years of age. Nor were these pious instructions forgotten by this Princess, as her subsequent life gave proof.\*

The Duke of Burgundy conquered Lorraine in 1475. He then attacked the Swiss, and took the town of Granson, and a body of troops coming to the relief of this place, the Duke went out to meet them as they were hastening down the narrow passes of the mountains, but his army was seized with a panic, and fled, leaving his baggage to the enemy. He renewed his attack, but was finally routed.

René II., Duke of Lorraine, had been solicited by the King of France and the Emperor to make war upon Charles of Burgundy. In this warfare he had lost his duchy, but subsequently, having received considerable succours, he again assailed his enemy, who was then besieging Nanci. He obtained a complete victory over him, and Charles, called "the Bold," was dismounted, and slain. This happened on the 3rd of January, 1477.

The death of this Prince was looked upon by all the politicians of that day, as an event of great importance to all Europe. Charles, Duke of Burgundy, was very ambitious, and fond of state and magnificence. He was but forty-five years of age when he was killed.

The Duke of Lorraine caused the body of Charles the Bold to be transported to Nanci, and laid on a bed of state, in an apartment hung with black velvet. He afterwards paid him all the customary funeral honours, which were of a very peculiar kind. We are told that René II. adorned himself with a great beard of threads of gold, reaching to his middle, after the manner of the ancient brave knights, and assisted at the funeral. Previous to his sprinkling holy water on

\* Villeneuve Bargemont.

† By some this Duke's death is dated January 5, 1476.

1477.  
Bodin;  
Moreri;  
Wraxall.

the corpse, he advanced up to the deceased Prince, and taking his hand, thus addressed him, "God rest thy soul, thou hast given us much trouble and grief!"

Thus did the aged René of Anjou behold before he died, the fulfilment of the prediction made at the coronation of King Charles VI.; when Philippe "le Hardi," Duke of Burgundy, so presumptuously placed himself at table above the Duke of Anjou, and it was foretold by an astrologer present that "the race of Anjou should exterminate that of Burgundy before a century should elapse."\*

René obtained from his subjects the title of "the Good," which he truly deserved. He suffered the loss of all his dominions, yet he was one of the very few princes who did not merit to lose them. Goodness formed the essence of his character, of which much might be said that was truly admirable. In his actions, private as well as public, he evinced a simplicity amounting to true greatness, when accompanied, as it was in René, by intrepid courage, a lively beneficence, and uncommon talents for war and politics. This Prince, if he had not sufficient genius and moral power, as events seemed to show, to maintain himself on a contested throne, and to become a great King, had, however, all those qualifications necessary for a good King and an honest man. He was generous, compassionate, and the protector of the oppressed, and rendered justice, with impartiality, to all his subjects. To these virtues he owed his honourable surname, and the glory of being called to wear the crown of Arragon.†

"René united to inexhaustible charity, active piety, and exquisite sensibility, lively and original wit, and

\* Paston Letters; Monfaucon; Moreri; Bodin; Roujou's *Ducs de Bretagne*; Wraxall's *France*.

† *Hist. Général de Provence*; Walpole.

"a mild philosophy, which neither the injustice nor the misfortunes he suffered could alter. His kindness would indeed sometimes degenerate into weakness, and his generosity into prodigality; but he had the glory of having encouraged, and caused to be appreciated, the sciences, letters, and arts, all of which he cultivated himself in a remarkable manner. These tastes, which surround as with a charm the memory of the princes who have encouraged them, would stamp René as the precursor of Leo X. and Francis I."\*

By the will which René made at Marseilles, 22nd of July, 1473, he left to his two daughters, Yoland, Duchess of Lorraine, and Margaret, Queen of England, each the sum of a thousand golden crowns, or 13,060 livres.† Besides this sum, bequeathed to his second daughter for her right of institution, René also gave, for her use as long as she should remain a widow, 2,000 livres de rentes, on the revenues of Bar.‡

1474.

The next year René declared Charles of Maine, son of Charles of Anjou, his heir, and he hoped that henceforth nothing would trouble his repose, but Louis XI. being informed that the good old King, justly incensed at his conduct in the seizure of Angers, proposed to make the Duke of Burgundy his heir, speedily altered his behaviour towards him. He went to Lyons and invited René to come to him there from Aix, where he was then residing: he reluctantly accepted the invitation, although well aware that he had everything to fear from his perfidious nephew. When they met, the deceitful King used all sorts of means to make his uncle forget the injuries he had

\* Hist. Général de Provence.

† Paston Letters; Villeneuve Bargemont; Hist. Général de Provence.

‡ Villeneuve Bargemont.

done him, and at this conjuncture did not fail to receive him with all the honours due to his rank.

Jean Cossa, Seneschal of Provence, on this occasion, accompanied his master, and at the first conference between the two Kings took upon himself to address the French monarch in these terms, "Sire, be not surprised if the King, my master, your uncle, has offered his succession to the Duke of Burgundy. He has followed in that the advice of his council, that of his most faithful servants, and of mine in particular. That which has determined us to advise thus has been the ill-treatment which he has received from you, and above all the seizure you have made of the castle of Bar, and of the city of Angers. Our intention, in fact, was, that this treaty should never be accomplished, and we have had no other view but that of obliging you thereby, to give a reason to the King, our master, for the wrongs you have done him, and to remind you that he is your uncle."

This freedom from Cossa was received by Louis very well, and he even praised the wisdom of the Seneschal. The differences were quickly accommodated, and the treaty which had been commenced in favour of the Duke of Burgundy, was entirely broken off, under the most provoking circumstances for him.

The good René was, at this time, enfeebled by age and misfortunes, yet his soul was still noble and disinterested. He was persuaded to make his will, and, by an irrevocable act, to declare the King of France his heir; and we are told that he suffered himself to be gained over by the numerous presents which Louis conferred upon him, all of which were artfully made conformable to his tastes. They consisted of books, paintings, medals, and antique morceaux; and for these, they say, the aged King resigned his beautiful county of Provence, of which he made a cession to

1479. Louis XI.\* René, it is said, "Ecrivit de son joug l'instrument authentique." In fact, he traced on vellum, in letters of gold, to which he added vignettes, and flower-work of the most beautiful colours, this act, which appeared to be extorted from him by trickery and persecution. It was at the Cordeliers at Lyons that this cession was made in favour of Charles, Count of Maine, the nephew of King René; yet the artful monarch of France, who worded it, well knew that he could contrive to substitute himself for the Count. In this agreement René included all his rights to the county of Provence, the duchy of Anjou, and even of Lorraine; but, Philip de Comines, who was present at this conference, declares that Louis was not instituted the heir of René, but that this monarch only engaged not to conclude the treaty with Burgundy, and even adhered to the will René had made a year before, in favour of Charles of Anjou.

It is, however, certain, that it was at this time that René transmitted to Louis all his rights to the kingdom of Naples; and thus originated the wars in Italy, under the reign of Charles VIII., which were as sharply contested, as bloody, and as fruitless as any of the preceding contests. Nowhere in history can we find a better example of the truth of that saying, that "the faults of the fathers never serve as lessons to their children."†

1479  
Barante. In the year 1479, the King of France made a treaty of alliance with René II., Duke of Lorraine, which probably he never intended to execute, since he ceded to him the duchy of Luxembourg and the earldom of Bourgoigne, being most reluctant to give up his right

\* One author adds, that Louis conducted his uncle to the fair held at Lyons, where all the beautiful ladies of that place were assembled.

† Bodin; Monfaucon; Daniel; Jean de Troye; Godard Faultrier; Hallam; Barante.

to them when he entertained suspicions that this Duke would become heir to his grandfather, King René. This was, indeed, the ambition of the Duke of Lorraine, who had consented to a lease for the duchy of Bar, and had entered upon the government of it. He afterwards went to Provence, hoping to change the will which had been made in favour of Charles of Anjou.

Louis XI. had strong friends in Provence, and he had one especially in Palamede de Fourbin, who directed everything in that country; and we are told, that advantage was taken of the old King, whose mind was enfeebled, to advise him to require that Duke René should give up the arms of his duchy and his House, "and take the escutcheon of Anjou, which this Prince refused, saying that he would only quarter his arms." This answer, it is reported, incensed King René against his grandson.\*

Not long after, the King of France sent the Lord of Blanchefort, Mayor of Bourdeaux, and Maître François Genas, general of the finances, to watch over his interests. They made rich presents to King René, and also to his advisers; upon which the Duke of Lorraine took the alarm, and hastily embarked; but, not being willing to incur the peril of traversing the kingdom, he disembarked at Venice.

Louis XI. about this time being elated by the donation of Queen Margaret of Anjou, sent to reclaim the duchy of Bar. Duke René had not returned, and his mother, Yoland, who was a proud and courageous princess, gave for answer that "the King might act as he thought proper, but that she would never abandon the duchy of Bar." On being advised she requested to wait her son's return. The French King, meanwhile, obtained from King René, a lease of six

\* Barante.



years, which granted him the government of the duchy of Bar. This lease which René agreed to was never acknowledged as valid, either by the Duchess Yoland or her son. They referred to an act made in 1476, in which the King protested beforehand against any disposition he might thereafter make to the prejudice of his daughter Yoland or her son René, who alone ought, as they argued, to possess the duchy of Bar, assigned to them by King René's will. This difference did not terminate even on the death of King René.

Charles, Count of Maine, inherited Provence, and the King of France re-united Anjou to the crown. The town of Bar, with some others, were held in the name of the King, and the rest of the duchy of Bar was given up to Duke René, who maintained he had a right to the whole of it.\*

It would appear, indeed, that in the latter years of his life the good King René could no longer act from his own free will.

1479. Another account has been given of this disposition respecting the duchy of Bar, by which we learn that King René, on the 1st of October, 1479, received at Aix, the deputies of the city of Arles, who came to do him homage in the name of this city. Soon afterwards, the Duke of Anjou ceded the revenues of the duchy of Bar to Louis XI. for 6000 livres,† conditionally that he should preserve the sovereignty of it, and that everything should be executed in his name. This disposition René in a manner revoked in the following December, stipulating that at his death, the duchy of Bar should return to Yoland of Anjou, his daughter, and after her to her son René II., on condition that they should put an end to the troubles which desolated this unfortunate country, and in addition to pay 40,000 crowns of gold which were still due to Mar-

\* Barante.

† Tornois de pension.

garet of Savoy, the widow of Louis III. and Countess of Wurtemberg. This alteration undoubtedly took place contrary to the will of Louis XI., who had, for a long time, persecuted his uncle, in order to obtain possession of his states.

The following phrase, found in a letter written by this monarch, and addressed to one of his agents, shows his purpose—"Si vous ne pouvez séduire, ou intimider les commissaires du Roi René, tachez de faire inserer quelque bon mot, dont je puisse me servir dans la suite." Louis did not obtain his object, and his intrigues failed. Justice triumphed, and it was decided that the Duchy of Bar should remain in the House of Lorraine.

This was the last sovereign act of René of Anjou. His health had been considerably impaired since his misfortunes, and he seemed to get weaker and weaker in the course of this year, 1479.\*

1479.

Having a presentiment that his end was approaching, this Prince desired to have near him his grandson, René II., and the Count of Maine, the only remaining princes of his once numerous family. Charles of Anjou did not leave him any more, although Bourdigné relates that he returned to Mans, after a journey of some time in the principal towns of Provence, where his grandfather had conducted him, in order that he might become more attached to those, whom he would have to govern. This was apparently the last time that René left his palace at Aix. The decline of his strength, his exhaustion and melancholy, were visibly augmented by the frightful ravages of the plague, which had reappeared in Provence. In the endeavour to stay the ravages of this distemper, the aged Prince seemed to forget himself; and in the exercise of an inexhaustible charity, he was fearless of danger, so

\* Villeneuve Bargemont; Mariana; Barante.

that he could but protect his people. His benefits even preceded the attacks of this destructive disease, and they were received by the indigent in the most obscure and remote dwellings.

It was in vain, however, that this kind monarch dispensed his riches on these unfortunate objects; equally vain was his endeavour to awaken benevolence, and that he unceasingly employed workmen, in erecting various buildings necessary to the salubrity or the embellishment of the city of Aix. The heartrending picture of the effects of this contagion, the cruel images which met his eyes, the despair of so many families, the sad aspect of his depopulated capital, all seemed to unite to break his heart and to overwhelm him. At this period he evinced, as he had done throughout his life, great courage and resignation as regarded his own misfortunes, although he was unable to support with fortitude, those, of which his subjects became the victims. Such a lively sensibility necessarily increased the infirmities with which King René had been attacked for some months, and he was not slow to perceive the dangerous alteration in his health, and to foresee that death was approaching.\* He was prepared for that hour by the exercise of a fervent piety, as well as by strength of soul; and the remembrance of the cruel plague had detached him beforehand, from a perishable and deceitful world. During the first months of the year 1480 his malady was not aggravated, and being alternately suffering and convalescent, his court again indulged the hope that this good prince would be yet a long while preserved to them.

Towards the end of June, René, perhaps in order to keep in mind his own situation, demanded a renewal of his dispositions in favour of Charles of Maine, ap-

\* Villeneuve Bargemont.

pointing after him, in case he left no male offspring, Louis XI. his successor, to whom he sent his will, at this time, recommending to his especial care, Queen Jeanne de Laval, and his daughter, Margaret of Anjou.\* Thus the last act of authority of this Prince, viz., his will, was consecrated to the interests of his subjects; and having ended this important duty, which he seemed to foresee he must hasten, his strength, more impaired by adversity than age, appeared to abandon him, and the alteration in his countenance no longer left a doubt with the Lords admitted to his intimacy, that his life was in imminent danger.

No sooner had this news spread through the city than a profound sentiment of grief was felt by the people of Aix. Their affection for their sovereign banished every other idea, and they hastened to their churches to implore for his life, of Him who held in his hand the lives of men and of kings.

Notwithstanding her grief, the Queen of Sicily set the example of this religious faith, and the people were inspired with attachment to her, as they perceived her hastening from her palace, with a long veil thrown over her head, to enter the metropolis, and prostrate herself before the image of the holy Virgin. She was also known to pass in her oratory some portion of her time daily in prayer. The divers bodies of state, by turns, repaired to the churches; there, indeed, every age, rank, or sex was confounded, all being alike occupied in expressing the same vows, feeling the same anxiety, and mingling together their prayers, sighs, and tears. Without the sacred vaults, scenes no less touching, warmly attested the public grief.

Seated beneath the Linden trees, which lined the avenues of the palace, or crowding into the courts, were to be seen men, women, and children, asking

\* Carte; Villeneuve Bargemont.

with sobs the news of their common father. Every passer-by thus arrested, they mutually communicated their hopes and fears. At sunrise the multitude were before the royal mansion in tears; the approach of night did not disperse them. A picture of no less interest was presented on the roads which led to the capital. Messengers from the principal towns, and even from the most simple hamlets, were passing along continually, for all desired to know if there was no amelioration in the condition of their King, and the return of these messengers was watched for with impatience and alarm. It appeared as though the entire county of Provence were but one great family, alarmed for the life of its head, and as if upon this good Prince alone depended also, the fate of each individual, of each city, nay even of the state itself.

These demonstrations of sincere affection reached the dying monarch, and they served to reanimate him. Deeply affected by the love of his people, tears of gratitude escaped from his eyes, about to close for ever, and once again he looked with kindness upon those who were respectfully pressing his feeble hands, and encircling his humble bed. Then he mustered the little strength remaining to him, as if in an effort to measure the depth of that eternity opening before him, yet not a word was he heard to utter concerning his bodily health, and indeed he ceased not to repeat to those who addressed their prayers to God for his recovery, "It is for the soul, yes! it is for the soul only, that I conjure you to offer up your petitions."\*

Finding that his strength was failing him, René sent for Charles of Maine, Elizar Garnier, his confessor, the prior of the royal convent of St. Maximin, John of Matheron, the venerable Fouquet D'Agoult, the grand seneschal, Pierre de la Juille, and Palemade de

\* Villeneuve Bargemont.

Forbin; at the same time arrived, escorted by the Queen, Jeanne de Laval, the Countess of Maine, and her sister, Margaret of Lorraine.

King René then addressing himself to Charles of Anjou, and making an effort to raise his voice, said, "My son, it seems there is something lacking in the love I have shown you. It is not enough that I have testified it in giving you my states, I must still teach you how you will enjoy them happily. To this end, the sole maxim you have to practise is, to love your people as I have loved them, and you will then find the Provençaux faithful and zealous. Consider what they have done for me, by these means, in my wars of Naples, Catalonia, and even in Normandy, when I assisted the late King Charles VII. You know what has been said of them, that there never was a better people under a good King, and that there never was a worse under a bad one. Test again this proof in your own person. Preserve amongst this people the same affection that you find there, and remember that God wills, that kings should resemble Him more by their goodness than their power."

Full of an admirable presence of mind, René gave to his successor yet other counsels upon the duties of a sovereign towards his people. Like St. Louis, dying on the banks of Carthage, he could leave him the example of his life. René then presented with his feeble hand Charles of Maine to all his attendants, who were ranged round his death-bed, and he recommended him to his ministers, and to the principal lords who had served under him, and who were listening to his paternal exhortations. These faithful servants, seeking to stifle their sobs and restrain their tears, were unable to answer him, and René then, with his eyes almost closed, and his lips half fixed, bade them fare-

well in terms of affection. His countenance preserved the serenity of a pure conscience, and his dying looks, turned towards heaven, still expressed benevolence. The little group of mourners respectfully withdrew.

When alone, as he desired to be, with his confessor, René seemed no longer to belong to this earth, but appeared to linger here yet a few instants, as if to abandon himself entirely to the thoughts which ought to terminate the life of a good christian and a wise man. He recalled passages of his life, as though in the presence of his great Judge. He confessed himself anew, meditated, and then received the Sacrament, with a fervour, which edified the priest himself. He then wished for the last time to hear the holy Scriptures, and to have the Psalms read to him by Elezar Garnier, who afterwards related that up to the moment of his death René preserved his memory, and the use of his other intellectual faculties, and that while he read to him he was absorbed in pious, profound, and touching reflections, upon divers passages which struck his attention.

Thus he breathed his last, without grief or pain. He expired on Monday, the 10th of July, 1480, at the hour of vespers. René was seventy-two years of age when he died, and it was the forty-seventh year of his reign.\*

The lamentations without the Palace speedily announced to the people the loss they had sustained, and each individual suspended his labours, or forgot at the moment his matters of domestic interest, and coming forth, they accosted one another, and with tears in their eyes, repeated their praises of their venerable monarch, each one adding some touching details of his own reminiscence. Their manufactories and shops were shut, and funeral hangings were at every door; as

1480.  
Villeneuve  
Bargemont;  
Moreri;  
Baudier;  
Barante;  
Bodin;  
Godard  
Faultrier.

\* Moreri; Carte; Bodin; Villeneuve Bargemont; Monfaucon; Baudier; Barante; Mariana; Eccles. Hist.; Godard Faultrier.

the news reached the cottages on the outskirts, the labourers, deserting their fields, entered the town in a body, crying, "The father of our country, the father of the poor, is no more!"

The people of Aix and of the country, united by their common affliction, gained permission to visit the chamber of their Prince, where they pressed around his bed, kissed his hands and feet, and gazed for the last time on the features of their beloved benefactor, and a concert of praises, the last sad homage rendered by them to the virtues of their good King, re-echoed during several hours about the inanimate remains of this friend and father of the poor and needy.

The corpse of René, having been embalmed, was placed in a leaden coffin, and laid in state, during three days and nights preceding the burial. And now, as the moment approached when this "father of his people" was about to disappear for ever from all eyes, tears flowed afresh, and new praises were lavished upon his beneficence and piety.

The obsequies of this best of Princes were celebrated on the 14th of July, in the presence of all the communities of Provence, those deputies of the town who were able to arrive in time, the sovereign courts of justice, the clergy and inhabitants of Aix, without distinction, bearing torches in their hands. The officers of the Palace and the numerous servants of René were likewise there, and weeping. The streets were hung with black, and it might have been thought that death had visited each house with an especial blow. A mournful silence prevailed everywhere, interrupted only by the tolling of the bells or the chaunts of the priests, whose voices were often drowned by dolorous sobs. Fouquet d'Agoult, who for many years had been honoured with his sovereign's confidence, presided at this sad ceremony, which lasted until the evening.



The funeral procession, passing through the populace who were all weeping, arrived at the Church of St. Saviour's, where the service was performed for the dead amidst cries and tears; all were alike inconsolable, for indeed the house and table of René had been the refuge of the poor.

The coffin was laid in one of the chapels until a tomb, more worthy of this lamented Prince, could be made, and as yet no one thought that the remains of King René, could be buried elsewhere than in Provence. This monarch had, however, commanded in his will, that his remains should be conveyed to Angers, and be placed by the side of his first Queen, Isabella of Lorraine, "his very dear wife, in the Cathedral of St. Maurice," where he had prepared for himself a magnificent tomb. In this church he had been baptised, and there reposed the ashes of almost all his ancestors.\*

René had taken great pleasure in enriching the Church of St. Maurice. He had presented to it a very beautiful urn of porphyry,† which was brought from Jerusalem by his orders, and the pious believed that this vase was the same used by our Lord at the feast of Cana, when he changed the water into wine. In remembrance of this miracle the vase was filled with wine every year, on the second Sunday after Epiphany, and it was distributed to the people after the blessing. This was established as a perpetual custom by King René. To this church also René bequeathed his rich woollen tapestry, comprising the visions and figures of

\* Within this church might be seen eight statues of Dukes of Anjou.—*Villeneuve Bargemont; Bodin; Godard Faultrier.*

† René also gave to this church a vase, of oblong form, of green antique marble, from Marseilles. This piece of antiquity is more precious for the rarity of its material than for its workmanship. It is a baignure of verd antique, 4 feet 8 inches long (French), and 21 inches high, and serves still as a baptismal font at this church. The sword of St. Maurice was also to be seen in this antique building supported on lions.

the Apocalypse, an infinite number of chappes and draperies, gold and velvet ornaments, bearing his coat of arms, and other things for the ceremonies of the worship of God.\* Both his Queens were represented on the painted windows of St. Maurice.\*

The will of this Prince was sworn to by Jeanne de Laval, who, believing herself bound to fulfill strictly the last wishes of her husband, announced her purpose of transporting his remains to Angers. This determination was no sooner made public, than it was followed by a general insurrection in the town of Aix; all classes expressed their dissatisfaction, and for the first time murmurs were heard against the "good King." "He gave himself to us long before his death," they exclaimed everywhere. "No people have loved him so well as the Provençaux, and none can, or ought to dispute their right to his precious remains."

In this fervour they even persuaded themselves that the honour of their country was interested in preserving in their capital a monarch whom they had delighted in so much, and they came to the decision that they would oppose with open force, if necessary, the removal of the corpse of René to Angers. This resolution, which they considered as patriotic, they adhered to, and universally protested against the transfer of their old master's remains, demanding that a mausoleum should be erected to his memory at the expense of the faithful Provençaux.

Charles of Anjou, Olivier de Penant, Archbishop of Aix, and other eminent persons of the court, who beheld this excitement, yielded to the general feeling which had been so energetically manifested, and which in its source was too touching to be any longer disregarded.

\* Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier; Bodin; Baudier; Monfaucon; Moreri.



They also considered themselves the less wanting to the memory of King René, since the monks of St. Maximin offered to affirm upon oath that the attachment of the people of Aix, had so deeply affected that Prince, as to cause him upon his death bed, to revoke verbally the clause in his will, expressive of his desire to be buried in the Church of St. Maurice, at Angers.

This concession, authorised by the Queen, and in a manner extorted from her, was no sooner made known, than it produced in its turn a strong sentiment of joy; and when the public peace was re-established, the universal subject of their thoughts was the construction of a monument worthy of their beloved sovereign, which should attest to posterity the gratitude and affection of the Provençaux. A plan was speedily projected by the most skilful artists, and submitted for the approval of the Count of Provence, and the foundation was laid without delay. Amongst the bas relievos in white marble were some intended to retrace the memorable combats in which this Prince had signalized his valour, others to remind them of the virtues which had made him so beloved. Some symbolical figures in marble were also destined to represent history, mathematics, poetry, painting, sculpture, and music, all weeping for a Prince, who had alike protected and cultivated them. They omitted nothing, in short, which could recall to mind their excellent sovereign.\*

1450.

Whilst the people of Aix were exerting every means for the prompt erection of their national monument, having no longer any doubts, that the precious remains of their sovereign would continue amongst them, Jeanne de Laval quitted Provence on her return to Anjou, where she had determined to reside for the future, in the castle of Beaufort.

\* Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.

This château, formerly laved by the waters of the Loire, was built on a rock, overlooking the whole valley, and from its battlements might be seen the two fine towns of Angers and Saumur.

King René had purchased this residence, in 1469, for 30,000 golden crowns, and had assigned it for dowry to Jeanne de Laval, who passed in it the last eighteen years of her life.

This Princess, in departing from the place where the corpse of King René reposed, perhaps repenting of her condescension, or touched by the grief of the Angevins, resolved yet to accomplish the will of her husband. It appears that before her departure, she secretly persuaded a monk of the chapter of St. Saviour, to undertake the execution of her project. This monk was obliged to delay for some time, the performance of the Queen's orders; but he concerted his measures well; the coffin was removed from the cathedral during the night, placed in a cask, then carried on a cart to the banks of the Rhone, where being embarked, they conveyed it by water to the Pont de Cé. This enterprise was conducted with such secrecy, that the result was unknown at Aix until such time as precautions could be taken to prevent another commotion.

All that remained in Provence of this Prince were his entrails, deposited at the foot of the altar of the great Carmelites, under a large plate of copper, surrounded by an iron railing and again covered with wood, on which was inscribed—

"Hic sunt viscera serenissimi Siciliæ  
"Hierosolymis regis Renati Andegavia, ac  
"Bari ducis et Provinciæ comitis."

While on the one hand the inhabitants of Aix were plunged into sullen grief on finding their confidence

betrayed, and that they were compelled thus to abandon their project of erecting a mausoleum, to attest thereby to futurity their respect for King René, the Angevins, with transports of joy and gratitude, received the royal coffin. Upon the arrival of this precious deposit on the confines of Anjou, a sweet satisfaction united to a religious melancholy was exhibited on all sides. At last it was brought by night to St. Laud, near Angers, in the month of August, 1481, more than a year after the death of King René.\*

1481.  
Villeneuve  
Bargemont.

The citizens could not at first give entire credence to a circumstance which appeared so little probable, and, influenced by the popular reports on this matter, the dean and canon of St. Maurice, even doubted if it was really the body of their monarch, which had been restored to them. They required that the leaden coffin should be opened in their presence, and before other witnesses. This request being granted, they found King René as entire and perfect and undecomposed as if he had only died a few days before.†

After this the body was placed in a double coffin of lead, and the heart was laid in a silver box.

The sacred remains of this Prince rested secretly at St. Laud from the month of August till the 9th of October, about seven weeks. Then the heart was taken to the Cordeliers, in the chapel of St. Bernardin, and the body to the cathedral of St. Maurice. This solemn transfer was effected with the greatest pomp, and the most extraordinary expense. Six doctors in law, canon and civil, held the pall; twenty licentiate scholars, all gentlemen, carried the coffin, and at the head walked the rector of the University. This homage to the talents of René shows, at the same time, the supreme rank which the members of

\* Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont; Bodin.

† Moreri; Godard Faultrier; Villeneuve Bargemont.

the university occupied amongst the dignitaries of Angers.

This ceremony ended, René was placed at the left side of the great altar of St. Maurice, near to Isabella of Lorraine, who had been interred there in 1453.

A rich mausoleum was soon raised by the pious care of Jeanne de Laval, over the tomb of her husband; and she caused to be executed upon it, the designs which René had himself traced for it. This funeral monument was eight feet in length and six in width, and it was entirely covered with black marble, and decorated on the three sides with elegant pilasters, between which were placed the escutcheon of Anjou and Lorraine, sculptured with the utmost delicacy and refinement. The statues of the King and Queen were lying down, and formed of white marble of Carrara; they were placed on a pedestal of porphyry. That of King René was resting on a cushion, his forehead encircled by a diadem, leaving visible a kind of cap, which covered the top of his head, and under his long tunic with large sleeves, was to be seen his coat of arms. A lion, symbol of his rare strength and courage, reposed at his feet, and at the feet of the Queen were placed two dogs, emblems of fidelity.\*

This mausoleum was placed under an arch, the bottom of which was filled by a large tableau on wood, which it is pretended that King René painted himself, or, at least, that he commenced it, because, in his will, he gave orders "that the picture on his tomb be finished." This painting represented death in the figure of a skeleton, covered with a cloak of gold cloth, edged with ermine. The figure is leaning on the arms of a throne, on which he is seated, and bears a crown, which appears to be falling from his head.

\* Villeneuve Bargemont; Godard Faultrier; Bodin; Monfaucon.

Above this tableau were engraved the following Latin verses; they were the composition of René:

"Regia scepter luis, rutilis fulgentia trônis,  
 "Dum quondam recolis pressa et nunc pulvere cernis  
 "Marcescunt flores, mundi laudes et honores,  
 "Gloria, fama levis, pomparum fastus inanis.  
 "Una parit reges et vulgus terra potentes,  
 "Quod dedit hæc repetit, mortalia cuncta recludit  
 "Mors, dominis servos, et turpibus æquat honestos  
 "Unus erunt tumulus, rex, pastor, inersque peritus."

Once regal sceptres shining from bright thrones,  
 Adorned thy hands, and beamed their precious stones.  
 Now pressed in dust, earth's flowers fade away:  
 Fame, glory, honour, praise alike decay.  
 One earth is mother both of prince and slave;  
 She asketh back, and hides, whate'er she gave.  
 Death levels master, servant, bound and free;  
 Kings, shepherds, high and low, one heap shall be.\*

The blazon of the second "House of Anjou and "Sicily" was composed, at the death of René, of the arms of Hungary, Naples, Jerusalem, France, Bar, Lorraine, and Arragon.†

Towards the close of his life René assumed the title of King of Arragon, Sicily, and Jerusalem; but these were only imaginary and useless titles to him, since he had no longer any hope of recovering what he had lost.‡ Although he was styled King of Sicily, Naples, Hungary, and Jerusalem, Arragon, Valencia, Sardinia, Majorca, and Corsica, Duke of Anjou, Lorraine, and Bar, Count of Provence and Forcalquier, all these pompous titles served only to enrich his coat of arms, while no other monarch of his age had so little power, or money, as René of Anjou.

Often was he obliged to have recourse to the purse of his subjects, and proof of this may be found in the

\* Bodin; Villeneuve Bargemont.

† Godard Faultrier.

‡ Mariana.

registers of the Cathedral of Angers. The chapter lent him, on pledges, in 1465, five hundred crowns, and again twelve thousand crowns. The taxes, however, which had been extremely heavy in former reigns, were very moderate in his; and he was not forced, like his ancestor, Louis I. of Anjou, to make an ordinance at the time of his death, to alleviate the remorse of his conscience, for the distribution to the poor shop-keepers and peasants of Anjou, and Touraine, of 20,000 livres (145,000 francs) to remunerate them for the unjust taxes he had levied upon them.\*

With René, the last hero of the old chivalry, ended the "House of Anjou," and their illustrious pretensions to numerous crowns.†

One author, in his history of Provence says, that "this Prince needed only to complete his glory, historians worthy of him;" and adds, that "if pains were taken to collect, in the different provinces which he governed, the anecdotes and actions relating to him, it might be found, that his character would be a worthy parallel to that of the renowned "Henry IV."‡

"The faults of René partook of the spirit of the age in which he lived; his virtues were his own. No one better fulfilled the external duties of religion, but his piety, was but the piety of his age. He loaded the churches with his favours, at a time when he was not able to pay his debts." He had made a vow to pay a visit to the Holy Sepulchre, and it was then the heroism of devotion, but the events of his life did not permit him to undertake this pilgrimage, and

\* Bodin.

† As a testimony how much the merits and virtues of King René have been appreciated by posterity, it may be added, that, as late as May, 1823, a marble statue was erected to the memory of the "Good King René" in one of the finest places in the city of Aix.

‡ Godard Faultrier; Bodin; Hist. Général de Provence.

he consequently bequeathed three thousand ducats, to enable his heirs to send his substitute.

"During the last years of his life, René retained "nothing of royalty, but the habit of thinking and "feeling as a king, in all that related to religion and "government; in everything else he was the philosopher."\*

At Saumur there was formerly to be seen on the great altar of St. Peter's Church, the statues of the King and Queen of Sicily, in stone. They were kneeling, and between them was an angel covered with a cope, and holding a great cross. On the left of the angel was Jesus Christ showing his side uncovered, and pierced, and also his hands. On the right was St. Peter, in an attitude expressive of surprise, which he is said to have felt, when, as he left the city of Rome, to avoid death, our Saviour met him, and showed him his hands and side, which caused the Apostle to say, "Where are you going, Lord?" This meeting retains the name "Quo vadis?" and has since afforded, both to the sculptor, and painter, a subject for the decoration of our churches.

Amongst the treasures of this parish of St. Peter, there was formerly preserved René's letter to the clergy of this church, which he wrote when he sent these statues, and below it is related, as by St. Bernard in his memoirs, "I send you the 'Quo vadis,' "with the figures of us, and of our companions." All these figures have been destroyed. That of René must be regretted; for he was looked upon, says our author, as one of the best sovereigns that ever reigned in Anjou.†

After the death of René, the pretensions of the House of Anjou to the crown of Naples legally descended to his grandson, René II.: but, his mother

\* Hist. Général de Provence.

† Bodin.

Yoland, having married into the House of Lorraine, had thus given such displeasure to her father, that he bequeathed his Neapolitan title, along with his real patrimony, the county of Provence, to his nephew, the Count of Maine.

Charles of Anjou obtained possession of Provence, but he did not long survive his aged relative. He died at Marseilles, on the 10th of December, 1481, leaving no children.\* Louis XI. was by this prince instituted his heir. He recommended to this monarch the care of Provence, her customs and privileges. Thus was this province reunited to the crown.

We learn that Charles of Anjou was influenced in making his will by Palamede de Fourbin, Seigneur de Lollier, who prevailed upon him to give the succession to the King, to the prejudice of René, Duke of Lorraine; who, in vain asserted his pretensions to it. The King of France, in gratitude to Palamede de Fourbin, made him lieutenant-general in Provence, with extensive authority.

Louis XI. took possession of Provence, but gave himself no trouble about the kingdom of Naples.†

King René had invested his grandson, René II., with the duchies of Lorraine and of Bar. This he appears to have been constrained to do, but the rest of his inheritance he bestowed on the Count of Maine; to the great displeasure of Duke René, who, upon the death of his grandfather, earnestly endeavoured to form a party in Provence, in order to secure this prince's dominions, but his efforts were vain, and he was obliged to fly precipitately.

These attempts served only to incense the King of France against Duke René; the former seeking to

\* Some write that he died on the 11th of December.

† Monfaucon; Mezerai; Barante; Eccles. Hist.; Daniel; Hallam's Mid. Ages; Wraxall; Gibbon's Miscel.

1481.  
Mezerai;  
Barante.

deprive him of the duchy of Bar, and asserting his own right to it, according to the lease granted to him by King René, and the cession of Queen Margaret of England.

Louis XI., having seized and fortified Bar, and other cities, refused to submit this difference to any arbitration, but that of the Pope.\* Eventually Louis triumphed; and in the reign of his successor, René II. was still demanding the restoration of his duchy of Bar, kept from him by Louis XI., and also the county of Provence. Bar was restored to him for a sum of money, which the King insisted upon; and the Duke of Lorraine being in great favour at court, and having many friends, was permitted to lead a company of a hundred lances in an expedition against Naples; which he claimed, in right of his mother, Yoland of Anjou. A pension of 36,000 francs was granted him also for four years; in which time, his title to Provence was to be examined into. Before the expiration of that period, however, objections were raised to Duke René's inheriting this country, and he finally left the French court in disgust. This prince also lost, by his delay, all chance of success in Naples; where the Lords had rebelled against Ferdinand, and had, with the Pope, united their solicitations to Duke René to assume the crown.

In taking possession of Provence, Louis XI., and after him Charles VIII., did so because, it was a male-fief, and the male line was extinct, on which account René II. could have no claim to it. There was no Salic law in the kingdom of Naples; therefore, although Duke René was allowed to proceed thither, with his company of a hundred lances, it was afterwards discovered, from ancient testaments of Charles I. and others of the Angevine princes, that the kingdom

\* Daniel; Barante.

of Naples, and the county of Provence, were irrevocably united. Thus Charles VIII. drew this conclusion, that being Count of Provence by the will of Charles of Maine, he was also lawful heir to the crown of Naples; and the rights of the Duke of Lorraine, who had no power to enforce them, were from this time forgotten.

In right of his mother Yoland, René II. assumed the title and arms, of the King of Sicily and Arragon. Duke René II. died on the 10th of December, 1508.\*

\* Philip de Comines; Gibbon; Sismondi; Moreri; Barante.



## CHAPTER IX.

"Strong is the arm of fate! we fall to rise no more!"

MISS HOLFORD.

Queen Margaret's second cession to Louis XI.—Her pension—Her sister's cession—The Queen's residence at Dampierre—Her last days—Her death—Burial and will—The Cathedral of St. Maurice—Queen Margaret's character—Her advice to the Earl of Richmond—Sketches of some of her relatives and distinguished persons of her times—Of Jeanne de Laval—Yoland of Anjou—Margaret of Lorraine—Cecily, Duchess of York—Elizabeth Woodville and others, in conclusion.

QUEEN MARGARET had been residing in the city of Aix, under the protection of her father; and upon his death she went into Anjou, and there made a second cession to Louis XI. of the provinces of Lorraine, Bar, and Provence. This act was signed by her in the hall of the mansion of Reculée, built by René, near Angers, on the 19th of October, 1480.\* It was also signed by her sister, the Duchess of Lorraine, and one writer tells us, that this cession was made in November, of 1480.

The French monarch then granted to the unfortunate Queen an annual pension for her maintenance, consisting of the sum of 10,500 livres,† chargeable on the revenues of the duchy of Bar, to be paid to her during the remainder of her life.

This brief period of her existence was passed by Queen Margaret in the Château de Dampierre, near

\* Bourdigné; Baudier; Bodin; Monstrelet; Hist. Général de Provence; Godard Faultrier; Female Worthies.

† This was 2000 livres *tournois*.

Saumur, where she found an asylum in the house of a private individual, Francis de Vignolles,\* Seigneur de Moraens, who had formerly been an officer of the household of King René, whom he had served during forty years, and from whom he had received some benefits.

It is interesting to consider this Queen in the entire seclusion of this Château of Dampierre,† when she had lost her wealth, rank, and possessions, and above all, had been deprived of the most beloved objects of her affections. Her decline was hastened by melancholy and regret; it was not the gradual decay of a noble edifice by the hand of time, but in far more striking characters exhibited the most abrupt annihilation of the human fabric.

This once high-minded and courageous Princess, whose beauty, and talents were the admiration of all Europe, passed the two last years of her eventful life in this tranquil retreat, mourning over her misfortunes, and those of her family.

The situation of her habitation must have peculiarly favoured the indulgence of her dejected spirits. From many spots on the hill on which the Château de Dampierre stood, Queen Margaret could behold the Castle

\* His brother, John de la Vignolles, was dean of the church at Angers.

† This old turreted house has still considerable beauty, besides its peculiar interest as the last habitation of this Angevine Princess. Nothing now remains but a small narrow tower, with a winding staircase much dilapidated, and also a part of a massive wall, richly ornamented with carved stone work. Monsieur de la Rivière, a canon, possessed the château at the time of the French revolution; after which, all ecclesiastical property being sold, Dampierre was purchased by M. Richeaudieu, and it now belongs to his son-in-law, M. Fontenailles. Very near to Dampierre there were also a few rooms and a chapel, for the most part excavated from the rock, which is said to have formed an occasional summer residence for Queen Margaret; but it is many years since they were wholly removed. The spot on which they were built was the property of M. de Tigney in 1845. Of this last edifice there remains only a small narrow tower with a winding staircase in a dilapidated condition, and part of a massive wall, richly ornamented with carved stone-work.

of Saumur, which she had often inhabited in her youthful days, when crowds of gay and brilliant knights and ladies, joined the court of Anjou, to share in the various gratifications of the tournament.

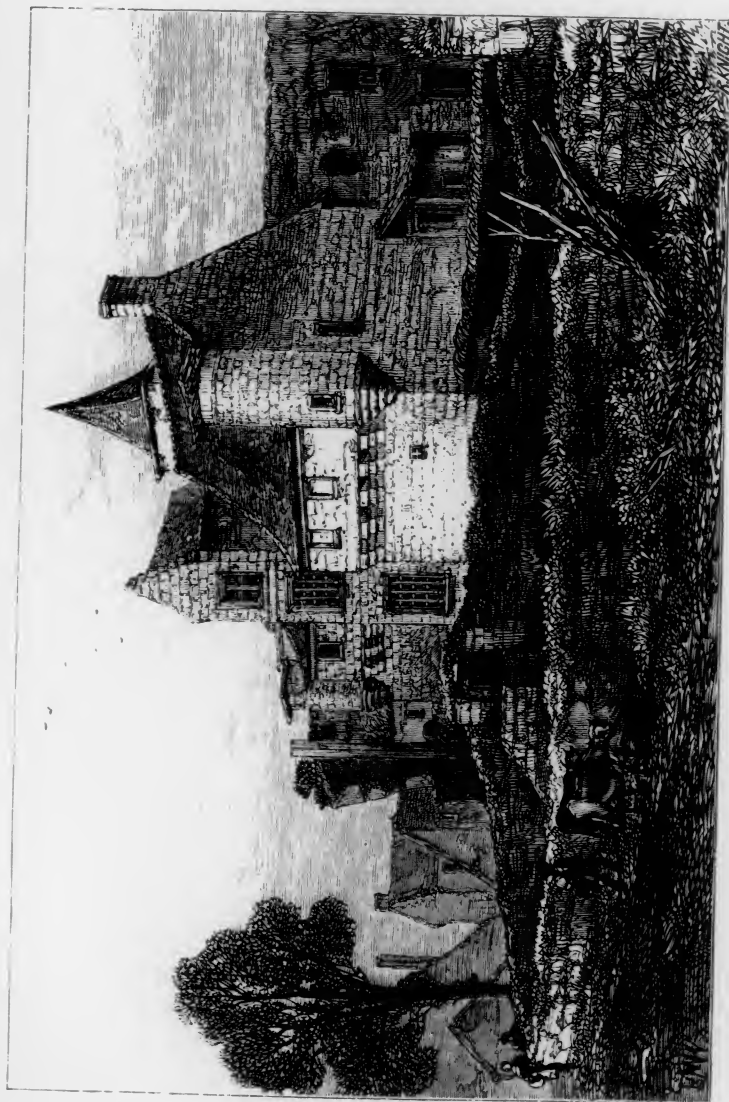
The unhappy Princess could see towards the south, the Château of Brézé, which must have recalled to her recollection the Grand Seneschal of Normandy, Pierre de Brézé, her valiant champion, who in her greatest perils had come to her aid, having been dismissed by the perfidious Louis XI., rather with the intent to get rid of him, than with a view to succour the Queen. It was to reward this knight for his valour and fidelity in her cause, that she bestowed upon him the Channel Islands—a recompense which afterwards involved him in much peril and disgrace.

Queen Margaret fell a victim to disappointment and grief. While brooding over her unhappy fate, one might imagine the bitter words which would escape her lips—

“ Who sues, who kneels, who says ‘ God save the Queen ? ’  
 “ Where be the bending peers that flatter’d thee ?  
 “ Where be the thronging troops that follow’d thee ?  
 “ Decline all this and see what now thou art :  
 “ For happy wife, a most distressed widow ;  
 “ For joyful mother, one that wails the name ;  
 “ For Queen, a very caitiff,—crown’d with care.”\*

The decline of Queen Margaret has been well portrayed by the graphic pen of one old author, who says,  
 “ Her blood, corrupted by so many sombre emotions,  
 “ became like a poison, which infected all the parts  
 “ that it should nourish ; her skin dried up, until it  
 “ crumbled away in dust ; her stomach contracted, and  
 “ her eyes, as hollow and sunken as if they had been  
 “ driven into her head, lost all the fire, which had, for  
 “ so long a time, served to interpret the lofty senti-

\* Shakespeare.



CHÂTEAU DE DAMPIERRE, NEAR SAUMUR.

(To face page 371, vol. ii.)

"ments of her soul."\* What a picture of the once beautiful Queen Margaret!

This unfortunate heroine died of grief, at the Château de Dampierre, near Saumur, at the age of fifty-three, on the 25th of August, 1482.†

The mortal remains of this Princess were transported to the magnificent tomb of the "good King René," her father, in the Church of St. Maurice, at Angers; but there was no epitaph, or inscription to her memory. The deficiency in this respect was, however, in some measure compensated by an annual ceremony performed there. Every year, at the feast of All Saints, the Chapter of St. Maurice, after vespers for the dead, perform a semicircular procession around the tomb, singing a subvenite for the unhappy Queen.‡

Twenty-three days before her decease, Queen Margaret confirmed by her will, dated August the 2nd, 1482, the conveyance of all her rights to her father's territories, to the King of France, Louis XI.§

We are told that in the year 1783, when the decoration of the choir of the Church of St. Maurice was begun, the tomb containing the last remains of the "good King René," and of his daughter, Queen Margaret of Anjou, was transferred beneath an arch of the nave of this Church, where it remained until the year 1793, the period of its destruction during the Revolution. The same author says, that the coffin of René was never removed from the vault, but still remains, along with two others, presumed to be those of his wife Isabella and his daughter Margaret. Another

\* Bodin.

† Morel; Bodin; Dom Calmet; Baudier; Baker; Toplis; Habington; Lingard; Hume; Godard Faultrier; Encyclopædia Britannica; Female Worthies; Bodin.

‡ Bodin; Toplis; Baudier; Godard Faultrier; Female Worthies; Encyclopædia Britannica.

§ Carte.

1482.  
Bodin;  
Toplis;  
Godard  
Faultrier;  
Hume;  
Lingard.

writer informs us that the tomb of René was conveyed to the place where the altar memoriale mortis is situated.\*

No Queen of England has ever enjoyed so great a meed of praise and admiration, and deservedly so, as Margaret of Anjou, for no other Queen has equalled her in character.

She has been extolled by all the writers of her times for her virtues, her beauty, her conjugal fidelity, and for her maternal love; for her patience under adversity, her courage and martial conduct; also, for her sympathy with the unfortunate, and earnestness in the advancement of those who needed her assistance; and above all for her persevering activity during her husband's misfortunes.

In early life her pride or ambition, we are told, made her aspire to one of the highest thrones in Europe; but, when so exalted, how soon did she exhibit her natural good sense and feeling, by her concealment of the weaknesses and failings of her husband, when he betrayed his inability to rule. Surely her readiness to assist the unfortunate Henry ought rather to call forth praise than blame, since it would naturally appear to her as the path of duty, especially being conscious of her own abilities for the position of command.

When established on the throne, Queen Margaret began by exerting great power over all who surrounded her, uniting to the regal sway her female influence, her personal charms not a little contributing to further her purposes.

The extreme youth of Margaret should be admitted in palliation of the faults which she committed in the

\* "The architecture of St. Maurice is exquisite, and at this day, the fine painted glass and tapestry of the fifteenth century have happily remained uninjured from the civil wars."

It has been projected to re-establish the mausoleum of King René.  
Bodin; Godard Faultrier.

commencement of her reign, and Henry's inability to govern caused her to be placed at the helm while she was yet unable to direct it. Her first step unfortunately, was to adopt a peculiar party in the kingdom; but this eventually became the ruin of herself and of all her house.

When surrounded at her early age by trials and difficulties, her talents and energy enabled her to overcome them. She seized the reins of government with all the confidence of youth, not having gained the experience requisite for her position. While, however, she was assisted by the wise Cardinal of Winchester the public affairs were prosperous. But the death of Gloucester, followed by that of the Cardinal, left her alone to guide the helm.

The mysterious close of Gloucester's life (which remains an enigma in English history) first caused her unpopularity with the people. Nothing has been proved against the Queen in this affair; although it may be admitted that she yielded to her prejudices against him, and sought to remove him from the King and his Council. In this it was her object to rule herself for King Henry. In allusion to this, one author writes that, "had she adopted the nobler part of succouring the oppressed party, her character would have shone with greater lustre to posterity;" and in conclusion he infers that "she could not be guiltless, for she might have saved the life of Gloucester." Truly she could have been more perfect, but it is hard to judge another by what they might have done. She was besides influenced by the Cardinal and his party, who were the enemies of Gloucester. This Duke was, nevertheless, by contemporary writers said, to have died a natural death.

The epithets of arbitrary and tyrannical, so often applied to this Queen's early rule, doubtless by her

enemies, do not seem applicable to the daughter of the "good King René" and his noble consort, the former so distinguished by his refinements and clemency. The talents and courage, born and nursed, so to speak, in the very age and country of chivalry, would surely revolt from harshness and cruelty. It does not appear that any historian has dwelt on the peculiar difficulties of the situation of this Queen, united to a monarch who, far from assisting her by his advice in affairs of difficulty, required to be governed himself. Margaret was compelled, in addition to the responsibility and uncertainty of ruling a turbulent and rebellious people, to bear the weight of every unpopular measure herself, without the advice of ministers of worth, who, having the Lancastrian interest at heart, might have alleviated her anxiety.

Queen Margaret was more illustrious by her undaunted spirit in adversity, than by her moderation in prosperity. She was not subject to the weaknesses of her sex; yet it is just to observe, that she has been charged with being "mutable and changeable." When in prosperous circumstances she assumed haughtiness, or imperiousness, on finding a reverse she could lay these aside, and employ all her personal charms, insinuation, persuasion, and address to gain over the people to her interests. The nobility were envious of Suffolk and Somerset, who engrossed all her favour. Having lost these favourites, her preference was shown to everybody who could render her service, or whose merits deserved her good opinion. In spite of her eminent beauty, we are told, that her look inspired terror in all those who displeased her.

Queen Margaret's surprising talents for war, her conduct as a general, her martial spirit, and her presence of mind in her adverse fortunes, all came with the troubles of her times, which, like the thorns around the

"Rose," she patiently endured to preserve her crown. This she deserved to wear, but it was wrested from her. She had shown feminine weakness in the insurrection of Cade, but the utmost firmness in the conflicts which ensued. Her courage and intrepidity might have reflected honour on the most renowned generals of her age.

Some authors assure us that, her martial spirit was not seen until she found it was needful to protect her son. This, if it be the case, manifests her sincere maternal love.

It is needless to refer to the mysterious accounts of this Queen's illicit intercourse with the Earl of Suffolk, which could only be the product of the malice of her enemies, and positively contradictory to all the tenour of her life. Also her genuine piety has never been disputed, any more than her moral fortitude.

Her destiny was to launch her little bark on the noontide of prosperity, and after tossing on the waves of a troubled ocean, to become at last a solitary wreck, lost to the world, and to herself, and like a bright meteor, to perish in oblivion. No monument was erected to her memory, and none was needed. As long as much worth, greatness of soul, filial duty, conjugal fidelity, and maternal tenderness have admirers amongst mankind, the name of Margaret of Anjou cannot be forgotten.

After the unsuccessful termination of the affairs of the Lancastrians, the young Earl of Richmond (afterwards Henry VII.) escaped from Wales in 1470, with his uncle, the Earl of Pembroke. They bent their course towards Normandy, but a tempest cast them on the coast of Brittany. Duke François II., hearing of their disaster, sent them an honourable escort, and caused them to be conducted to Vannes, where he received them with every demonstration of friendship.



King Edward required that these two noblemen should be delivered up to him; but Duke François only promised that they should cause the King of England no disquietude. Having promised protection to these suppliants, he would not betray them, but they were kept in a kind of honourable confinement during the lifetime of King Edward IV. By this policy they were preserved; and, in the reign of his successor, they reappeared in England, to inflict vengeance on the House of York.\*

It was during Queen Margaret's residence at Dampierre that she was visited by Henry, Earl of Richmond; and it was by the advice and instigation of the Lancastrian Queen that, this young nobleman was determined in his resolution to attempt the overthrow of the House of York; in which purpose he was ultimately successful; but Margaret did not live to witness his triumph.

John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, when he escaped, in 1485, from the castle of Hammes, after his long imprisonment, joined the Earl of Richmond, and subsequently fought in the battle of Bosworth, where he was captain of the archers. This Earl became a person of great importance in the state in the reign of Henry VII. He died in 1512, in the fourth year of Henry VIII.†

This nobleman experienced many vicissitudes in these stormy times, sometimes cast into the shade, at others enjoying a gleam of sunshine. His father had been deprived of his inheritance; but his son, John de Vere, was restored to them, then attainted, and again after their being forfeited, again restored. Finally he died in possession of them. He is described as valiant, wise, magnificent, and learned, and also a religious

\* Stow; Philip de Comines: Roujoux's Brittany; Lingard.

† Paston Letters.

man. His prudence and bravery contributed much to the success of the Lancastrian cause. When he escaped from the castle of Hammes, he persuaded the governor of this fortress to declare for the Earl of Richmond, and carried him to Paris, to vouch for his fidelity.

When Richard III. afterwards besieged the castle of Hammes, the Earl of Oxford gathered together a few troops in France, and proceeded to its relief; he had the gratification to carry the garrison, which surrendered to the Earl of Richmond.\*

Jeanne de Laval, generally distinguished by the name of the Queen of Sicily, after the death of her husband, whom she survived many years, lived at her Château de Beaufort during eighteen years, employing herself in so many good works, that her memory has ever been cherished by the Angevines; who, even at the present day, still delight in attributing to her name (which has remained proverbial) everything great that was done in Anjou in the Middle Ages. They speak of her with affection in these days; and such was the interest she excited, that many buildings and acts have been attributed to her, in which she never participated. Amongst these we have the following instance. William de Haraucourt, Bishop of Verdun, invented a cage of wood, in 1469, some of which were used at the Bastille, two at the Château de Loches, and one at Angers. At this city the people, ever fond of the marvellous, were accustomed to call it the "cage of the Queen of Sicily," because they pretended that she had been imprisoned therein; and they sometimes persisted that her sabots,† beautifully sculptured and transparent, might be seen there in the daytime. But this Queen of Sicily was no other than Jeanne

\* Rymer; Caister Castle.

† These sabots are now preserved in the Museum.

de Laval, who, however, had never been imprisoned.\*

Jeanne de Laval had no children. She died at the Château de Beaufort, in 1498, and was interred by the side of René, in the church of St. Maurice at Angers; also her statue was placed by his upon the tomb.

At the feet of René had been carved a lion, the symbol of strength and courage; and at the feet of Queen Jeanne de Laval, his second wife, were placed two dogs, emblematical of fidelity.

The heart of Jeanne, "so full of love," says one author, "and so tenderly beloved," was deposited with the Cordeliers of Angers, in the chapel of St. Bernardin. Jeanne de Laval is represented on the painted glass windows of the Cordeliers at Angers.

In her escutcheon were seen, the arms of all her husband's states, and those of Laval.†

Jeanne de Laval, at her death, instituted as her heir, Guy, 15th Count of Laval, her brother, and after him Nicolas de Laval, Seigneur de la Roche.‡

With this Princess ended the second House of Anjou and Sicily.§

In the choir of St. Maurice at Angers reposed the ashes of Louis I. of Anjou, his wife Mary of Blois, and his second son Charles; Louis II. of Anjou, and his wife Yoland of Arragon; Louis III. of Anjou; René, his two wives, Isabella of Lorraine and Jeanne de Laval, and also his noble-minded son John, Duke of Calabria; lastly, were deposited there also, the remains of Margaret of Anjou, Queen of England. Of these

\* Godard Faultrier.

† Montfaucon; Moreri; Bodin; Godard Faultrier.

‡ Hist. de Montmorency et de Laval, par André du Chesne.

§ Beaufort was afterwards reunited to the crown.



CHURCH OF ST. MAURICE, ANGERS.

(To face page 378, vol. ii.)

eleven individuals, all so distinguished in their day, scarcely a vestige remains.\*

From this period Anjou returned to the crown, and ceased to be an independent government. "The "nationality of Anjou, gave place to the nationality of "France." Some of the younger sons of France afterwards assumed the title of "Duke of Anjou," but only as apanagistes, viz., having only a useful enjoyment, with certain rights and revenues which were limited. Of these princes of the House of France, who bore the name of Anjou with the most *éclat*, were Edward, who became Henry III., and François, Duke of Alençon, his brother; Philip, grandson of Louis XIV., made King of Spain in 1700; Louis XV.; and Louis Stanislaus Xavier, Count of Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII., who was the last apanagiste.†

Yoland of Anjou, the eldest daughter of René, and the wife of Ferri, Count de Vaudemont, the sister of Queen Margaret, became Duchess of Lorraine and Bar, which estates she inherited upon the death of her nephew, Nicolas of Anjou, in 1473. When her cousin Charles of Anjou died, this princess took the title of Queen of Jerusalem and Sicily, and the escutcheon which belonged to John, Duke of Calabria, her brother. The Duchess of Lorraine did not long survive her father and sister; she died on the 21st February, 1483, at Nanci, at the age of fifty-seven,‡ and was interred in St. Laurent de Joinville.§

Margaret of Lorraine, the daughter of Yoland, and the grandchild of René, who had taken such pleasure in giving her instruction, employed herself in the education of her son and daughters, in a manner

\* Godard Faultrier; Bodin.

† Godard Faultrier.

‡ Dom Calmet says her age was 55, but this must be an error, as we cannot doubt the historians who speak of her birth in 1426.

§ Dom Calmet; Moreri; Montfaucon.

suitably to their birth, and with high sentiments of religion. After the death of her husband, she solaced herself in her retirement by the exercise of piety and the care of the poor; and having founded a charitable institution at Argenton, she daily conversed with the holy sisters, and with her own hands, distributed her gifts to the indigent; she even condescended to serve them at table, and bathe their wounds, without showing any symptoms of disgust. Finally, she retired to the convent of St. Clair, putting on the habit of the order of that establishment, in the presence of her son, the Duke of Alençon, and the Bishop of Sées, but declaring that, in taking this habit, she did not pretend to greater poverty than formerly: for which she assigned three reasons, 1st, that she would preserve the power of still recompensing her servants as they deserved; 2ndly, that she might be able to pay the debts of her husband; and 3rdly, to finish the building, &c., of the monastery where she desired to live and die.

This declaration she made only that she might perform more perfectly the three solemn vows she had taken.

This pious Duchess of Lorraine died on All-Saints' Day, in 1521, leaving a great example of virtue, charity, contempt of the world, and of perfect devotion.\*

Cicely, Duchess of York, the daughter of Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmoreland, survived her husband, Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, many years. Her life, an eventful one, extended beyond that of her son, King Edward IV.; and if her ambition was to behold her family enjoy the regal dignity, the measure of her days afforded ample opportunity for the contemplation of the "ills which flesh is heir to." She first witnessed the vain struggle for power which her husband originated, and which brought his defeat and death; then

\* Dom Calmet.

her own son's contentions, usurpations, cruelties, and untimely death. These succeeded one by one, and sorrowful indeed must have been the heart of the widow and mother of that house which brought such cruel strife amongst her kindred and through every portion of her native land. Cicely, of Raby, died in May, 1495, at an advanced age, at her castle of Berkhamsted, and was buried near her husband, in the choir of the collegiate church of Fotheringay, in Northamptonshire.\*

The romantic fortunes of Elizabeth Woodville may, by some, have been thought to have been great happiness; but let those who too highly estimate exalted rank, contemplate her subsequent reverses—how, at first she drew upon herself the envy of the nobility, which was ultimately the cause of King Edward's flight, and in whose absence she gladly took refuge in the sanctuary of Westminster, and there gave birth to a son, the heir to the throne.

She survived her husband, and afterwards had the misfortune to witness the cruel murder of her two infant sons; and finally, she was herself confined in the Monastery of Bermondsey, in Southwark, and her effects confiscated by her own son-in-law.†

John de la Pole, the son of the Duke of Suffolk, married Elizabeth Plantagenet, sister of Edward IV. His son became Earl of Lincoln, and afterwards joined in the rebellion of Lambert Simnel, and was killed in battle in 1487. His brother Edmund, the last who bore the title of Earl of Suffolk, having excited the suspicions of Henry VII., was imprisoned by this monarch during seven years in the Tower of London, and was finally put to death by Henry VIII. With this nobleman expired the honours of that family; which arose, in the time of Edward III., from a mer-

\* Paston Letters.

† Baker.

cantile station, and flourished during a period of 120 years. The handsome palace in Hull, called Suffolk Palace, and all the family possessions were confiscated to the crown. The town of Hull was much indebted for its prosperity to this family.\* John de la Pole died in 1491.†

There were other partizans of the House of Lancaster, the chief of whom, when they had lost all hope of maintaining this cause, after the death of King Henry VI. and his son, and the capture of Queen Margaret, condescended to implore the mercy of King Edward. No longer having a rival to fear, this monarch listened to their petitions, reversed their attainders in the next Parliament, and sought to render some of them useful to him.

Of these were Dr. Morton, parson of Bokesworth, and Sir John Fortescue, the Lord Chief Justice. They had both been present in the battle of Towton, and had been attainted in the following Parliament.

Their petitions to the King were very similar, and were thus expressed:—"They are as sorrowful and repentant as any creature may be, for whatever they have done to the displeasure of the King's highness; and protest they are, and ever will be, true liegemen and obeissant subjects to him, their sovereign lord."

King Edward had already granted to Morton his pardon, and, knowing his talents, he made him Keeper of the Rolls, and afterwards preferred him to the bishopric of Ely. The attachment of Morton to the sons of Edward, his benefactor, drew on him the displeasure of Richard III., and at a subsequent period his counsels led to the deposition of the usurper, and the termination of civil discord by the marriage of Henry VII. to the daughter of Edward IV.,

\* Allen's York; Biographia Britannica.

† Paston Letters.

and thus were united the Houses of York and Lancaster.\*

Henry, Lord Percy, the son and heir of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who lost his life in the battle of Towton, continued to be styled Lord Percy, although his father had been attainted. He was fully restored to his title and honours in 1472, and his father's attainder made void.

In the year 1488 this nobleman was murdered by a tumultuous mob, in Yorkshire.†

Charles VIII., in 1492, was inspired with the desire of making the conquest of the kingdom of Naples; and after meditating on this enterprise during two years, and several times abandoning it, he set out for Italy in 1494.

The claims of this monarch were founded thus:—René of Anjou, heir to Joanna II., Queen of Naples, had left to Charles, Count of Maine, Provence and all his rights to the kingdom of Naples and Sicily; and this Count had made Louis XI. his successor.

The princes of Italy all united in this war, each one according to his private interest.

King Charles marched to Rome, and entered that city in triumph; he made an easy conquest of the kingdom of Naples, with which the Pope invested him, although he was the enemy of the French. He also crowned him Emperor of Constantinople.

But all these rapid conquests, which occupied this King but six months, were again lost to him in as short a space of time.‡

\* Lingard; Rot. Parl.

† Paston Letters.

‡ Eccles. Hist.; Montfaucon; Hallam; Universal Hist.



## CHAPTER X.

Review of the Fifteenth Century—Causes of the Wars of the Roses—  
Religion—Politics—Literature—Arts and Sciences—Manners and  
Customs.

IN the concluding pages of this volume it may not be uninteresting to the general reader to take a summary review of England during the fifteenth century, the period in which King Henry VI. and Queen Margaret reigned in this country. Many were the peculiarities of that age, and singular the contrast afforded to the present century of modern refinement; its religion being then guided by the Papal power, and its forms Roman Catholic, though becoming modified by the exercise of private judgment, through the light of the Reformers. Then came the interference of religion with politics and with monarchical rule, and, what was still more astonishing, the part it took in the wars of the times. The three divisions of Western Europe at this time most prominent were France and Spain, Germany divided into monarchical states, and Italy into small principalities and republics.

The fifteenth century was a remarkable epoch, especially interesting as preceding the times of the Reformation, in which, from the midst of darkness, infatuation, and superstition, the light of Christianity shone forth. In the ages preceding, the Holy Scriptures had not been universally read. The clergy, king, and men of high rank, whose minds were, however, enlightened by Holy Writ, had greater power to rule

by its precepts, and thus gained an especial influence over the multitude, who seemed grovelling in darkness and superstition. One of the greatest blessings resulting from the Reformation, was the "free circulation of the Word of God." Also it effected a "diminution of cruel punishments," and, lastly, it "raised the tone of morals;" while the blessing of God, which He gave to the nations zealous in this cause, was manifested in the enjoyment of civil liberty.

In the preceding century, the Roman Catholic religion had prevailed throughout Christendom. The Pope had exerted his power to subject all the kingdoms to his rule, some of which yielded to his domination, whilst others resisted it. In England the papal doctrines prevailed, although the new opinions of Wickliffe and other Reformers had begun to pave the way for the Reformation. England could, however, scarcely be charged at this time with entire subserviency to Rome, when we remember the stream of legislation continuously poured forth against the papal usurpations, the influence of Wickliffe, and also that Lollardism had not yet been effectually suppressed.\*

There was, at various times in England, a strong resistance to the papal influence, and especially to the Pope's exactions from the clergy, which occasioned much subterfuge, and even led to open disobedience on their part, as they sought to fortify themselves with laws against the court of Rome.

Of this we have an instance, in the early part of the reign of Henry VI., when "the Bishop of Winchester did presumptuously, as Legate of the Pope, "enter this land contrary to the law, and it was publicly made known by the King's Procurator, Richard

\* The Debate.

"Caudroy, that this was not by the King's consent, "or by the advice of his Council. Neither would "they assent to the exercise of his authority Legatine, "or to any future acts contrary to the laws and "liberties of the realm." The same document states also, that, "the King, and his predecessors on the "throne, had ever preserved the special privilege and "custom observed in the realm, that no Legate from "the Apostolic See should enter this land except by "the request and desire of the King; thus, had the "Cardinal of St. Eusebius (Henry, Bishop of Winchester), as the Pope's Legate, presumptuously done, "without being called, or sent for by the King, who "had no intent to approve of his thus coming in "derogation of the laws, nor would he assent to the "exercise of his authority Legatine, or to any attempts, "or acts contrary to the laws and liberties of this "realm."\*

The Bishop of Winchester had, notwithstanding, great control over his sovereign, and much of the violent ecclesiastical transactions of this epoch were attributable to the undue influence gained by the clergy over their monarch, in this, and the two preceding reigns.

The strength and wealth of the country for a time remained wholly in the hands of the clerical authorities. It was necessarily an ecclesiastical government, and each successive King, who courted its influence, only augmented its abuses, and increased the oppression of every other class in the state. It was in vain that the Barons, in the incursion into Wales, in 1403, proposed to the King, who was in difficulties, to seize upon a portion of the riches of those members of the clergy who accompanied them, and employ it for the common good; they were overruled by the pri-

\* Fox's Martyrs, or Eccles. Hist.

mate Arundel, who menaced with awful retribution any who should dare to touch the effects of the Church. It was also in vain, that in a Parliament held at Coventry, in 1404, the Commons represented to Henry IV. in the House of Lords the excessive riches of the clergy, and prayed that the wealthy prelates might be taxed, for the demands of the state. In this instance, Arundel is reported to have fallen on his knees before the King, and besought him to remember his coronation oath of protection to the Church; and finally the Commons were obliged "to beg pardon for "their presumption!"\* Again the Commons exemplified the same presumption and weakness, in the Parliament at Westminster, in 1409, in which his Majesty was informed, that the superfluous estates of the bishops, abbots, and clergy would support fifteen earls, 1,500 knights, 6,200 esquires, and one hundred hospitals. We are told that the Peers presented a counter-petition, while that of the Commons was rejected. At last, however, the attention of Henry V. was drawn to the subject in the year 1415, when he commanded the University of Oxford to make out a catalogue of abuses, to be presented to the Council of Constance. It contained forty-six articles for reformation, and represented particularly the avarice and profligacy of the clerical body. But if the father of Henry VI. was disposed to listen to the voice of his distressed people in this matter, the case was far different with his immediate successor, Edward IV., who, to gain the support of the affluent clergy, actually made a charter, which placed everyone in Holy Orders without the pale of the law, and enabled them to commit all manner of crimes with impunity. The consequence was, the most gross violation of every decorum of society, by a class of "vile reprobates and

\* Henry's Hist. of Great Britain.

"ignorant vagabonds," for such were the epithets used by the Primate in his description of them. This was Archbishop Bouchier, who was himself able to effect some degree of reformation, though only temporary. Superstition and profaneness were often united in the religious belief of the Middle Ages.\*

England was at this time divided, ecclesiastically, into two provinces, and the Archbishop of York, as well as of Canterbury, had each the power of making canons for his own province, which were not always conformable to those of the other See.

Some very singular laws were constituted in 1466, by Neville, Archbishop of York, which show the various religious tenets of this period. Neville details thirty-seven sins which could be pardoned only by the Pope, or a bishop, of which the first, and greatest, was heresy. Pope Martin V., in 1427, had published several Bulls against the support of the law *premunire* by the Parliament of England.† The object of this law was to prevent the Pope from disposing of all the benefices in the kingdom, which he seemed to consider as part of his prerogative.

The usurpation of undue authority at this period, in both Church and State, seems to have been the main root of evil, from which sprung the hatred and revenge that soon desolated the land. Indeed it is with kings and potentates as with individuals of inferior rank, the greater their power and influence, the greater their responsibility; and proportionate is the reward, or chastisement, of the good or bad exercise of their authority.

Many writers have been led to suggest as the true source, whence arose the cruel and lengthened contest

\* Dean Stanley's Westminster Abbey.

† In these Bulls it appears that he treated Chicheley, and even Henry the Sixth himself, as his menial.

between the Houses of York and Lancaster; the usurpation of Henry IV.; and, if correct, this crime was indeed severely visited on his descendant. The meek and holy King Henry VI., inheriting the natural imbecility of his maternal grandfather, Charles VI., was incapable of maintaining his regal dignity, and his crown, and incurred the penalty of the ambition and usurpation of his headstrong predecessor.\*

Again, this dreadful era of war and confusion, some authors have traced back, only to the times of Henry V., to which period they have looked for the causes of the quarrels of the "Roses."

In the first year of this monarch's reign, he had issued his commands for the seizure of the effects, and confiscation of the property, of Henry, Lord Scrope, of Masham, whose head was placed on the top of Micklegate Bar, York. When this nobleman was beheaded, the same fate befell Sir Thomas Gray, and the Earl of Cambridge, for high treason, at Southampton. This Earl of Cambridge had married the heiress of the House of York. Hence came the claims of Richard, Duke of York, which availed him in his contests with the reigning monarch, and against which, the latter was unable to remove the original defect in his own descent.†

The long minority of Henry VI. and his feeble character, added to his exclusion from affairs of state, left ample room for the dissensions of his uncles, and for the indulgence of the pride and grasping ambition of the ancient nobles of the land.‡ The peculiar quality of a "wise man," namely contentment, is seldom found with the wealthy; envy and discord too often arise with the means for self-indulgence, and chase it away to the modest retreats of mediocrity, or

\* Allen's York; Leigh's Kings. † Allen's York; Lingard.

‡ Lingard.

to the humble dwelling of the peasant. From the evil passions of the human heart have always originated the contentions of factions, or parties, which, bringing in civil dissensions, have been more injurious to a country, than even foreign war, famine, or pestilence.\*

It was a distinguishing characteristic of this age, that the divines took an active part in the religious wars; and strange indeed appeared the conjunction of the two professions, the religious and military. It was not enough, that with pretended zeal for their holy callings, they should burn human beings alive, but they must rush with *pater nosters* on their lips, to strike down their fellow-man in the field of carnage. There seems less excuse for this, because the members of the military profession, were all "sworn to defend God's law against infidels, as their primary and standing duty." Writers on the Middle Ages have compared the knightly, to the priestly character, in an elaborate parallel, and the investiture of the one, was supposed to be analogous to the ordination of the other.

The quarrels of families were a fertile source of the evils which prevailed at this period of anarchy. The feuds of some of the high-born families of England, had great influence in general society. Their personal quarrels were not settled, as in after days, by an appeal to the laws, or even decided by arbitration, but often the sword was drawn, and hundreds of the retainers of these powerful families were involved in these feuds, and many even became victims of the result of indulgence of their passions or follies. Such outrages were frequent in the early part of the reign of Henry VI.

One of them has been especially narrated by the old chroniclers. It was a violent quarrel between two

\* Pol. Vergil.

branches of the Neville family, supported by three members on each side, two of them being earls, one a countess, and the fourth a baron, nearly connected with the richest and most influential families in the kingdom.\* Their feud assumed "the appearance of a civil war; they proceeded against each other by manner of war and insurrection, and assembled in great routs and companies in the field, committing horrible offences, both in the slaughter and destruction of the King's subjects as otherwise." The King's commands were issued to suppress this alarming riot; but all the chroniclers and biographers are silent as to its conclusion, as well as to its origin.

The most probable cause would seem to have been, a claim upon some lands, the parties being all descendants of the Earl of Westmoreland; those on the one side, from his first wife; and those on the other, being the two sons of his widow. This family feud appears to have occurred between the years 1432 and 1440, the date of the death of Joan, Countess of Westmoreland.†

"The strong attachments also, which, at this period, men of the same relationship bore towards each other, and the vindictive spirit which prevailed amongst those of opposite interests, to indulge which they regarded as a point of honour, caused the high families to be implacable, and widened every breach between them."‡

Civil war is never the product of the tyrannical commands of one, or more of the reigning despots of the age; and thus the anarchy which prevailed during the reign of Henry VI. was not the ebullition of a

\* See "Appendix." The genealogy of Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmoreland.

† Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*.

‡ Hume.

moment, excited by the call of one or more influential persons, but the result of a long succession of party animosities and family resentments, which, amidst the misgovernment of bad ministers, like a pent-up vapour, suddenly burst into a flame, and the high-born chiefs, who had been ever ready to retaliate their petty injuries and insults, when once drawn out into the field, fought with desperation, forgetful of the ties of kindred and of human nature.

In proof of this may be adduced the conduct of Somerset, and many others, who vacillated between the two parties. This Duke was attached to the Lancastrian interests, on account of his personal hatred to the House of York; but he was seen to change sides, although he was himself the representative of the House of Lancaster, should King Henry's issue fail.

"Margaret of Anjou's favouritism, and spirit of political intrigue, hastened the crisis which the disputes and jealousies of the feudal aristocracy of England were already preparing;" but it is an erroneous idea, entertained by some, that the Wars of "the Roses" resulted from the mismanagement of the reins of government by this energetic Queen. Intestine war is like a consuming flame, ever indiscriminate in its objects, but its appearance is always preceded by a long train of evils, discontent, miseries, hatred, variance, not of a few, but many individuals; until the kindling spark is given by some unforeseen, perhaps trivial incident; thus arose the contests of York and Lancaster.

The great wealth and power of the clergy, even superior to that of the King, or the aristocracy, caused them to be so firmly established, that they could not be shaken except by a convulsion in the country. The system they pursued was to prevent the union of

the crown and the nobility, which they considered and felt dangerous to themselves, and induced them to join the House of Lancaster, which had deposed Richard II. By this means they followed up, under the reigns of Henry IV., V., and VI., a course of persecution, imprisonment, and burning, which, by supplying continual fuel to the discontents of the nation, contributed greatly to the intestine wars of the Yorkists and Lancastrians.\*

One modern writer, after alluding to the political changes which succeeded the feudal times, goes on to say, that "from the peculiar and extraordinary systems of those times, resulted, almost as naturally, as cause and effect, the state of this, and the ensuing period."

It has been aptly expressed, "*que c'est du frottement des idées, que sort la lumière!*" Thus from the agitation of European kingdoms was elicited stability and order. The wars of families brought about changes in governments, and the increase of kingly power in France, in England, and in Spain; the monarchs, with their ambitious relatives, leading on the warfare. First the wars of the English in France, then the French war called, "*du bien public*," and then the wars, of "the Roses," in England. When these wars were terminated, the laws and institutions of society were established on a more permanent basis, family rivalries were annihilated, and the unity of the state conferred tranquillity. Thus terminated the fifteenth century; but if during this period the influence of religion had been great, it became still more powerful in the following era.†

In the early ages of Christianity the heavenly doctrines of Our Lord, arose upon the heathen world, like the mild light of the rising sun, gradually extending

\* Sharon Turner's Middle Ages.  
Van Praet's Essay on Political History.



its beams over the broad expanse. The purest of moral creeds, sent forth from Our Saviour, was, through his Apostles, instilled into the minds and hearts of all true disciples, who manifested their faith, by love and good works. Man felt for his fellow-man, and his brother's affliction became his own; thus, a new and spiritual life, cast a benign aspect over the existence of mankind. But human degradation prevailed, and paganism and tyranny raised persecutions and terror amongst the early Christians, and the Apostles, following in the way of their Master, one by one, suffered. Their bright examples no longer led the way to true devotion and self-sacrifice, and a cloud of oppression rapidly dispelled the transcendent light which had been diffused at Our Lord's first advent. Numerous bishops then ruled the church, seeking, but vainly, to supply apostles' rule; then sects arose, and much division, one calling himself of Paul, another of Apollos, and all forgetful of the unity of the One Body of Christ. Soon came division amongst the shepherds of the flock, with the grasping of earthly power, and the mingling of secular honours with their clerical office,—St. Peter's chair filled unworthily, and his position disputed, until two, and even three, arrogated this high authority. No wonder that a gloomy obscurity overspread the Christian hemisphere in succeeding centuries, since divine truth became hidden by the grossest superstition, and ignorance, and spiritual darkness, universally prevailed. Such was the condition of the Christian world in the fifteenth century!

This era commenced with the persecutions of the Waldenses, many of whom were murdered, and others starved to death.\* Then succeeded the persecutions of the "Lollards," the followers of one of the early reformers, Wickliffe. His doctrines met with great oppo-

\* Milner's Church History.

sition in England; but, protected by the Duke of Lancaster, he had escaped the severities directed against him by Courtney, Bishop of London, whose vengeance, however, fell upon the unfortunate Lollards. None of them had yet suffered death, although these persecutions had been sanctioned by Richard the Second; but in his reign the power of his consort, Anne of Bohemia, and of the Duke of Lancaster, had prevented these cruelties, the former being a patroness of the Wickliffites, and styled the link between Wickliffe and Huss.\*

The Lollards, by exposing the disorders of the clergy, occasioned much discord. These abuses were not reformed; but an apprehension arose, that Henry IV. would abridge the privileges of the clergy. A revolt followed, headed by the Archbishop of York, who was punished with death.†

Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had crowned Henry IV., commenced, with the support of his sovereign, a powerful persecution of the Lollards. The first victims for their opposition to popery, were Sir William Sawtree,‡ who was burnt to death in 1400; and another, named Thomas Badley, in 1409. After this Arundel continued to pursue his plans, for the extirpation of the Lollards, being sanctioned by the new King, Henry V.; and Lord Cobham fell a sacrifice to their vengeance.

Henry V. was, however, naturally averse to cruelty, and had in private listened to the opinions of Lord Cobham, who had frequently appeared before the heads of the clergy concerning his faith. He boldly spoke of his belief in the gospel of Christ uncorrupted by human institutions. He ventured to expose the follies, and to smile at the threatenings of the Church, which he considered repugnant to the truth. By this conduct he

\* Milner's Church History.

† Eccles. Hist.

‡ He was rector of St. Oswyth, London.

raised the resentment of Archbishop Chicheley, who committed him to prison. A Parliament was called to prosecute the Lollards, and while the King was following his wars with France, Chicheley was domineering over the Church at home. This continued from 1414 to 1443. Chicheley was even supported in his measures for a time by the King's brother, the Duke of Bedford. In order the more effectually to check the progress of Wickliffe's doctrines, the clergy attacked the principal promulgator, Sir John Oldcastle, Baron of Cobham, and sought to persuade King Henry, that the Lollards were conspiring against the throne, and state. There was indeed a meeting in St. Giles's fields of 20,000 men, headed by Sir John Oldcastle, and the King, at length, was prevailed on to think he was taking a treasonable part.\*

At this time in Germany, as well as in England, the cupidity of the government was called forth by the wealth of the clergy; while in Italy the taxes were paid by the priests, in common with the other citizens, and often in a greater proportion; thus, "no one thought of despoiling them, and no jealousy seconded the projects of the Reformers."

This country was the first, however, to assert religious independence; and while indifferent to the reform of the Church, feared not the menaces of the Popes at this period, when their threats and excommunications made all other powers in Europe to tremble.†

France suffered for some years the papal exactions, but, at length, the decrees of the Council of Basle, caused her to assert her independence; and the famous Pragmatic Sanction was enacted by Charles VII. By this law a general council was declared superior to the Pope; bishops were freely elected, grants in expect-

\* Fox's Hist. of Christian Martyrdom.

† Sismondi.

ancy, and reservation of benefices were taken away, and first-fruits abolished.

Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius) used every means to get this ordinance repealed, and finally prevailed with Louis XI.; who, partly out of hatred to his father's memory, and partly from a delusive hope that the Pope would support the Angevine cause in Naples, repealed the Pragmatic Sanction.\* This law has been deemed a sort of Magna Charta of the Gallican church; for, although it was so speedily abrogated, its principle has remained fixed, as the basis of ecclesiastical liberty.†

The Angevines were deeply interested in the decisions of the Council of Basle, which occurred about the time of René of Anjou's accession. This assembly of distinguished persons, during twelve years, held forty-five sessions. Its object was not only the union of the Greek and Roman churches, but also, the universal reformation of the church, both in its head and in its members.‡

In England there were but fourteen bishops, and two archbishops, if we omit the Welsh bishoprics, and that of Sodor and Man; the former of these was the last to assert independence, and the latter was bestowed on the Stanley family by King Henry IV. In the public councils of this kingdom, especially in Parliament, the clergy had great influence; and as their numbers exceeded that of the laity, they could carry their own views without opposition. The bishops were expected to attend at all the meetings of Parliament. The power they obtained was not so much effected by their superior knowledge and holiness, which they did not much affect, but was the result of their constant residence in this country, and of their attendance at these councils,

\* Hallam's Mid. Ages.

† Hallam.

‡ Godard Faultrier.

while the nobility and great men were absent, being engaged in the wars with France, or Scotland. Twenty-five abbots and their priors were summoned to each Parliament, and even more, which doubled the number of the lords spiritual over those temporal. Thus did the clergy obtain sanguinary laws, punish heretics, and preserve their immense possessions.\*

Yielding to their cruel dispositions, the clergy passed sentence of death on Lord Cobham, both as a traitor and a heretic. He was led from the Tower, on the day of his execution, with his arms tied behind him, and drawn on a hurdle into St. Giles's fields. Resigned and cheerful, he prayed for God's forgiveness of his enemies, and then addressed the people, and conjured them to observe the laws of God, as delivered in the Scriptures; then with Christian resignation he gave himself up to his fate. He was hanged in chains, on a new gallows, under which a fire was lighted, to torment him by a lingering death, while impious monks, and priests, sent forth curses and imprecations at the time their noble victim was expiring by the flames. Such was the treatment of Lord Cobham from his enemies, who pretended to be ministers of the gospel of peace!†

The rapacity of the Popes, and the profligacy of the Court of Rome, were excessive. The following account has been given by two well-known historians:—Denina assures us, that, "the licentiousness of the clergy became excessive, and universal from the time that the scandals of Avignon had removed all restraint and shame;" and Sismondi also declares that, "that people, and that court, made themselves manners, out of the vices of all other nations." These historians do not exceed the testimony of contemporary authorities.

\* The Debate; Henry's Hist. Great Britain. † Throsby's Leicester.

The city of Avignon, at one time, became the seat of papal power.\* It had been purchased of Queen Joanna of Naples (who was also Countess of Provence), in the time of her poverty, for 80,000 golden florins, by Clement VI., who thus obtained this valuable possession, and there completed the splendid palace commenced by Benedict XII. At this period the cardinals began to imitate the luxury of the popes.† Then came the grand schism of the Roman Catholic church, and divided the church for about forty years; this only terminated in 1429, and hastened the decline of the papal power.

Catholic despotism led to a threat of appeal to a general council. "That there was a power superior to the Pope, *within the church*," was a principle which had many advocates, even in the ecclesiastical body. Attempts were made at reformation, and the means of education were multiplied; then arose divisions and heresies. The flagrant conduct of the clergy, and especially of the popes, and cardinals, aroused many reflective minds to a sense of their unworthiness. Intellectual men, who looked to the examples of the early Christians, and who walked in the fear of God, sought, with earnest zeal, to ameliorate the spiritual condition of mankind. They had no longer the rule of Apostles, nor the prophetic light to guide them; but they yielded to the benevolence of their characters, and looking, in the simplicity of faith, to their Lord, they raised a kind of reflected light over the ignorance, superstition, and darkness which surrounded them.

Mosheim,‡ who has diligently and profoundly studied the subject of the early reformers, tells us, that the Lollards were a society of pious laymen at Antwerp,

\* The Holy See, transferred to Avignon, lasted there for seventy years.

† Denina; Sismondi; Waddington's Ch. Hist.

‡ Eccles. Hist.

whose object was to visit the sick, and bury the dead, during a time of pestilence, when the clergy neglected to fulfil their duties, because they were attended with danger. The good motives, and religious actions of this new sect, obtained throughout Flanders and Germany, not only the respect of the magistrates, but the love of the inhabitants. "The clergy were excited to jealousy, especially the mendicants, who found their own profits diminished by this charity; and clamours were raised against them. They were denounced at the pontifical throne, and their names passed to designate, sanctified hypocrites. They were afterwards persecuted in Austria."\*

One unfortunate Lollard, named John Claydon, a furrier of London, suffered death. He was tried and burnt at Smithfield, on the 19th of August, 1415. Heretical books were produced on the evidence, and one in particular, called "The Lantern of Light," was declared to contain fifteen heresies. After this followed a general prosecution of the Lollards. Immense numbers were imprisoned and cruelly tormented; but from this time they appear to have cherished their opinions in secret, or, if exposed, they recanted, as was the case with Reginald Peacock, Bishop of Chichester, in the reign of Henry VI., already detailed in this history. The persecutions to which this highly talented man was subjected, reflect little credit on the primacy of Archbishop Bouchier, or the character of the contemporary clergy. Bouchier would seem to have been favourable to the Roman Pontiff, and his conduct to the unfortunate Bishop was dictated by political as well as religious motives.

The following account has been given by one of our old chroniclers of the doctrines of Reginald Peacock, which awakened such general enmity against him:—

\* Mosheim.

"Some say he held that spiritual persons by God's law ought to have no temporal possessions, nor that personal titles, by God's law, were due; nor that Christian men were to believe in the Catholic church, nor in the communion of saints; but, to believe that a Catholic church, and a communion of saints there is," and that he held, "how the universal church might err in matters of faith, and that it is not of necessity, to believe all that is ordained by general councils; nor, all that which they call the universal church ought to be allowed and holden of all Christian people. Moreover, that it was meet to every man, to understand the Scriptures in the true and plain sense."\*

Reginald Peacock, however, after much persecution, and to save his life, recanted his opinions, and at length sided with the Pope, who, at this time, had succeeded in silencing the Councils.

The bad conduct of the Roman Pontiffs, of whom two, and even three, appeared at one time, in the antagonistic character, gave rise to the forming of Councils, for the direction of the Church. First, in A.D. 1409, was the Council of Pisa, when Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. were deposed, and Alexander elected. Secondly, the Council of Constance, in 1414, when Martin V. was elected Pope.† Thirdly, the Council of Basle, in 1431. These grand Councils had declared that the Pope was the servant of the Church, and answerable to her, for his conduct in a general Council. He might even be deposed by the bishops representing the different Churches.

When the Pope subsequently triumphed over the Councils, and silenced them, he asserted the opposite

\* Holinshed.

† At this time John Huss and Jerome of Prague were condemned to be burnt.

principle, viz., that the Pope was the source of all power.

The last struggle between the Pope and the Councils was in the reign of Henry the Sixth; and the real offence of Peacock (whose history has been related) was this, that in order to make the Pope the sole bishop in the Church, he laboured to depress the authority of the general Councils. After this, Martin and his successors maintained the supremacy of the Pope, and the Councils having been defeated, the Western Church gradually yielded to the Pope; but this had not been completely accomplished in either the Gallican or the Anglican Church by the papal party before the period of the Reformation.\*

Our astonishment and indignation in these days of humanity, if we may so style them, will be naturally great, while reading of the fanatical excesses of the holy fathers of that period, and more particularly of that wicked and cruel act of bigotry, the practice of burning human beings alive for heresies in faith. Even if it were not coupled with the ignorance of the Middle Ages, even if there were indisputable proof, that the Church of Rome was the only true Church, we could not contemplate this act, as other than brutal, barbarous, and disgusting in the utmost degree. These acts seem to have belonged, almost always, to the fanaticism of the Roman Catholics. Such cruel deeds cannot be too much held up to the general odium of mankind; and they must have been, at least, an aggravation to the wars of the fifteenth century, in which the burning of the heroic Maid of Orleans, at its commencement, would almost lead to the decision that this was a barbarous age.

"The ravages of Attila were less fatal to the Church of France, than those of England in the fifteenth century.

\* Hook's Archbishops.

"Christianity found no solid tie amongst a people, who  
"professed and gloried in warfare, and dreadful were the  
"evils brought upon France, by the long and cruel wars  
"of Henry V. This monarch's sole motive had been  
"ambition, and the invasion of France caused much  
"disorder and confusion in the Church. The English  
"nation was next visited by the judgments of God.  
"By the death of Henry V. England became the seat  
"of intestine divisions, while the French gained time  
"to respire, and found means to recover their  
"territories."\*

When Church and State fail to preserve their relative position to each other, many evils arise. In the countries where the papal dominion has been disregarded, the Church has been controlled and oppressed by the State; while the contrary has resulted in the dominions of the Pope, in which its oppressive government has absorbed the powers and offices of state. Ignorance of their relative duties was the occasion in the fifteenth century of much interference on the part of the clergy with affairs of state, and in England, especially, involved both in the party strife of that period. Churchmen often failed to show the example of obedience to authority, and to set forth a life of holiness; thus they were unable to inculcate in others religious and moral principles, for while the Church should instruct men, the State should uphold and aid the Church, to carry out her high and holy vocation.

It is worthy of remark how seldom Christians in those unhappy times, respected the sacred ties which attached them to their sovereigns. When a people are unfaithful to God, there is truly great reason to fear they will become so, also to their King.†

There can be little doubt that the agitations and

\* Eccles. Hist.

† Ibid.



contentions on religious subjects throughout England, greatly augmented in those "troubled times" the disrespect shown to King Henry the Sixth, whose excellent qualities and meek disposition rendered him worthy of a better fate. This monarch at last preserved but the bare title of King, yet "as the dignity of a "Prince consisteth in his sovereignty," so Henry being unable to rule, his prerogative was taken from him by his nobility, as it were by stealth, each turbulent and ambitious spirit rising up to gratify its individual passions at the expense of the country, some, effecting this by sundry indirect practices, others, by open force.\*

We cannot be surprised at the frequent and strong resistance to the authority of the Pope in this country, when we consider the dreadful anathemas so often issued from the papal throne against those who transgressed. Also the mortifying atonements to which persons, even of exalted rank, were subjected, and which showed the force in those times of ecclesiastical censures.

These severe decrees of the Roman Catholic Church might be called the stepping-stones which, in the Middle Ages led on, from darkness and ignorance to the light of the Reformation.

The delegates of the Pope in England had also, the power to pronounce anathemas on such as were offenders. An instance of this is given in the life of Chicheley. The Archbishop having held a Synod in 1417, at the dismissal, gave a mandate to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to denounce a solemn anathema against certain persons unknown who had murdered three priests within the sanctuary of that cathedral.

The revenging of personal wrongs was carried to such an extreme in the Middle Ages, as to afford many instances of the forgetfulness in men's minds of Our

\* Malcolm.

Lord's doctrine of forgiveness of sins. Thus we read of frequent outrages in churches, and affrays, too violent to be appeased. One of these occurred in 1459 in the Cathedral of St. Peter's, at Exeter, between some young gentlemen, and many of them being grievously wounded, this church was closed, being generally considered to be unhallowed, and polluted by bloodshed; and the services were suspended, by orders of the Dean and Chapter, until the building was consecrated anew. In the absence of the Diocesan, they procured one Thomas, who was then suffragan to the Bishop of Bath, to restore it as before.\*

Life for life was the law of the Middle Ages, and the widow, or relations of a murdered person had the right, which society converted into an imperative duty, to avenge his death. This right was established in Europe, although differently regulated, according to municipal law,† and in England modified by Magna Charta, and other ancient statutes. Its power was so great, as even to set aside the royal prerogative of mercy; for when a criminal was condemned under this law, the king could not extend his forgiveness to the culprit.

In the religion of the Middle Ages, the obscurity of men's minds caused them to exhibit an entire forgetfulness of the Advent of Our Lord; but there was often a greater observance of the Old Law and Jewish ceremonies.

Customs and privileges were adopted which were even established, and confirmed for centuries, through the superstition and ignorance of those times. One of the most remarkable of these in Europe, was a custom which prevailed at Rouen, in Normandy, from a very early period until the French Revolution. It may be

\* Life of Chicheley; Izaak's Exeter.

† This right was not abolished in this country until the present century.

traced by authentic documents more than six hundred years.\* This custom was called the privilege of St. Romain, or "La Fierté," according to which "in every year, on the day of Ascension, a prisoner was selected by the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, and delivered up to them by the magistrates; and after many solemn ceremonies and a procession, in which figured an immense dragon called *la gar-gonille*, the prisoner received a full pardon."†

This privilege was confirmed by many distinguished monarchs, amongst whom were Henry the Fourth, of France, and Henry the Fifth and Sixth, of England, also by members of noble families in Normandy, besides several Englishmen.‡

The early history of Scotland shows, that the ordination of Scotch bishops took place in their own country, but afterwards, the Bishops of St. Andrew's were consecrated by the Archbishop of York; and successively, until Pope Calixtus IV. made the Bishop of St. Andrew's Primate of all Scotland, appointing twelve bishops under him. This took place in the primacy of George Neville, and during the reign of Edward IV.§

Before the Reformation the Church of Scotland was, like England, subject to the Pope, but it had its own Church also. The people were subject to the despotic rule of their kings and a debasing superstition.

In January, 1450, a Bull was issued by Pope Nicholas the Fifth for the erection of a university in Glasgow. The papal Bull was solemnly read at the market cross, and a plenary indulgence was promised

\* See Appendix (p. 436).

† This may remind our readers of the Jewish custom of releasing a prisoner at the Passover.

‡ By letters patent of 1512, Louis XII. confirmed this custom, under the name of "La Fierté," and it continued in use, till the year 1789, when the National Assembly abolished all the peculiar privileges of cities and provinces.

§ Allen's Antiquities of York.

to all who should visit the Cathedral during the current year. This university, although obscure at first, in time shone with a degree of splendour. In 1453, it had the royal protection from James the Second, who was an energetic monarch, and framed good laws.\*

The Pope sent as his legate, Patrick Grahame, who met with the opposition of the ruling party, the Boyds, to his election to the See of St. Andrew's, and he went to Rome, to establish his claim through the papal influence, which afforded an opportunity to the Archbishop of York (Neville) to attempt to recover the spiritual supremacy of Scotland. In this attempt the Archbishop failed, and the result was that Sixtus IV. granted a Bull creating Grahame Archbishop of St. Andrew's and Primate of Scotland. The Pope also appointed him his legate, to add grace to the first Archbishop of Scotland, and he gave him full power to reform all abuses in the Church, and correct the dissoluteness of the clergy. From this time the spiritual independence of Scotland was secured.

Grahame expected to be received on his return with triumph, but his enemies still prevailed, and they appealed to the Pope, offering to prove the invalidity of his documents, and finally the King ordered him to retire to his bishopric, and refrain from wearing the archiepiscopal pall till the cause was determined.

The two kings, James I. and James II., prohibited the clergy from purchasing benefices of the court of Rome, but it was reserved for James III. to divert the stream of wealth which had hitherto flowed into the Pope's treasury, that it might be poured into his own.

Amongst the privileges conferred by papal power on certain of the monasteries, was that of the *Sanctuary*, which had often a pernicious tendency, for although the unfortunate obtained protection within their walls,

\* Cunningham's Hist. of Scotland.

many delinquents fled thither, after the commission of crimes, to seek concealment in the precincts of those abbeys. Here they found personal shelter from the Church, and were enabled, during forty days, to defy the laws. The arm of justice could not reach them, since the magistrates dared not drag a culprit from his place of refuge, without incurring the resentment of the Church, and the severest penalties of the law.\*

In the absence of the light of truth and Divine guidance, many were the superstitions of the Middle Ages. Amid the darkness that prevailed, how great was the need of a faithful guide in spiritual, as well as in temporal affairs.

Popes had, by despotic rule and cruel bigotry, given mortal offence in this, and other lands, while many of the clergy, by their unworthy deeds, had dishonoured their high and holy calling. In the State the usurpation of undue authority by those of noble birth, failed to secure the ready obedience which springs only from respect and love, and thus, disorder and anarchy ensued throughout the land.

Yet even at this dark epoch an earnest desire arose from many hearts that a ruler, wise and good, might be found to quell the party spirit of contention, and to restore harmony and peace. Not, however, in the reign of the meek Henry was this to occur, but at a later period, when the precepts of Holy Writ had become disseminated through the land, was the blessing of peace again bestowed.

How marvellously is the welfare of nations ordered by Him, who has His witnesses in every age, and who is bringing them by the rays of His righteousness to

\* The dissolution of monasteries, as at the Reformation, had a precedent in the times of Henry the Sixth, when many of the religious houses were suppressed, and others converted to the foundations of colleges, by Archbishop Chicheley and others.

the light of that Perfect Day, when His will shall be "done on earth, as it is in heaven," and His Kingdom shall be made manifest.

To return to the stirring events of the fifteenth century, when the social, as well as religious aspect was so stormy and disturbed.

The political changes in England, and other countries throughout Europe, may be said to have commenced when the feudal system terminated. Kings and rulers had, in those preceding times, been much constrained in action and authority, by the petty sovereigns of principalities and fiefs, who only nominally deferred to the crown; while as kings and independent rulers, they warred with each other for their own rights and territories. One might say, that feudality was absorbed by monarchy, for it became the wisdom of kings, to bring about the unity of states, upon which to establish political order, and social arrangements. This was ultimately effected, but not until the close of the fifteenth century.

"To speak of the politics of a kingdom, means its "every-day life, its institutions, laws of general interest, and relation of one country to others, and the "relations of the people to their government, and their "government to foreign states; these being explained, "constitute its political history."\* These subjects were enveloped in darkness and ignorance compared with later times; but, it is remarkable, that it was at this epoch, the fifteenth century, that the politics, as well as the literature and religion of this country, were undergoing a decided and beneficial change. It is besides worthy of especial observation, that then, as now, we surpassed generally as a nation all the other states of Europe in our constitution, government, and

\* Van Praet's Essay on Political History.

laws. Sir John Fortescue and Philip de Comines have equally borne testimony to this fact.\*

We can gather from history but little concerning the constitutional prerogative of our kings at this period, yet we have contemporary authorities to show that, while France and other states were under the absolute dominion of one individual, England was possessed of a limited monarchy.

It is certain that the King was so far prescribed, that without the consenting voice of Parliament he could neither make, nor alter, any of the laws of the land.

Next to the King, the Lords and Commons each possessed a certain degree of influence in the affairs of the nation, but the powers enjoyed by each separately were ill defined. Thus, if the modified prerogative vested in the kings of this age formed not, in connection with the other parts of the constitution, so just a balance of power as in later times, we must bear in mind the persons by whom it was wielded, the circumstances in which the nation was placed, the absence of a public press, and of all those controlling media of civilisation which were then only beginning to dawn upon the world. It is asserted, that the King on several occasions, violated the constitution by assuming a power of dispensing, as it is termed, with the laws, and granting permission to individuals and bodies of men to break them with impunity. It was thus, that to secure the clergy in his interest, we find King Edward IV., in 1462, by a most extravagant use of this dispensing power, granted them permission to violate every law of the land, sacerdotal and judicial.

The violent factions and cruel wars were the great obstacles to impartial justice. The people of England were often placed under a kind of military government,

\* Sir John Fortescue, Philip de Comines.

the High Constable having the power to put to death even the highest in the land, without the forms of law, provided he was himself convinced of their guilt; nay more, there was not even an inquiry after evidence. When the Constable required a show of proof, and could not procure it by other means, he had recourse to the rack.\*

The death of the Earl of Oxford in the first year of the reign of the triumphant Edward IV., is an instance sufficiently striking of the exercise of this power.

Party animosity had no doubt sealed the fate of this aged veteran, although the charge against him was his correspondence with Queen Margaret; for in these times it was perilous to use great boldness of speech, and the force of the Earl's arguments in Parliament, on the disputed question of the precedency of the Barons Temporal and Spiritual, had obtained the judgment in favour of the former.

During the Lancastrian dynasty the authority of Parliament was more confirmed, and the privileges of the people more attended to, than during former times. On the death of Henry V. the prospect of a long minority, encouraged both the Lords and Commons to extend their power; and, disregarding the injunctions of the late monarch, they made a new arrangement for the administration, putting aside the name of Regent, and adopting that of Protector, for the Duke of Bedford, and for Gloucester in the absence of his elder brother. The regal power thus divided, was further restrained by a Council, whose advice was required on every measure of importance.†

The large amount of debt contracted during the wars of Henry V. in France, was left to his successor to discharge, and the ministers found themselves obliged

\* Henry.

† Hume; Rymer; *The Citizens and their Rulers*, by B. B. Orridge.

to recur to old abuses, and amongst these to the arbitrary practice of purveyance, and by these means the affections of the people were greatly estranged from their sovereign.\* In 1433, the amount of debt was announced to be £35,000 annually; and as it increased, it involved the State in more embarrassment and caused more popular dissatisfaction.

During the short but brilliant reign of Henry V. the Parliament was remarkably quiet; not a breath was raised by them against the dispositions of his household affairs, although his expenses were ruinous. We are told that "there was less injustice committed by the governments of Henry V. and Henry VI. than at any former period." The extravagant expenditure of his father, however, and the wastefulness with which the Regency is justly charged, had entailed an enormous amount of debt upon his son Henry VI., which was one great cause of disaffection throughout his reign. Henry IV., in his address to his son upon his death-bed, said to him, "Of Englishmen, so long as they have wealth and riches, so long shalt thou have obeysance; but when they be poor, they are always ready to make insurrection at every motion."† Thus it was, that during the reign of Margaret of Anjou the most trivial causes gave rise to the most serious disaffection and mutiny. After the losses in France, the misappropriation of public moneys and gifts gave occasion for much complaint.

There was indeed a great predisposition throughout the kingdom for the discord and anarchy which prevailed during the reign of Henry VI., which was evidenced, not only by the dispositions of the nobility; in many circumstances of the times, but even may be

\* *The Citizens and their Rulers*, by Orridge.

† Leigh's *Choice Observations of the Kings of England*; Hallam's *Middle Ages*.

deduced from the statutes then enacted. It was in 1429 that the state of the country called for the forty-shilling franchise, which was then first constituted, exactly as it at present exists.

The first statute which fixed the value of the freehold franchise was in the eighth year of the reign of Henry VI., and the preamble runs thus:—

"Whereas the elections of knights of the shire to come to Parliament in many counties of the realm have now been of late years made by very great outrages, and excessive numbers of people, dwelling within the same counties of the realm of England, of which most part was of people of small substance and of no value, whereof every one of them pretended a voice, equivalent as to such elections to be made with the most worthy knights and esquires dwelling within the same counties, whereby manslaughter, riots, robberies, and divisions among the gentlemen and other people of the same counties, shall very likely arise and be, unless convenient and due remedy be provided in this behalf."\*

The limitations of government were strenuously enforced by Sir John Fortescue in his instructions to his pupil, the King's son; he speaks "of the limited nature of the monarch's authority, and the inalienable rights of the subjects, while he calls on Prince Edward to reverence the free institutions of his native land. Nowhere else did the people possess by law and upon the whole, in effect, so much security for their personal freedom and property. The middling ranks flourished remarkably, not only in commercial towns, but among the cultivators of the soil. There is scarce a small village, says Sir John Fortescue, in which you may not find a knight, an esquire, or some sub-

\* Hume; Speech of Mr. Peel, March 6th, 1829.



"stantial householder, commonly called a franklayn,\*  
 "possessed of considerable estate, besides others called  
 "freeholders, and many yeomen of estates, sufficient  
 "to make a substantial jury." †

Cases of arbitrary imprisonment frequently occurred in these times, and were remonstrated against by the Commons.

No privilege of the Commons can be so fundamental as the liberty of speech. A complaint was made in the thirty-third year of the reign of Henry VI. by Thomas Young, member for Bristol, of his imprisonment in the Tower of London, six years previously, in consequence of a motion which he made, to the effect that the King, then having no issue, the Duke of York might be declared heir apparent to the crown. In the session when Young claimed remuneration the Duke was Protector, and likely to regard his complaint. ‡

The ministers of the King were expected to maintain themselves, but if they required remuneration, it was obtained through the appointments of the church, which were at the King's disposal.

King Henry had the appointment of sheriffs, but they often failed to execute the duties of their office, unless guaranteed against loss. Besides these, there were bannerets, who ranked below barons, and sat with the peers. The barons were styled *Le Sieur de*, while bannerets merely had *Monsieur* prefixed to their names. Peers were created by the King, but with the consent of Parliament.

We have now to speak of the Privy Council and the

\* By a franklayn we are to understand what we call a country squire, like the "franklyn" of Chaucer. The heads of families were esquires, shield-bearers to the knights, and the younger ones were styled gentlemen: both were military dignities, and the lowest titles borne in England.

† Hallam: *Lower's Heraldry*.

‡ Hallam's *Mid. Ages*: W. of Worcester.

courts of law and police. The three great tribunals of common law were, the King's Bench, the Court of Common Pleas, and the Exchequer. The number of judges who sat in the Courts of Westminster, were in the time of Henry VI. from five to eight. Their salaries were small, viz., the chief justice of the King's Bench £1,600 per annum of our money, the chief justice of the Common Pleas £1,300, and each of the others £1,000. Besides these salaries, they received their robes and dresses from the royal wardrobe, or £85 in money, as an equivalent. They also acted as justices of assize, and received £200 extra for that office. The whole income which the Attorney-General received from the State was under £120. From Fortescue we learn, that the entire fees, in the year 1421, of the Treasurer of England, keeper of the Privy Seal, judges of both benches, barons of the Exchequer, and other officers of the courts was not more than £30,000.

The small income and precarious position of the judges, was, indeed, one of several causes of the venal and irregular application of justice at this period. Another cause was the banding together of hordes of men for right, or wrong, ever ready for mutiny. Again, the shelter which the sanctuaries gave to crime, and the difficulty of rendering the members of the clergy amenable to the lay courts. These courts were fast asserting, their supremacy over the ecclesiastical courts, for the administration of common law; but the struggle continued during the whole of this epoch.

In tracing the political events of one nation, we find that like the sister arts, or sciences, the subject cannot well be pursued alone; being so intimately connected with others, that the mind is insensibly led away from the more circumscribed view; and, like the philosopher, who is tempted on from one science to another, the historian, whose peculiar study is mankind, cannot

fail, in the midst of his survey of party strife and warfare in England, to be led to the contemplation of the condition of the surrounding nations during this eventful period, the fifteenth century. A striking similarity immediately appears, between the history of the French nation and of our own.

First, let us instance the death-bed, and dying injunctions, of Charles V. of France, and then, on looking to the conclusion of the brilliant career of our monarch, Henry V., the same scene occurs. Both these sovereigns were distinguished for their wisdom and skill; and their foresight alike directed them, to provide for the future welfare of their sons, while in their minority, and exposed to the domineering and violent character of their powerful relatives.

These princes of turbulent memory soon aroused, in their respective countries, the spirit of discontent and rebellion, and each one seeking to be greatest, quickly forgot his allegiance, his duty, and his promises to his King. How soon were the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans in arms against each other, and alternately disturbing the peace of France with anarchy and bloodshed, until they both came to an untimely end! The murders of these two princes were committed openly, and one of them was even publicly justified; similar transactions followed in England, but here these crimes were planned, and executed in secret.

The results, however, were not less disastrous; one crime brought on another, and the death of Gloucester was succeeded by the hurried execution of Suffolk; even the mock trial employed upon this occasion, was soon after dispensed with, and the summary vengeance of party hurried its victims, without preparation or trial, into another world. Then came battle after battle in either land, and fiercely strove brother against brother, and kinsfolk against kinsfolk.

Such were the events produced by these two minorities! and if we review the third, and sister kingdom, we shall not find the people were more fortunate. In France, Charles VI. ascended the throne when he had only attained his ninth year; in England, Henry VI. was but an infant of nine months old at his accession; and in Scotland, in 1460, James III. assumed the crown at eight years of age. His predecessor was, with the other monarchs, alike distinguished for wisdom and foresight; and Pinkerton says, that "such laws as those passed by James II. shine like a "coruscation amid the night of barbarism."

The rebellion of York in England fostered that of Douglas in Scotland, and we see the boy-monarch vainly striving, with the aid of France, to maintain the interests of the Lancastrians; until, the intestine divisions and turmoils of his own kingdom engrossed his whole care and attention.

There is much room for reflection on the histories of these several countries, which seem at this period to illustrate one another, or afford a lively contrast.

Chicheley, the Archbishop, early followed the example of William of Wykeham in "diverting a portion of the "conventual revenues to the establishment of schools "and colleges, under the direction of the secular "clergy." Previously, schools had been attached to monasteries, and these becoming in time less useful, the greater ones absorbed the smaller, by the purchase of their property.

Thus it was that William of Wykeham and Chicheley found themselves able to endow their schools with lands which they purchased. Henry VI., in his foundation, of Eton, and of King's College, closely followed the system of education said to have been invented by the genius of William of Wykeham, who has been styled one of the master-spirits of his times.

Thus commenced the system of public schools, which, for so many years, has been instrumental in the formation of the character of the English gentleman.

At an early period the attention of government was directed towards education. It was considered to be, as much a branch of the prerogative, to prevent persons who were ill qualified, from exercising the profession of schoolmaster, as it was to put down a conspiracy.

The reformation of the grammar-schools in London arose, it is said, from many ignorant persons having presumed to teach grammar, "to the injury both of "their scholars and their friends;" and the number of the schools was limited to five, that being deemed fully sufficient for the metropolis.

This arrangement originated with John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Robert Gilbert, Bishop of London; and doubtless they had worthy motives, when we consider the piety, and love of learning, of their sovereign. King Henry directed the establishment of grammar-schools; for at this period the grossest ignorance prevailed, so that the ancient schools were quite neglected, and left "to decay; "wherefore for the restoration of learning, four clergy- "men, viz. Maistre William Lyechefeld, parson of "the parish Chirche of All Hallown the More, in "London, Maistre Gilbert, parson of Saint Andrewe, "Holbourne, in the suburbs of the said Citee; Maistre "John Cotes, parson of Saint Petre, in Cornhull, of "London; and John Neel, maistre of the Hous, or "Hospital of Saint Thomas of Acres and parson of "Colchirche, in London.

"By these four clergymen the Parliament was "petitioned, in the 25th year of the reign of Henry VI. "that they and their successors might be allowed to "set up schools in their respective churches and ap- "point masters in them; which petition was granted."

King Henry not only appointed these four grammar-schools, viz., St. Andrew's, Holborn; Allhallows the Great, in Thames Street; St. Peter's, Cornhill; and in the Hospital, St. Thomas of Acons, in West Cheap; but schools were established likewise as follows:—St. Paul's, at St. Martin's-le-Grand; St. Mary-le-Bow, in Cheap; St. Dunstan in the West, and St. Anthony; also Sion College, over against London Wall, near Cripplegate, and adjoining to St. Alphage church.\*

In the eighth year of Henry VI. this monarch granted a license for rebuilding the chapel, or college, as it was then called; and in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, he empowered the parish clerks of London to have a *guild* dedicated to St. Nicholas, with two chaplains to the chapel.

There were ten Inns of Chancery in the time of Henry the Sixth:†—Clifford's Inn, Clement's Inn, New Inn, Streined, or Chester Inn, George's Inn, Thavies Inn, Furnival's Inn, Staple Inn, Barnard's Inn, Sergeants' and Scrope's Inn.‡

Of *historians* in the reign of Henry VI.: amongst these was John Skewish, a native of Cornwall, who compiled an abridgment of the chronicles and of the wars of Troy.§

Harding, another historian of those times, was likewise the first poet-laureate. He held this appointment to Edward IV.

Amongst the poets of this period we may especially mention James I., King of Scotland; Lydgate, a monk of Bury, whose pieces amounted to 251 in number; also Hugh Campden and Thomas Chester.

At the latter end of King Henry the Sixth's reign they began to paint in oil. Four curious specimens

\* Bentley's *Excerpta*; Stow's *Survey*; Mackay's *London*.

† *Londiniana*.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Lyson's *Magna Britannia*.

were painted on panels which composed a door of some cabinet, or shrine, belonging to the Abbey of St. Albans; thereon are represented the portraits of Cardinal Beaufort and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. These valuable curiosities are in the possession of John Ives, Esq., of Great Yarmouth, in Norfolk.

Engravings in wood and copper first appeared about the year 1460. These may be seen in the remaining old prints of Andrew Muntague, Martin Schoon, and Albert Durer. The woodcuts were chiefly designed, and made as ornaments to the old printed books.

The art of printing was first invented in the city of Metz, in Germany.\* Another account is, that printing was found out at Mayence, in Germany, by a knight called John Guttenbergen, and brought into England by William Caxton, of London, mercer, who first practised the same, in the Abbey at Westminster, in the year, 1471.†

The *Nuremberg Chronicle*, printed at Nuremberg in 1493, is enriched with a variety of excellent woodcuts, every page almost in that work representing the costumes then used in Germany.‡

Heraldry was taught orally, in the earliest ages, to novitiate heralds; but, when the rules of chivalry were gathered into a code, they were committed to writing. The first author of any note on this subject was Doctor Nicholas Upton, a native of Devonshire, who was patronised by the "good Duke Humphrey, of Gloucester," during the reign of Henry IV., through whose favour he became Canon of Sarum, Wells, and St. Paul's. He had previously served in the French wars under the Earl of Salisbury; and

\* Holinshed; Strutt's Manners and Customs.

‡ Strutt's Manners and Customs.

† Baker.

during these campaigns he composed a Latin treatise, called "*De Studio Militari*."\* It was a systematic grammar of heraldry, in very classical diction for that period.†

One of the earliest productions of the printing-press in England, was the celebrated "*Boke of St. Albans*." It was printed in 1486, within the precincts of that monastery, from which it took its name. This rare work contains tracts on hawking, hunting, and "*coot-armuris*," the last being the main subject of the volume. This work was attributed, for the first three centuries after it appeared, to Dame Julian Berners, a woman of singular personal as well as mental endowments. She was a great promoter of English literature; and, although doubts have been thrown on the authorship of this noble work, the "*Boke of St. Albans*" may fairly be attributed to this lady's pen.‡

In the troublous times of the Wars of the Roses much treasure was hidden and buried underground. A discovery of this kind was made, in April, 1861, by an inhabitant of the High Street, at Hounslow, when enlarging a cellar: embedded in the loam just below the old foundation on which his house stands, an earthen vase, or cup, was found, containing 800 silver and a few copper coins; silver groats of Henry VI., struck at Norwich, York, Bristol, and London; also others of Edward IV., Richard III., and Burgundian pieces of silver, of Charles "the Bold," the brother-in-law of Edward IV. The dates of these coins ranged from 1406 to 1485. It is possible that the owner of the treasure might have fallen at Bosworth.

\* This work is still to be seen in manuscript in the College of Arms and elsewhere.

† Lower's Curiosities of Heraldry.

‡ Ibid.

The franc, a very ancient coin in France, was struck by King Henry VI., as king of that country.\*

(Salute d'or.) The salute was a gold coin of Henry VI., current in France for £1 5s. English.†

There is an instance in the armorial bearings of Margaret of Anjou, of what is called vicious or false heraldry. It is a fundamental rule in heraldry that metal shall not be put upon metal, nor colour upon colour; but in the third quartering of her arms, which contains those of Jerusalem (her father René being titular king of Jerusalem), the golden crosses are on a silver ground. The old heralds being too scientific to have overlooked so great a departure from an important rule, it has been ascertained, that, holding Jerusalem in the highest estimation, as the very queen of cities, they judged it unworthy to submit her to those rules, to which the kings and princes of the earth were subject. They therefore created, as it were, the special exception in her favour, to distinguish her heraldically from all the cities of the world.

A coin of Edward IV., called a noble, made of silver and gold, value 10s., and 8d. of allay weighing, was stamped with a *rose*.‡

At the time of the marriage of King Edward IV. a proclamation was made at Reading, and throughout England, that the noble of Henry VI. should value 8s. 4d., and a new coinage was made at the Tower of London, to the great loss of the lords.

In 1462 the gold coins were further reduced, 45 *nobles* being made to the pound, and passing at 10s., and *angels* at 6s. 8d. The new nobles were termed *royals*—a new name given by the French to their gold coins, impressed with the figure of the sovereign in his royal robes.

\* Letters of Queen Margaret of Anjou.

† Stow.

‡ Paston Letters.

It has been supposed by some antiquarians that, during the civil wars of York and Lancaster, there were no fixed places of mintage, and that the dies were conveyed from one place to another, according as necessity required. This idea arose from some of the coins of Edward IV. being found with initial letters on the breast of the bust. Thus a groat of the mint of Coventry has a B on the breast, which has been supposed to signify that the piece was struck at Bristol.

The beautiful ornamented churches were by Wickliff, in his earnest enthusiasm, condemned, as savouring of hypocrisy, and therefore injurious. This aimed at the very origin and foundation of the lodges, and caused much persecution to arise against the societies of masons.

It appears that Henry VI. was their great patron, and protected them; he even joined their society, and in his will bequeathed to his college in Cambridge, the sum annually of £117 6s. 10d. for wages, of the officers of the works then in operation. This was no small sum in those days.

According to Bede, masons and workers in stone were brought into England by Bennet, Abbot of Wirral.

The Free Masons' Company had their arms granted to them by William Huckleslow, Clarencieux King-at-Arms; and a company of under-masons were established in London two years before, in the thirteenth year of Edward IV. "The antiquary, John Leland, has pre-served in his collections in the Bodleian Library "certayne questyons with answeres to the same, concerning the mystery of masonrye, written by the "hand of Kynge Henrye the Sixthe."\*

Henry VI. is said to have endeavoured to recruit his empty coffers by alchemy. The record which

\* Archæologia.



contains this remarkable proposition, sets forth in "a grave and solemn manner, the feasibility and virtues of the philosopher's stone, encouraging its search, and dispensing with all the statutes and prohibitions to the contrary." When this patent was published, many promised to answer the expectations of the King so effectually, that the following year he published another patent, wherein he informs his subjects that the "happy hour" was drawing nigh, and by means of the stone, which he should soon be master of, he would pay all the debts of the nation in real gold and silver. The persons chosen for his operators in this new pursuit were appointed by King Henry on the 9th of March, in the year 1455 (or the thirty-fifth of his reign). These were Henry Sharp, doctor of laws, who, with three other persons, were to pursue the study of alchemy for the emolument of their royal master. There were others who laboured to the same purpose, viz., Thomas Harvey, an Austin friar; Robert Glapeley, a preaching friar; and William Atclyffe, the Queen's physician.\*

Private duelling was at the period (1461) unknown. It became necessary, before a combat, to obtain the King's license; this being granted, the combat proceeded in public, and, in affairs of treason, the conquered party was instantly executed.†

Several of these deeds of arms are related by the chroniclers. One John Asteley, squire, a noted warrior, held a combat with Piers de Masse, a Frenchman, in Paris, before King Charles, in 1438. Again, John Asteley was challenged by Philip Boyle, knight, an Aragonese. This combat took place on the 30th of January, 1442, in the presence of the King, Henry VI., within Smithfield.

\* Wilson's Hist. of St. Lawrence Poulteney; Curiosities of Literature.

† Paston Letters.

In 1446 two other combats were appointed. The first was by the prior of Kilmanin and the Earl of Ormond, the former having impeached the earl of high treason; but the quarrel was decided by the King, who prevented the fighting. The second impeachment was by John David, an armourer, against his master, William Catur, for treason; but the latter, being intoxicated, was unhappily slain previous to the combat, without just proof of his guilt, and the servant was hanged at the next assize for felony.\*

Artillery was seldom made use of in the civil wars in England, and in the field partially only; it had but little, or no effect on the issue of the battle, excepting only at the engagement at Tewkesbury, in 1471.

"The cavalry and infantry were arranged in the old system. The lance was the weapon of those of gentle birth, while the bow and the bill were used by people of inferior state. The archers formed the main strength of the battle."†

The method adopted for raising an army was by sending letters under the Privy Seal, sometimes signed by the King himself, commanding the attendance of such persons as were named, the time and place of resorting being mentioned, and that they should bring with them men, &c., according to their rank.

Thus, in the month of April, in 1459, these Privy Seals were issued at the time when the King was at Coventry, raising an army to oppose the Duke of York and the Earl of Salisbury.‡

\* Brown's Abstract of Hist. of Eng.

† Philip de Comines.

‡ Paston Letters.

## APPENDIX

### TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

---

A MANUSCRIPT, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, has also a few interesting political songs, commencing with the date of the public reconciliation previously described. The earliest, written in the year 1458, is the work of a Lancastrian. "Henry VI. is represented under the form of a ship, with the young Prince Edward for a mast. The ship's light was a blazing cresset, representing the Duke of Exeter; and its strong stern was the Duke of Somerset. The sail-yard was the Earl of Pembroke, the stay the Duke of Buckingham, and the shrouds consisted of the Lords Devonshire, Grey, Beauchamp of Powik, and Scales. The Earl of Northumberland, with Ros, Clifford, and Egremont, formed the sail; the Earl of Shrewsbury was the topmast; and the ship had three good anchors, the Lords Beaumont, Welles, and Rivers. St. George is appealed to for protection for this stately ship."<sup>1</sup>

"Stere welle the good shype, God be ouer guide.  
 "Ouer shyp is launched from the grounde,  
 "Blessed be God, both faire and sounde,  
 "Ouer maryners hau the shypmen founde,  
 "By here taklynge wille abyde.  
 "This noble shyp made of good tree,  
 "Ouer souerayne lord Kynge Henry;  
 "God gyde hym from aduersyte,  
 "Wherever he go or ryde.

"The shyp was charged wt a mast,  
 "Crased it was, it myght not last;<sup>2</sup>  
 "Now hathe he one bt wol not brest,  
 "The old is leyde on syde,  
 "Thys fayre mast, this myghty yeard,  
 "Of whom fals shrewes be aferd,  
 "Hys name of ryght is Prince Edward,<sup>3</sup>  
 "Long myght he wt us abyde!

<sup>1</sup> Wright's Political Songs.

<sup>2</sup> This may refer to the administration under Suffolk, which was dissolved in 1450.

<sup>3</sup> Edward, only son of Henry VI.

"The shyp hathe closed hym a lyght,  
 "To kepe her course in way of ryght,  
 "A fyre cressant,<sup>1</sup> it bernethe bryght,  
 "Nt fawte was neuer spyed,  
 "Thys good lyght, it is so clere,  
 "Calle y the Duke of Exceter,  
 "Whose name yn trouwe shyned clere,  
 "Hys worshyp spryngethe wyde.

"Thys shyp hathe a sterne fulle good  
 "Hem to gyde in ebbe and flood,  
 "Aeyne her was both wild and wode,  
 "That rynnethe on euery syde;  
 "The sterne that on the shype is sette  
 "Ys the Duke Somerset,<sup>2</sup>  
 "For ragged rokkes he wolle not lette  
 "To sterre in ebe and eke in tyde.

"There is a sayle-yeard fulle good and sure,  
 "To the shyp a grete tresour,  
 "For alle stormes it wolle endure,  
 "It is trusty atte nede;  
 "Now the sayle-yeard I wolle reherse  
 "The Erle of Penbroke,<sup>3</sup> curtys and ferce  
 "Acros the mast he hathe travers  
 "The good shyp for to lede.

"The mast hathe a welle good stay,  
 "With shrowthes sure, I dare well say,  
 "In humble wyse hym to obey,  
 "Yf he to hem hathe nede;  
 "The Duke of Bokyngham<sup>4</sup> thys stay is he  
 "Thys shrowdes be sure in thare degre,  
 "Devenshyre,<sup>5</sup> and Grey<sup>6</sup> and Becheham<sup>7</sup> the free,  
 "And Scales,<sup>8</sup> with them in tyde.

"The shyp hath a welle good sayle  
 "Of fine canvas, it wolle not fayle,  
 "With bonet III<sup>9</sup> for to travayle  
 "That mekelle beth of pryde;

<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Exeter's badge.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Beaufort, son of the Duke who fell at St. Alban's, beheaded in 1464.

<sup>3</sup> Jasper Tudor, half brother of Henry VI.

<sup>4</sup> Humphrey Stafford, killed at the battle of Northampton.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, beheaded by the Yorkists in 1461.

<sup>6</sup> Edmund, Lord Grey of Ruthyn.

<sup>7</sup> John, Lord Beauchamp of Powyk.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas, Lord Scales, killed by Yorkists in 1460.

<sup>9</sup> A bonnet, in nautical language, is an addition made to the sails.

"This good sayle, I understond  
 "The Erle of Northumberland,<sup>1</sup>  
 "Ros,<sup>2</sup> Clyfford,<sup>3</sup> and Egremont<sup>4</sup>  
 "The trouth is not to hyde.

"Ther is a toppe, the mast on hyght,  
 "The shyp to defende, in alle hys ryght  
 "With his foomen when he schalle fyght  
 "They dare hym not abyde;  
 "The Erle of Schrouesbury<sup>5</sup> the toppes name  
 "He kepethe the shype from harme and blame,  
 "The Erle of Wylchyre<sup>6</sup> one of the same  
 "That kepethe the shyp from drede.

"Thys good shype hathe ankers thre  
 "Of bether mettel ther may non be,  
 "To strenthe the shyp be londe and se,  
 "When he wolle stop hys tyde;  
 "The furst anker, hole and sounde,  
 "He is named the Lord Beamond,<sup>7</sup>  
 "Wellys<sup>8</sup> and Ryveres,<sup>9</sup> truth yn them found,  
 "In worshyp they hem gyde.

"Now help Saynte George, oure Ladye knyght,  
 "And be our lode-starre day and nyght  
 "To strengthe our Kyng, and England ryght,  
 "And felle oure fomenous pryde.  
 "Now is oure shyp dressed in hys kynde  
 "With hys taklynge befor and behynde:  
 "Whoso love it not, God make hym blynde  
 "In peynes to abyde."<sup>10</sup>

#### ON THE BATTLE OF NORTHAMPTON.

10 JULY, 1460.

"Of alle mennys disposicion naturalle  
 "Philisophys wryten in every place,  
 "That after the bodyes celestialle,  
 "The erthely body his wirkyng hase;

<sup>1</sup> Henry Percy, slain at the battle of Towton, 1461.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas de Roos, Baron Roos of Hamlake, attainted in 1461.

<sup>3</sup> John, Lord Clifford.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Percy, Lord Egremont, killed at Northampton in 1460.

<sup>5</sup> John Talbot, killed at Northampton in 1460.

ames Butler, beheaded in 1461.

<sup>7</sup> John, Viscount Beaumont, killed at Northampton in 1460.

<sup>8</sup> Leo, Lord Welles, slain at Towton, in 1461.

<sup>9</sup> Richard Widville, Lord Rivers, beheaded by the peasantry, in 1469.

<sup>10</sup> *Archæologia Lond.*

"Some tyme disposid it is to solace,  
 "Som tyme by enspecialle grace  
 "Sorow is turned into gladnesse.

"And ensauple here of I take witesse  
 "Of certayne persones that late exiled were,  
 "Whos sorow is turned into joyfulness,  
 "The Rose,<sup>1</sup> the Fetyrlok,<sup>2</sup> the Egle,<sup>3</sup> and the Bere.<sup>4</sup>  
 "Grete games in Ingland sum tym ther were  
 "In hauking, huntyng, and fissing, in every place  
 "Among lordes with shelde and spere,  
 "Prosperite in reme than reigntyng wase.

"Where of God, of his specialle grace  
 "Heryng the peple crying for mercye,  
 "Considering the falsehode in every place,  
 "Gave inflewezen of myrthe into bodyes on hye,  
 "The whiche in a Berward<sup>5</sup> lighted prevelye,  
 "Edward, yong of age, disposed in solace  
 "In hauking and huntyng to begyne meryly  
 "To Northampton with the Bere he toke his trace.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Blessed be God in Trinite,  
 "Fadir, and Son, and Holy Ghost,  
 "Whiche kepithe his servautes in adversite,  
 "And wold not suffre thyme to be loste;  
 "As Thou art Lord of mightes moste,  
 "Save the Kyng and his ryalte,  
 "And illumyn him with the Holy Goste,  
 "His reme to set in perfect charite."

Amen.

#### EPITAPH FOR RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK.

"A remembrer à tous ceurs de noblesse  
 "Que ycy gist la fleur de gentillesse,  
 "Le puissant duc d'York, Rychart ot nom,  
 "Prince royal, preudomme de renom,  
 "Saige, vaillant, vertueux en sa vie,  
 "Qui bien amà loyauté sans envie,  
 "Droyt heritier, prouvé en mainte terre,  
 "Des couronnez de France et d'Engleterre.  
 "Ou parlement tenu à Vestmestre,<sup>1</sup>  
 "Bien fut congneu et trouvé vray heir estre.  
 "Sy fut roygnet et gouverneur de France,  
 "Normandie il garda d'encombrance,

<sup>1</sup> Edward, Earl of March.

<sup>2</sup> Richard, Duke of York.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury. <sup>4</sup> Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick.

<sup>5</sup> Edward, Earl of March, so called from having the Earl of Warwick as his associate.

"Sur Pontaysse la ryvière passa,  
 "Le roy Francoyez et son doulfyn chassa.  
 "En Erllande mist tel gouvernement,  
 "Tout le pais rygla paisiblement,  
 "D'Engleterre fut long temps prottetur,  
 "Le peuple ama, et fut leur deffendeur.  
 "Noble lygne et d'enfans, que Dieu garde,  
 "Dont l'aysné fylz est nomé Edouarde,  
 "Qui est vray roy, et son droit conquessta,  
 "Par grant labeur qu'il en prinst l'aqueta,  
 "Il est regnant solitaire ou jour d'uy,  
 "Dieu et ses sains sy le gardent d'enuy!  
 "Ce noble duc à Wacquefyld mourut,  
 "Doux paix traitant force sur luy courut,  
 "L'an soixnte, le xxxe de Decembre,  
 "Cinquante ans ot d'age, come on remembre,  
 "En priant Dieu et la tres belledame  
 "Qu'en Paradiz puist reposer son ame!

"Amen.

"CHESTER LE HT."

(Translation.)

Let it be remembered by all noble hearts, that here lies the flower of gentility—the powerful Duke of York, Richard was his name,—a royal prince, a gentleman of renown,—wise, valiant, virtuous in his life,—who loved well loyally without envy—the right heir, proved in many a land,—of the crowns of France and England. In the parliament held at Westminster—he was fully acknowledged, and found to be the right heir. And he was regent and governor of France. Normandy he guarded from danger:—he passed the river at Pontoise,—and drove away the French king and his dauphin. In Ireland he established such government,—that he ruled all the country peaceably. Of England he was long protector,—he loved the people, and was their defender. He had a noble lineage of children, whom may God have in his keeping. The eldest of whom is named Edward,—who is true King, and conquered his right,—he purchased it by great labour, which he bestowed upon it,—he is reigning singly at the present day. God and the saints preserve him from injury!—This noble Duke died at Wakefield,—while treating of sweet peace, force rushed upon him,—the year sixty, the thirtieth of December,—He was fifty years of age, as people remember. Praying God, and the very fair lady—that his soul may repose in Paradise! Amen. Chester the Her ald.<sup>1</sup>

#### A POLITICAL RETROSPECT.<sup>2</sup>

"To have in mynde callyng to remembrance,  
 "The gret wrongys doon of oold antiquité,  
 "Unrightful heyres by wrong alyauce  
 "Usurpyng this royaume caused gret adversité;

<sup>1</sup> Wright's Political Poems and Songs, vol. ii. p. 256.

<sup>2</sup> This poem, which appears to have been composed in 1462 or 1463, is preserved in a contemporary manuscript in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 101, fol. 98 ro.

" Kyng Richard the secounde, highe of dignytee,  
 " Whiche of Ingeland was rightful enheritoure,  
 " In whos tyme ther was habundaunce with plentee  
 " Of welthe and erthely joye, withou<sup>t</sup> langoure.

" Then cam Henry of Derby, by force and myght,  
 " And undir the colour of fals perjury  
 " He toke this rightwys kyng, Goddes trew knyght,  
 " And hym in prison put perpetuelly,  
 " Pyned to dethe, alas! ful pyteuxly;  
 " Holy bisshop Scrope, the blyssed confessor,  
 " In that quarel toke hys dethe ful paciently,  
 " That alle the world spak of that gret langoure.

" Whos dethe ys a very trew evidence  
 " To alle Ingeland for the just tittle and lyne,  
 " Whiche for the trowthe by tyranny and violence  
 " Was put doune and suspect holde venysyne;  
 " Many a trew lord then put to mortal fyne;  
 " Alway they have ben aboute with rigoure  
 " The lynage of Kyng Richard to undirmyne,  
 " That longe have lyved in gret langoure.

" God smote the said Henry for hys gret fersnesse,  
 " With a lepre holdyng hym to hys ende fynally.  
 " Next hym Henry the fyfte, of knyghtly prowesse,  
 " Named the best of that lyne and progeny,  
 " How be it he regned unrightfully,  
 " Sit he upheld in Ingeland the honnour;  
 " Henry hys sone of Wy[n]desore, by gret foly,  
 " Alle hathe retourned unto huge langoure,

" Callyng to mynde the fals engendred treson  
 " And myschefz that were in hys dayes regnyng;  
 " The good duc of Gloucestre, in the season  
 " Of the parlement at Bury beyng,  
 " Was put to dethe; and ay sithe gret mornyng  
 " Hathe ben in Ingeland, with many a sharp schoure,  
 " Falshode, myscheyf, secret synne upholdyng,  
 " Whiche hathe caused in Engeland endelez langoure.

" Noo mervail through Engeland hathe ben unhappy,  
 " Whiche hathe be mysrewled ȝerys sertayne;  
 " Scripture saith heritage holdyn wrongfully  
 " Schal never cheve ne with the thred heyre remayne,  
 " As hathe be verified late ful playne,  
 " Where as iij kynges have regned by erreure,  
 " The thred put ou<sup>t</sup>e, and the right brought agayne,  
 " Whos absence hathe caused endlez langoure.

" Also Scripture saithe, woo be to that regyon  
 " Where ys a kyng unwyse or innocent;  
 " Moreovyr it ys right a gret abusyon,  
 " A womman of a land to be a regent,  
 " Qwene Margrete I mene, that ever hathe ment  
 " To governe alle Engeland with myght and poure,  
 " And to destroye the ryght lyne was here entent,  
 " Wherefore sche hathe a fal, to here gret langoure.

" And now sche ne rought, so that sche myght attayne,  
 " Though alle Engeland were brought to confusyon,  
 " Sche and here wykked affynité certayne  
 " Entende uttyrly to destroye thys regioun;  
 " For with theym ys but dethe and distruccioun,  
 " Robberye and vengeaunce, with alle rygour,  
 " Therefore alle that holde of that oppynioun,  
 " God sende hem a schort ende with meche langour.

" O it ys gretly agayne kynde and nature,  
 " An Englyshe man to corruppe hys owne nacion,  
 " Willyng straungiers for to recure,  
 " And in Engeland to have the domynacioun,  
 " Wenying thanne to be gret of reputacion;  
 " For sothe they that soo hope, least schal be theyre pour;  
 " He that wold be high schal be undir subjeccioun,  
 " And the fyrst that schal repente the langoure.

" Wherefore I lykken England to a gardayne,  
 " Whiche that hathe ben overgrown many yere  
 " Withe wedys, whiche must be mowen doune playne,  
 " And then schul the pleasant swete herbes appere.  
 " Wherefore alle trewe Englysshe people, pray yn fere  
 " For Kyng Edward of Rouen, oure comfortoure  
 " That he kepe justice and make wedis clere,  
 " Avoydyng the blak cloudys of langoure.

" A gret signe it ys that God loveth that knyght,  
 " For alle thoo that wold have destroyed hym utterly,  
 " Alle they are myscheyved and put to flyght,  
 " That remembre hys fortune with chevalry  
 " Whiche at Northampton gate the victory.  
 " And at Mortimers Crosse he had the honnour;  
 " On Palme Sunday he wan the palme of glorie,  
 " And put hys enemyes to endelez langour,

" And drave his adversary oust of the lande;  
 " Aftyr cam to Londun and was crowned Kyng.  
 " Ryght late God ȝaf hym grace to undirstonde,  
 " The fals traytours agayne hym y magynynge,  
 " The prophecie saithe, there schal dere hym noo thinge,  
 " He it ys that schal wyne castell, towne, and toure;  
 " Alle rebellyous undyr he schal hem brynge,  
 " Willyng to hys highenease any langoure.



" Richard the erl of Warwyk, of knyghthode  
 " Lodesterre, borne of a stok that evyr schal be trewe,  
 " Havyng the name of prowes and manhoode,  
 " Hathe ay ben redy to helpe and resskewe  
 " Kyng Edward, in hys right hym to endewe ;  
 " The commens therto have redy every houre ;  
 " The voyx of the people, the voix of Jhesu,  
 " Who kepe and preserve hym from alle langoure.

" Now blyssed saint George, pray the vierge immaculat  
 " To be good mediatix, praying her sonne  
 " That Edward of Rouen may be victorieux and fortunat,  
 " Withe alle the trew lordes of hys regioun,  
 " That they may se a good way and directioun  
 " To make peas in Engeland, that riche and pouer  
 " May joyfully synge at the conclusyon,  
 " Welcom everlastyng joye, and farewal langoure.

*Issue Roll, Michaelmas. 5 Edward IV.*

In money paid at different times for the costs and expenses of Henry Wyndesore, late de facto et non de jure King of England, being in the Tower of London, by the hands of Thomas Grey and Richard Hatfield; viz.:—at one time 5 marks, by the hands of Thomas Grey; at a second time 10 marks, by the hands of Richard Hatfield; at ten times £32 13s. 4d., by the hands of William Griffith; at another time 5 marks, and at another time 5 marks, by the hands of Hugh Courtenay.  
 £49 6s. 8d.

*Easter. 8 Edward IV.*

13th May.—To William Kymberley, a chaplain attending by the King's command in the Tower of London, there daily performing Divine Service before Henry, late de facto et non de jure King of England, from the feast of St. James the Apostle, in the 5th year of the said present King, unto the 4th of November, in the 6th year of the same King, without any fee or reward for the said attendance. In money paid to him by assignment made this day by his own hands, in discharge of £14 10s. 7½d., which the Lord the King commanded to be paid to the said William of his gift, by way of reward, after the rate of 7½d. per day, for his attendance aforesaid.

By writ, &c., £14 10s. 7½d.

*Issue Roll, Easter. 9 Edward IV.*

13th May.—To Thomas Grey, esquire. In money paid to his own hands in advance, as well for the expenses and diet of Henry VI., late de facto et non de jure King of England, being within the Tower of London, as for the expenses and diet of the said Thomas and others dwelling within the said Tower for the safe custody of the said Henry. By writ of Privy Seal amongst the mandates of Michaelmas Term in the 7th year of the present King.  
 £106 13s. 4d.

*Issue Roll, Easter. 11 Edward IV.*

24th June.—To Richard Radclyf, esquire. In money paid to his own hands, for the expenses of Henry, late de facto et non de jure King of England, then within the Tower; viz.:—on the 23rd day of April last past.  
 By writ, £2.

To Hugh Brice. In money paid to his own hands, for so much money expended by him as well for wax, linen, spices, and other ordinary expenses incurred for the burial of the said Henry of Windsor, who died within the Tower of London; and for wages and rewards to divers men carrying torches from the Tower aforesaid to the cathedral church of St. Paul's, London, and from thence accompanying the body to Chertsey.

By writ, &c., £15 3s. 6½d.

To Bawder Herman. In money paid to him in advance, at different times, for the expenses and daily allowances to Margaret, lately called the Queen, and to other persons attendant upon the said Queen; viz.:—at one time 100s., at another time 10 marks, at another time £8, at another time £10, at another time £10, at another time 10 marks, at another time £8, for such expenses and allowances.

By general writ current, &c., £54 6s. 8d.

To William Mulsho, esquire. In money paid to his own hands, for the ordinary costs and expenses of the said Margaret from the 22nd of September, in the 11th year of the present King, unto the 6th October then next following, for two weeks, after the rate of 5 marks for each week.  
 By writ, &c., £6 13s. 4d.

*Roll of Accounts, Easter. 15 Edward IV.*

To Richard Haute, esquire, paid as a reward for the costs and expenses incurred by him for conducting Margaret, lately called the Queen, from London to the town of Sandwich, by the King's command, paid by the hands of Thomas Seventhorp.  
 £20.

(See Chapter X. p. 406.)

A learned dissertation was written by M. Floquet of Rouen, after a laborious examination of authentic documents, and giving an interesting picture of the Middle Ages. The author speaks of the origin of the privilege, and says, "that the dragon of St. Romain, which was carried in the procession, and formed an important point in the ancient tradition, was nothing else but idolatry, to which the holy Bishop of Rouen, St. Romain, gave the last blow: that in many other cities in France, the bishops who had successfully struggled against idolatry, heresy, or error were looked upon as the vanquishers of serpents and dragons, and were represented in that attitude on numberless monuments."

\* \* \* \* \*

In a curious work by Eusebe Salverte,<sup>1</sup> he thus expresses himself:—"The struggle of good against evil, of light against darkness, of virtue against vice, of civilization against barbarism, of truth against error, is as old as the world; the ancients were well acquainted with it.

"Desirous of glorifying and rendering sensible to all the triumph of virtue and truth, they imagined and represented their gods, their heroes, and demi-gods, annihilating monsters, who had become the terror of the people. Apollo and the serpent Python, Jason and the dragon of Colchis, Hercules, Perseus, Anubis, are represented under these emblems on all the monuments of Greece and Egypt. From thence they passed into the writings of poets and historians. If then, in the time of pagans, the genius of good and light, personified under the features of a heavenly spirit triumphing over the genius of evil, of vice, and darkness, under the figure of a serpent, was a familiar image represented on numerous monuments, it is easy to conceive the eagerness with which Christians, at the fall of polytheism, adopted this image, so conformable to the language, the spirit, and the origin of the new religion.

"Genesis offers it under the form of the woman crushing the head of the serpent. The Apocalypse represents Michael the archangel and the dragon—the old serpent called the Devil—in chains.

"The ceremonies called the Rogations, of the 5th century, made this subject more familiar to the people, who, seeing in the processions the winged dragons, images of the demon, came to consider them as the representations of dragons of flesh and bone, vanquished by the bishops more particularly revered in their diocese. Such were the dragons of Tarascon, Poitiers, Metz, Troyes, Rheims, Louvaine, and Paris. As each cathedral church had its dragon borne in procession, so each cathedral had its holy bishop, the conqueror of a dragon or monstrous serpent, from which he delivered the country. Such were St. George and the dragon, the knights of France, Italy, and Corinth. According to all the legends, all these heroes vanquished dragons. This, then, represents an allegory received in all times and in all places—the triumph of the heavenly conqueror, of the principle of

<sup>1</sup> Paris, 1829.

"good and light, over the principle of darkness and evil, figured by a serpent as the pagans say, but as the Christian expresses it, the triumph of truth over error, of the Christian religion over polytheism,—in popular language, of God over the devil."

M. Floquet divides his history into three parts. First, from the earliest times to 1512, in which year Louis XII. gave two edicts confirmatory of the privilege. Secondly, from 1512 to 1591, when Henry IV. modified the privilege, refusing it to those who were guilty of rape, murder with malice prepense, heresy, high treason, assassination, coining, and the issue of false coin. Thirdly, from 1591 to 1797, its final abolition. By some the origin of it is carried back to the seventh century.

#### PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.

In the annals of the 15th century frequent mention is made of large sums of money bequeathed by wealthy individuals for the celebration of masses for the good estate of the King, Queen, and Prince of Wales, and for themselves and relations. Thus were prayers for the dead and living mingled together as in the following:—

"This William de Botreaux, by his deeds bearing date 23rd September (37th of King Henry VI.), gave this manor of Yeovilton, with certain lands, to the parish of Camerton in this county, to the prior and convent of St. Peter's at Bath, for a mass to be daily celebrated for the good estate of King Henry VI., Queen Margaret his wife, and Edward then Prince of Wales, as also for the good estate of him the said William, and Margaret at that time his wife, and after this life for the health of their souls; likewise, every Sunday in the year, for mass *de Sancta Trinitate*; on Monday, *de Sanctis Angelis*; on Tuesday, *de Omnibus Sanctis*; on Wednesday, *de Sancta Maria Magdalene*; on Thursday, *de SS. Petro and Paulo Apostles*; on Friday, *de Epiphania Domine*; and on Saturday, the like mass *de St. Maria*. Likewise, that three days before Easter (when mass shall not be said) for the distribution of six pence to the poor of Bath in bread, so that each poor man might have the value of a farthing, and that each priest, monk, or secular saying mass weekly should toll a bell in that monastery thrice (the said bell to be called Botreaux bell), and at the introite of the mass say with a loud voice, 'Ye shall pray for the good estate of our Sovereign lord the King, Henry Sixth, and of our sovereign lady the Queen, and of Prince Edward, and of William Lord Botreaux and Margaret his wife while they live, and for their souls after they be departed out of this world: and for the soul of Elizabeth, late the wife of the said William Lord Botreaux, and for his fader's soul, and his moder's soul, and his grand-fader's soul, and his grandam's; and for all the souls which the said lord will assign them to pray for, in writing, and for all his ancestors' souls, and all Christian souls, Pater noster thrice, and Ave Maria, with this psalm, "De profundis clamasi," &c., with a low voice, and that the priest saying such mass shall daily receive twopence, and the consent

"of that monastery to receive from the prior, for the obit of the said Lord and Elizabeth his late wife, to be performed in albis before the altar of the Holy Trinity forty shillings, to be equally divided amongst them, &c. &c."<sup>1</sup>

## REMARKABLE EVENTS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

1407. In the year 1407 the plague raged in London, and swept away above 30,000 inhabitants.<sup>2</sup>
1435. The river Thames frozen over.
1438. This year, 1438, was remarkable for a cruel famine, which made dreadful havoc in England and in France at the same period, and was followed by the plague.<sup>3</sup>
1445. A pestilence in London, in 1445, caused the prorogation of Parliament from the 5th of June to the 20th of October.
1446. The Library of the Vatican at Rome was founded in 1446.
1446. In 1446, at a wedding near Zeghebreie, died of extreme surfeiting by drinking, nine score persons, men and women.
1454. In this year Sir John Norman, a draper, being Lord Mayor, introduced the water-procession to Westminster, which was so great an improvement on the former ones by land that the citizens, to express their satisfaction, sung a ballad to the honour of their civic magistrate, "Row thy boat, Norman," &c.<sup>4</sup>
1454. In June of this year, 1454, previous to the rise of the Yorkists, a blazing star was to be seen, which extended its beams to the south.<sup>5</sup>
1455. A comet appeared called the "Stella Cometa," which was seen betwixt the north and east, extending its beams to the south.
1458. Another blazing star was to be seen in 1458.<sup>6</sup>
1458. In this year the passage round the Cape of Good Hope was discovered by Vasco di Gamo.
1459. A year of great scarcity in France, and of great mortality in other places (was 1459); also an earthquake is spoken of by Fabyan in 1457.<sup>7</sup>
1477. The Plague in London, when more lives were lost than in the fifteen years' war.

A document, copied from a manuscript in the Harleian Library, gives the following statement of the individuals of distinction who perished in the quarrel of the Roses during a period of 54 years:—

*Kings.*

Henry 6th	. . .	slain in the Tower.
Edward 5th	. . .	in the same.
Richard 3rd	. . .	at Bosworth Field.

<sup>1</sup> Collinson's Hist. of Somersetshire.

<sup>2</sup> Rapin.

<sup>4</sup> Lond. Chron.

<sup>6</sup> Lond. Chron.

<sup>3</sup> Raleigh's Hist. of England.

<sup>5</sup> Howel; Baker.

<sup>7</sup> Monstrelet; Fabyan.

*Dukes.*

Of Gloucester	. . .	slain at Bury.
Suffolk	. . .	on the sea.
Somerset	. . .	at St. Alban's.
York	. . .	Wakefield.
Somerset	. . .	Hexham.
Somerset	. . .	Tewkesbury.
Buckingham	. . .	Northampton.
Exeter	. . .	at sea.
Clarence	. . .	in the Tower.
Buckingham	. . .	at Salisbury.
York	. . .	in the Tower.
Norfolk	. . .	at Bosworth Field.

*Marquess.*

Of Montague	. . .	at Barnet.
-------------	-------	------------

*Earls.*

Of Northumberland	. . .	at St. Alban's.
Oxford	. . .	the Tower Hill.
Wiltshire	. . .	Mortimer's Cross.
Devonshire	. . .	York.
Northumberland	. . .	Taunton.
Devonshire	. . .	Tewkesbury.
Warwick	. . .	Barnet.
Worcester	. . .	on Tower Hill.
Salisbury	. . .	at Pomfret.
Devonshire	. . .	Bridgewater.
Rivers	. . .	Daventry.
Rivers	. . .	Pomfret.
Pembroke	. . .	Northampton.
Rutland	. . .	Wakefield.
Lincoln	. . .	Stokefield.
Warwick	. . .	the Tower Hill.
Shrewsbury	. . .	Northampton.

*Viscount.*

Beaumont	. . .	at Northampton.
----------	-------	-----------------

*Barons.*

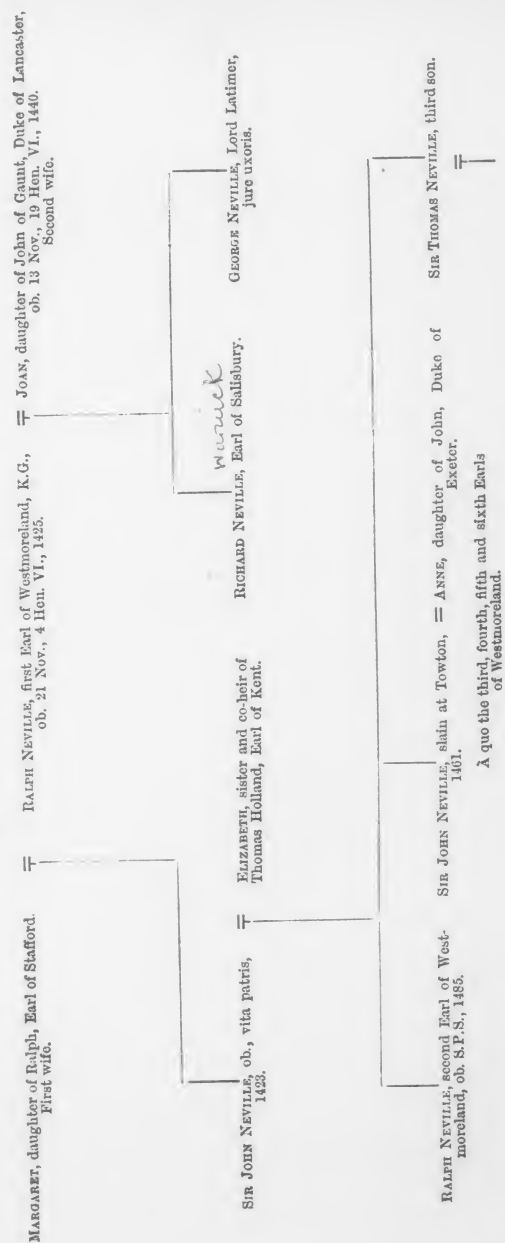
Lord St. John	. . .	at Tewkesbury.
Clifford	. . .	St. Alban's.
Clifford	. . .	Taunton Fields.
Fitzwalter	. . .	Ferry Bridge.
Wells	. . .	Taunton Fields.
Egremont	. . .	Northampton.
Lovel	. . .	Stokefield.
Roffe	. . .	Hexham.
Hungerford	. . .	Salisbury.

*Barons.*

Lord Wenlock	.	.	.	.	slain at Tewkesbury.
Audley	.	.	.	.	Blore Heath.
Wells	.	.	.	.	Lincoln.
Willoughby	.	.	.	.	Stamford.
Rugemond Guy	.	.	.	.	Leicester.
Stolis	.	.	.	.	London.
Daurie	.	.	.	.	Taunton.
Latimer	.	.	.	.	Banbury.
Audley	.	.	.	.	Tower Hill.
Hastings	.	.	.	.	in the Tower.
Fitzwalter	.	.	.	.	at Dalys.
Bonhill	.	.	.	.	St. Alban's.
Cromwell	.	.	.	.	Barnet.
Saye	.	.	.	.	Barnet.
Ferris	.	.	.	.	Bosworth Field.

<sup>1</sup> *Graphia Illustrata*, copied from a manuscript in the Harleian Library.

HOUSE OF WESTMORELAND.



# CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

DATE.	ANJOU.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.	PAPAL STATES.
768	Milon .....	Charlemagne.		
778	Thierri.			
795	.....			Leo III.
800	.....		Egbert the Great.	
814	.....	Louis I., "le Débonnaire."		
816	.....			Stephen V.
817	.....			Paschal I.
824	.....			Eugene II.
827	.....			Valentine.
"	.....			Gregory IV.
836	.....		Ethelwolf.	
840	.....	Charles the Bald, "le Chauve."		
	UPPER. LOWER.			
844				Sergius II.
845	Robert.			
847				Leo IV.
851	Erispée.			
855				Benedict III.
857				
858			Ethelbald .....	Nicholas I.
860			Ethelbert.	
866			Ethelred I.	
867	Eudes.			Adrian II.
871			Alfred y <sup>e</sup> Great.	
873	Torquat .....			John VIII.
877		Louis II., the Stammerer.		
879	Ingelger .....	Louis III. and Carloman.		
882				Martin II.
884		Charles the Fat ...		Adrian III.
885				Stephen VI.
887		Eudes.		
888	Foulques "le Roux."			
891				Formosus.
896				Boniface VI.
"				Stephen VII.
897				Romanus.
898		Charles the Simple		Theodore II.
"				John IX.
900			Edward y <sup>e</sup> Elder	Benedict IV.
903				Leo. V.
"				Christopher.
904				Sergius III.



DATE.	ANJOU.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.	PAPAL STATES.
911	.....	.....	.....	Anastasius.
913	.....	.....	.....	Lando.
914	.....	.....	.....	John X.
922	.....	Robert I.	.....	.....
923	.....	Ralph.	.....	.....
924	.....	.....	Athelstan.	.....
928	.....	.....	.....	Leo. VI.
929	.....	.....	.....	Stephen VIII.
931	.....	.....	.....	John XI.
936	.....	Louis IV.	.....	Leo VII.
938	Foulques "le Bon."	.....	.....	.....
939	.....	.....	.....	Stephen IX.
940	.....	.....	Edmund.	.....
942	.....	.....	.....	Martin II.
946	.....	.....	Edred	Agapet II.
954	.....	Lothaire.	.....	.....
955	.....	.....	Edwy.	.....
956	.....	.....	.....	John XII.
958	Geoffrey "Grise Gonelle."	.....	.....	.....
959	.....	.....	Edgar.	.....
964	.....	.....	.....	Benedict V.
965	.....	.....	.....	John XIII.
972	.....	.....	.....	Benedict VI.
973	.....	.....	.....	Domnus II.
974	.....	.....	.....	Benedict VII.
975	.....	.....	Edward y <sup>e</sup> Martyr.	.....
978	.....	.....	Ethelred II.	.....
983	.....	.....	.....	John XIV.
985	.....	.....	.....	John XV.
986	.....	Louis V.	.....	John XVI.
987	Foulques "Nerra"	Hugh Capet.	.....	.....
996	.....	Robert y <sup>e</sup> Pious.	.....	Gregory V.
999	.....	.....	.....	Sylvester II.
1003	.....	.....	.....	John XVII.
1009	.....	.....	.....	John XVIII.
1012	.....	.....	.....	Sergius IV.
1016	.....	.....	Edmund Ironside.	Benedict VIII.
1017	.....	.....	Canute y <sup>e</sup> Great.	.....
1024	.....	.....	.....	John XIX.
1031	.....	Henry I.	.....	.....
1033	.....	.....	.....	Benedict IX.
1036	.....	.....	Harold Harefoot.	.....
1040	Geoffrey "Martel"	.....	Hardicanute.	.....
1042	.....	.....	Edward y <sup>e</sup> Confessor.	.....
1044	.....	.....	.....	Gregory VI.
1046	.....	.....	.....	Clement II.
1048	.....	.....	.....	Damascus II.
1055	.....	.....	.....	Leo IX.
1057	.....	.....	.....	Victor II.
1058	.....	.....	.....	Stephen X.
1060	Foulques IV., "le Rechin"	Philip I.	.....	Nicholas II.
1061	.....	.....	.....	Alexander II.
1066	.....	.....	Harold II.	.....

DATE.	ANJOU.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.	PAPAL STATES.
1066	.....	.....	William I.	.....
1073	.....	.....	.....	Gregory VII.
1086	.....	.....	.....	Victor III.
1087	.....	.....	William II.	.....
1088	.....	.....	.....	Urban II.
1099	.....	.....	.....	Pascal II.
1100	.....	Louis VI.	Henry I.	.....
1108	.....	.....	.....	.....
1109	Foulques V.	.....	.....	Gelasius II.
1118	.....	.....	.....	Calixtus II.
1119	.....	.....	.....	Honorius II.
1124	.....	.....	.....	Innocent II.
1130	.....	.....	.....	.....
1131	Geoffrey Planta- genet	.....	.....	.....
1135	.....	.....	Stephen.	.....
1137	.....	Louis VII.	.....	.....
1143	.....	.....	.....	Celestine II.
1144	.....	.....	.....	Lucius II.
1145	.....	.....	.....	Eugene III.
1153	.....	.....	.....	Anastasius IV.
1154	Henry II.	.....	Henry II.	Adrian IV.
1159	.....	.....	.....	Alexander III.
1180	.....	Philip II., Augustus.	.....	.....
1181	.....	.....	.....	Lucius III.
1185	.....	.....	.....	Urban III.
1187	.....	.....	.....	Gregory VIII.
1189	Richard I.	.....	Richard I., "Cœur de Lion."	Clement III.
1191	.....	.....	.....	Celestine III.
1199	John	.....	John.	.....
1203	Crown of France.	.....	.....	.....
1216	.....	.....	Henry III.	Honorius III.
1223	.....	Louis VIII.	.....	.....
1226	.....	Louis IX., Saint.	.....	Gregory IX.
1227	.....	.....	.....	Celestine IV.
1241	.....	.....	.....	Innocent IV.
1243	.....	.....	.....	.....
1246	Charles I.	.....	.....	Alexander IV.
1254	.....	.....	.....	Urban IV.
1261	.....	.....	.....	Clement IV.
1265	.....	Philip III., y <sup>e</sup> Bold.	.....	.....
1270	.....	.....	.....	Gregory X.
1271	.....	.....	Edward I.	.....
1272	.....	.....	.....	Innocent V.
1276	.....	.....	.....	Adrian V.
"	.....	.....	.....	John XX.
1277	.....	.....	.....	Nicholas III.
1281	.....	.....	.....	Martin IV.
1285	Charles II.	Philip IV., y <sup>e</sup> Fair	.....	Honorius IV.
1288	.....	.....	.....	Nicholas IV.
1290	Charles III., of Valois.	.....	.....	.....
1294	.....	.....	.....	Celestine V.
"	.....	.....	.....	Boniface VIII.
1303	.....	.....	.....	Benedict XI.

DATE.	ANJOU.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.	PAPAL STATES.
1305	.....	.....	.....	Clement V.
1307	.....	.....	Edward II.	.....
1314	.....	Louis X.	.....	.....
1316	.....	John I.	.....	.....
1322	.....	Philip V., y <sup>e</sup> Tall	.....	John XXI.
1325	Philip VI., of Valois.	Charles IV., y <sup>e</sup> Fair.	.....	.....
1327	.....	.....	Edward III.	.....
1328	.....	Philip VI., of Valois.	.....	.....
1332	John II., y <sup>e</sup> Good.	.....	.....	Benedict XII.
1334	.....	.....	.....	Clement VI.
1342	.....	.....	.....	.....
1350	.....	John II., y <sup>e</sup> Good.	.....	.....
1352	.....	.....	.....	Innocent VI.
1356	Louis I.	.....	.....	Urban V.
1363	.....	.....	.....	Gregory XI.
1364	.....	Charles V.	.....	Urban VI.—Clement VII.
1371	.....	.....	Richard II.	.....
1377	.....	.....	.....	.....
1378	.....	.....	.....	.....
1380	.....	Charles VI.	.....	.....
1384	Louis II.	.....	.....	Boniface IX.
1390	.....	.....	.....	Benedict XIII.
1394	.....	.....	Henry IV.	.....
1399	.....	.....	.....	Innocent VII.
1404	.....	.....	.....	Gregory XII.
1406	.....	.....	.....	Alexander V.
1409	.....	.....	.....	John XII.
1410	.....	.....	Henry V.	.....
1413	.....	.....	.....	Martin V.
1417	Louis III.	.....	Henry VI.	.....
1422	.....	Charles VII.	.....	Eugene IV.
1431	.....	.....	.....	Nicholas V.
1434	René.	.....	.....	Calixtus III.
1447	.....	.....	.....	Pius II.
1455	.....	.....	.....	.....
1458	.....	Louis XI.	Edward IV.	.....
1461	.....	.....	.....	Paul II.
1464	.....	.....	.....	Sixtus IV.
1471	.....	.....	.....	.....
1480	Charles of Maine.	.....	.....	.....
1481	Louis XI.	.....	.....	.....

THE END.

BRADBURY, EVANS, AND CO., PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

HISTORY OF FRANCE UNDER THE BOURBONS, 1589-1830. By CHARLES DUKE YONGE, Regius Professor, Queen's College, Belfast. In 4 vols. 8vo. Vols. I. and II. contain the Reigns of Henry IV., Louis XIII. and XIV.; Vols. III. and IV. contain the Reigns of Louis XV. and XVI. 3l.

THE REGENCY OF ANNE OF AUSTRIA, QUEEN OF FRANCE, MOTHER OF LOUIS XIV. From Published and Unpublished Sources. With Portrait. By Miss FREER. 2 vols. 8vo, 30s.

THE MARRIED LIFE OF ANNE OF AUSTRIA, QUEEN OF FRANCE, MOTHER OF LOUIS XIV.; AND THE HISTORY OF DON SEBASTIAN, KING OF PORTUGAL. Historical Studies. From numerous Unpublished Sources. By MARTHA WALKER FREER. 2 vols. 8vo, 30s.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE & REIGN OF GEORGE III. With Original Letters of the King and other Unpublished MSS. By J. HENEAGE JESSE, Author of "The Court of England under the Stuarts," &c. 3 vols. 8vo. 2l. 2s. Second Edition.

ZANZIBAR. By CAPTAIN R. F. BURTON, Author of "A Mission to Gêlé," "Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil," "Abeokuta," "My Wanderings in West Africa," &c.

THE TWO SIEGES. By HENRY VIZETELLY, Author of "The Story of the Diamond Necklace," &c. With numerous Illustrations. 2 vols. 8vo.

MEMOIRS OF SIR GEORGE SINCLAIR, BART., OF ULBSTER. By JAMES GRANT, Author of "The Great Metropolis," "The Religious Tendencies of the Times," &c. 8vo. With Portrait. 16s.

MEMORIES OF MY TIME; BEING PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF EMINENT MEN. By GEORGE HODDER. 8vo. 16s.

THE LIFE OF DAVID GARRICK. From Original Family Papers, and numerous Published and Unpublished Sources. By PERCY FITZGERALD, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo, with Portraits. 36s.

THE LIFE OF EDMUND KEAN. From various Published and Original Sources. By F. W. HAWKINS. In 2 vols. 8vo, 30s.

THREE HUNDRED YEARS OF A NORMAN HOUSE. WITH GENEALOGICAL MISCELLANIES. By JAMES HANNAY, Author of "A Course of English Literature," "Satire and Satirists," &c. 12s.

BRITISH SENATORS; OR POLITICAL SKETCHES, PAST AND PRESENT. By J. EWING RITCHIE. Post 8vo, 10s. 6d.

TINSLEY BROTHERS, 18, CATHERINE STREET, STRAND.



942.043

H76  
2

Hookham

Margaret of Anjou.

*Charles b Link, Jr*

06470700

*178788*

942.043  
H76 V2 C1

MARG ANJOU

BRITTLE DO NOT  
PHOTOCOPY

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



0032257384

